

BIOGRAPHIA
BRITANNICA.

VOLUME THE SIXTH;

PART I.

A Character of this Work, by GILBERT WEST, Esq;
 at the Conclusion of his Poem on EDUCATION, in a
 Note on the Words *Great Lives explain.*

I CANNOT forbear taking occasion from these words, to make my acknowledgments to the writers of *Biographia Britannica*, for the pleasure and profit I have lately received from perusing the two first volumes of that useful and entertaining work, of which the *monumental structure* abovementioned, decorated with the statues of *great and good men*, is no improper emblem. This work, which contains *The Lives of the most eminent Persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the earliest Ages, down to the present Time*, appears to me, as far as it has hitherto gone, to be executed with great *spirit, accuracy, and judgment*; and deserves, in my opinion, to be encouraged by all, who have at heart the honour of their country, and that of their particular families and friends; and who can any ways assist the ingenious and laborious authors, to render as perfect as possible, a design so apparently calculated to serve the Public, by setting in the truest and fullest light, the characters of persons already generally, though perhaps too indistinctly, known; and reviving from obscurity and oblivion, examples of private and retired merit; which, though less glaring and ostentatious than the former, are not, however, of a less extensive, or less beneficial influence, to those, who may happen not to have seen this repository of British glory. I cannot give a better idea of it, than in the following lines of *Virgil*:

Hic manus ob Patriam pugnando vulnera passi;
 Quique Sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat;
 Quique pii Vates & Phæbo digna locuti;
 Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes;
 Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

VIRG. ÆN. Lib. vi. ver. 660.

Here Patriots live, who for their Country's good,
 In fighting fields, were prodigal of blood;
 Priests of unblemish'd lives here make abode,
 And Poets worthy their aspiring God:
 And searching Wits of more mechanic parts,
 Who grac'd their age with new invented arts;
 Those who to worth their bounty did extend,
 And those who knew that bounty to commend.

DRYDEN'S Transl.

Biographia Britannica :

OR, THE

L I V E S

OF THE

Most eminent PERSONS

Who have flourished in

G R E A T B R I T A I N

A N D

I R E L A N D,

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times;

Collected from the best Authorities, both Printed and Manuscript,

And digested in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

D I C T I O N A R Y.

V O L U M E T H E S I X T H ; P A R T I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WALTHOE, T. OSBORNE, H. WHITRIDGE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, R. MANNY, J. and R. TONSON, H. WOODFALL, J. RIVINGTON, C. BATHURST, L. DAVIS and C. REYMERS, R. BALDWIN, W. JOHNSTON, G. KEITH, J. RICHARDSON, T. LONGMAN, B. LAW and Co. G. KEARSLEY, and J. HINXMAN.

MDCCLXIII.

2264

ADAMS 122.4
v. 6 Pt. 11

CORRIGENDA.

In page 3604, dele rem. [B], the sons of Baronets not being allowed to wear a nobleman's gown—In p. 3665, rem. [PP], col. (2), l. 17, instead of the word Kent read Stanford in Berkshire—In p. 3906, line 6 of the text, for Sir Clement Knight read Sir Clement Wearg, Knt—Item in p. 3907, rem. [E], col. (2), l. 16, instead of the words every line written by Mr Pope was verified, read every line written by Mr Pope upon Lord Bathurst was verified.

T H E
L I V E S
O F T H E

Most eminent P E R S O N S

Who have flourished in

GREAT-BRITAIN, and IRELAND,

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times.

S.



SCOTT [JOHN], an excellent rational Divine, and one of our best and most pious English Writers, in the XVIIth century, was the son of Thomas Scott, a grazier, and born at Chipenham in Wiltshire (a), in the year 1638 [A]. Not being at first designed for a scholar, he served about three years in London as an apprentice; but it being against his inclination, which was rather bent upon piety and learning, he left his trade and went to Oxford, where he was admitted a Commoner of New-Inn, in 1657, under the tuition of Mr Christopher Lee. Having made a great proficiency in Logic and Philosophy, he quitted the university without a degree, and entering into Holy Orders, resorted to London, where he became an eminent and admired Preacher. His first Preferments were the Chaplainship of St Thomas Southwark (b), and the perpetual Curacy of Trinity in the Minories (c). But, on the first of February 1677, he was instituted to the Rectory of St Peter's-Poor in Broadstreet, to which he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's (d). He was also Lecturer of one of the churches in Lombard-street (e). In 1681, he published the First Part of his most excellent work, intituled *The Christian Life* [B]; and dedicated it to Bishop Compton: by whom

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 921.

(b) Wood, ibid.

(c) Newcourt Repertar. Vol. I. p. 920.

(d) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 529.

(e) Wood Ath. as above.

[A] In the year 1638] Ant. Wood says, that in 1657, when he came to Oxford, he was about nineteen years age (1). And consequently he was born in the year 1638, or perhaps in the beginning of the year 1639.

[B] In 1681, he published the First Part of his most excellent work, intituled *The Christian Life*.] The whole title is, 'The Christian Life, Part I. from its beginning to its consummation in Glory; Together with the several Means and Instruments of Christianity conducing thereunto; With Directions for private Devotion, and Forms of Prayer, fitted to the several States of Christians.' London, 8vo In this very sensible and rational Discourse, he shews, 1. That the peculiar and ultimate End of the Christian Life, is *Heaven*. 2. That the way of obtaining heavenly Happiness, is by using the *Means* conducing thereunto: of which means there are two sorts, namely, The Practice of the *Heavenly Virtues*, in the perfection whereof consists the state of Heaven; and the other the Practice of certain *Instrumental Duties*. The former being the *proximate Means*, and the latter the more *remote Means*. 3. The *Heavenly Part* of the Christian Life, or the *Proximate Means*, he divides

into *Humane, Divine, and Social Virtues*. The *Humane Virtues*, are Prudence, Moderation, Fortitude, Temperance, Humility: The *Divine Virtues*, are, Contemplation of God's nature, Adoration of his Perfections, Love, Imitation, Resignation, Trust and Dependance: And the *Social Virtues*, Charity, Justice, Peaceableness, Modesty, and Courtesie. 4. The *Instrumental Duties* he subdivides into *Initial, Progressive, and Perfective*. The *Initial*, are, Faith, Consideration, a deep and thorough Conviction of our need of a Mediator, sorrow shame and remorse for our past Iniquities, earnest Prayer for divine Assistance, and a serious and solemn Resolution of Amendment, &c.—The rest we shall not mention, as the book is very common, and indeed ought to be more common, by being in every pious Christian's hands.—In 1685, he published Part II. 'Wherein the Fundamental Principles of Christian Duty are assigned, explained, and proved.' This is also dedicated to Bishop Compton, and our author expresses the grateful sense he had, and should always retain, of the *personal Obligations* he had laid upon him (2). In this volume, no ways inferior to the former, he treats of these important points. Of the nature of Moral Goodness, which

(2) Namely, in giving him the Prebend. Dedicat. p. 2.

(1) Ath. ut supra.

whom he was collated March 14, 1684, to the Prebend of Bromesbury in the church of St Paul (f). July 9, 1685, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity, having taken no degree before (g). He bore his part in the Popish Controversy, during King James the Second's reign [C]. And published twelve Sermons, preached upon several occasions, between the years 1673 and 1692 [D]. Being grown very eminent for his piety, learning, and most improving way of preaching, he was presented by the Crown to the then very considerable living of St Giles's in the Fields (h); and had institution thereto August 7, 1691 (i). We are told, that he also was offered, and refused, first the Bishopric of Chester, because he could not take the oath of homage, and afterwards another Bishopric, as also the Deanry of Worcester, and a Prebend of Windsor (k) [E]. At length, through too close an application to his studies and the duties of his function, falling into a bad state of health, he dyed March the 10th. 1694-5, leaving behind him the character of a good and learned man, an excellent preacher, and one who had done infinite service to the world by his preaching and writings. The 15th of the said month, he was buried in the Rector's vault under part of his church of St Giles's (l). Besides his other works already mentioned, he wrote some of the *Cases* to recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England [F]: and a Preface to Mr John March's Sermons

(f) Newcourt, Vol. 1. p. 119.

(g) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 227.

(h) Vacant by the promotion of Dr John Sharp to the Archbishopric of York.

(i) Newcourt, as above, p. 613.

(k) Some Discourses upon Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson, supposed to be written by Dr Hickey. A marginal note in the Preface. That Preface is not paged.

(l) Wood, as above, col. 922.

which is essentially and immutably such, and of perpetual obligation. That Moral Good is the main of Religion. Of the causes and folly of Atheism. Of divine Providence, and a Future State. Of the necessity of having right Apprehensions of God, &c.——He published, in 1686, Vol. second of this III Part; 'Wherein that Fundamental Principle of Christian Duty, the Doctrine of our Saviour's Mediation, is explained and proved.' Wherein he also treats of the Nature of Christ's Kingdom, and of its Ministers; and of Christ's regal acts; and concludes with proving That Jesus Christ is this Mediator, of whom he had been treating.——Some materials he had prepared for a continuation and completion of this most useful work, which Sickness hindered him from accomplishing. But what was found among his papers, upon that subject, came out in the following order.—'The Christian Life, Part III. wherein the Great Duties of Justice, Mercy, and Mortification are fully explained and enforced.' Published in 1697, by J. Gale.——And Part IV, or Vol. V. and last, by Humphrey Zouch, in 1699, 8vo. containing four Discourses; viz. The Worth and Excellency of the Soul: The Divinity and Incarnation of our Saviour: The Authority of the Holy Scripture: A Dissuasive from Apostacy.'——Mr J. Gale, in his dedication of the III Part, informs us, that it was 'the Author's design to proceed to a particular explication of the several respective Duties which Men are obliged to render to God, their Neighbours, and Themselves; and for a conclusion of all he proposed a distinct Treatise of Ecclesiastical Duties.'——One favorite, and indeed very just, Notion he hath in this work; which is, 'That the main of Heaven consists not so much in any outward possession, as in an inward state and temper (3).—So that, 'should not God by an immediate Vengeance precipitate wicked Souls into hell, yet their own Wickedness, by the mighty weight of its own nature, would inevitably press and sink them down into that miserable condition. What egregious nonsense therefore is it, for wicked men to talk of going to heaven? Alas! poor creatures what would you do there? There are no wanton Amours among those heavenly Lovers; no rivers of Wine among their rivers of pleasure to gratifie your unbounded sensuality; no parasites to flatter your lofty Pride; no miseries to feed your meagre Envy; no mischiefs to tickle your devillish Revenge; nothing but chaste and divine, pure and spiritual Enjoyments, such as your brutish and devilish Appetites will eternally loath and nauseate. Wherefore if we mean to go to heaven, and to be happy there, we must now endeavour to dispose and attemper our minds to it; which is no other way to be done, but by leading a heavenly Life and Conversation. (4).—The Christian Life hath been printed several times in 8vo. and once in folio.

[C] He bore his part in the Popish controversy during King James the Second's reign.] At that time, he wrote,—'Examination of Bellarmine's eighth Note, concerning Sanctity of Doctrine.'——And, 'The Texts examined, which Papiests cite out of the Bible concerning Prayer in an unknown Tongue.' They were printed in October 1688, 4to (5).

[D] And published twelve Sermons, preached upon several occasions.] They were published in the following order. 1. Sermon preached before the Military Company at St Clement's Danes, 25 July 1673. on *Ephes. vi. 11.* Lond. 1674. 4to. 2. Sermon before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall-chapel on the 5th of Nov. 1673. on *Luke ix. 56.* Lond. 1674. 4to. 3. Sermon preached before the Artillery Company of London 15 Septemb. 1680. at St Mary-le-Bow. Lond. 1680. 4to. 4. Sermon preached at the funeral of Dr Will. Crown 23 Oct. 1684. in St Mildred's church in the Poultry, on *Matth. xxv. 46.* Lond. 1685. 4to. This Dr Crown was a very learned Physician, author of the excellent Observations de Ovo, and of the Theory of Muscular Motion (6). 5. Sermon before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen at Guildhall-chapel 16 Dec. 1684. on *Prov. xxiv. 21.* Lond. 1685. 4to. 6. Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London at St Mary le Bow 26 July 1685, being the day of public Thanksgiving for his Majesty's late Victory over the Rebels, on 2 *Sam. xviii. 28.* Lond. 1685. 4to. 7. Sermon preached at the Assizes at Chelmsford in Essex 31 Aug. 1685, before Sir Thomas Street, Knt. one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, on *Rom. xiii. 1.* Lond. 1685. 4to. 8. Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London, at the church of St Mary-le Bow, 2 Septemb. 1686, being the anniversary Fast for the dreadful Fire in the year 1666, on *John v. 14.* Lond. 1686. 4to. 9. Sermon preached at the Funeral of Sir John Buckworth in the Parish church of St Peter's le Poor in Broad-street 29 Dec. 1687. on *Eccles. xi. 8.* Lond. 1688. 4to. 10. Sermon preached at the funeral of Sir John Chapman late Lord Mayor of London, at St Lawrence's church, 27 March 1689, on *Eccles. viii. 1.* Lond. 1689, 4to. 11. Sermon preached at Fulham 13 Oct. 1689, at the consecration of Edward Bishop of Worcester, Symon Bishop of Chichester, and Gilbert Bishop of Bristol, on *Jer. iii. 15.* Lond. 1689. 4to. 12. Sermon preached before the Queen 22 May 1692, upon occasion of the late Victory obtained by their Majesties Fleet over the French, on *Psaln l. 14.* Lond. 1692. 4to.

[E] And a Prebend of Windsor.] Ant Wood is therefore mistaken, when he says, that Dr Scott 'became Canon of Windsor in the place of Dr John Fitz-Williams a Nonjuror in April 1691 (7).' For it was John Hartcliffe who obtained that Prebend, upon the deprivation of John Fitz-Williams (8). The editor of the second volume of our author's Practical Discourses, informs us, that the Earl of Nottingham 'procured for him a little Recess from the Toil and Labours of his weighty Employment (9).' But doth not say how.

[F] He wrote some of the Cases to recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England.] Namely, 'Certain Cases of Conscience resolved, concerning the Lawfulness of joining with Forms of Prayer in public Worship.' Part i. Lond. 1683. in seven sheets and a half in 4to. The second Part was printed the same year in eight sheets 4to and both inserted in the second volume of, *A Collection of Cases and other Discourses lately written to recover Dissenters to the Communion*

(6) Published in the Philosophical Transactions, and in Mr R. Hook's Philosophical Collections, No. 2.

(3) Christian Life, Part I. edit. 1690. 8vo. p. 21.

(4) In the same Part, p. 190.

(5) Wood Ath. col. 922.

(7) Ath. Vol. II. col. 921.

(8) See Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 387.

(9) Dedication to that Volume, p. 2.

Sermons published in 1693 [G]. Two Volumes of his Practical Discourses upon several Subjects, were printed after his decease [H] His Character, as drawn up by Dr Isham at the end of his funeral Sermon [I], is given below. Bishop Burnet ranks him, among those worthy and eminent Clergymen in this nation, who 'deserved a high character; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the Age in which they lived (m).

(m) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 90, 91.

munion of the Church of England. Lond. 1685. 2 vols 4to. reprinted afterwards in one volume in folio, and 3 volumes 8vo.

[G] *And a Preface to Mr John March's Sermons published in 1693*] This Mr March was Vicar of Newcastle upon Tyne, a learned Divine, and eminent Preacher. He died in 1692 (10).

[H] *Two volumes of his Practical Discourses upon several subjects, were printed after his decease.*] The first volume was published in 1697. 8vo. without the editor's name. But the dedication to the second volume is subscribed by Humphrey Zouch. This second volume is particularly intitled, 'Practical Discourses concerning Obedience, and the Love of God.' Lond. 1698. 8vo

[I] *His Character, as drawn up by Dr Isham at the end of his funeral Sermon, &c.*] 'I shall, says the Doctor (11), briefly consider him in these two heads; his *Private Virtues*, and his *Services for the Church*. He had many Virtues of no ordinary growth: and we may call them to mind, by reviewing his much applauded work of the *Christian Life*: Which he intended to continue, and perfect, if Providence had not put a stop to his useful design, first by a long Craziness, and then by taking him suddenly from us. Next to his Piety towards God, his *Social Virtues* (as his own distinction is) were those for which we shall be most sensible of our loss in him; for his Kindness, and Humanity, and amicable Disposition, and Affability, and pleasantness of Temper, and Condescension, and Sincerity, and readiness to do all good Offices for any that had recourse to him. In helping others, and laying out for their advantage the Authority which he had gained; in giving counsel, and directions; and in cementing Amity and Peace, he exhausted very much of his time; and delighted as much in doing any friendly turn, as if the profit had redounded to himself. In works of Mercy he took a peculiar Pleasure; and did as zealously promote them, as if he had relieved himself by supporting the Poor: he was a common Father to the persecuted and afflicted; and the *Brethren*, and *Strangers*, whose bowels he hath refreshed, will bear witness of his Charity before the Church. Friendship is one of the noblest ornaments of human nature; and if God himself is Love, 'tis the portraiture of God drawn upon the Soul: and for this Virtue he was exceedingly valued by those that were intimate with him; he was not infected with any of those Vices which blast it, with Pride or Moroseness, or Envy, or Selfishness; his inclinations were to refresh and cherish all men, and only to neglect himself: his doors, and his heart were open to all; and he hath left behind him the indelible commendation of a true, and steadfast, and faithful Friend.

'Again, let us look upon him in his *Publick Character*; and if they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever; we may be humbly confident of his having a proportionable reward. His Education happened to be in the times of Confusion, and yet without any detriment to him: for he imbibed the principles of that

renowned *University* in which he was bred, and not of the Men who then governed it; the same good Spirit, that called him thither from another Employment, directing him what to do; and when the Church was covered in Ruins, he discerned her beauty; and received holy orders from one of those ejected *Confessors*, who during the devastation did secretly preserve the Apostolical discipline. His appearance in the world was early; and as God had furnished him with extraordinary talents, and had enabled him to improve them well, and to possess abilities equal to his high profession; the same divine Goodness chose a fitting theatre for them to be manifested upon. His eloquent, and solid, and fervent Preaching, commanded the applauses of men; and his constancy in it procured their love: and though his frequency in this work, and his diligence in his pastoral charge, and his industry in resolving Cases of Conscience, and his restless application to the labours of his calling, wasted him by degrees; yet he could not be satisfied without doing his duty: and that which sent him the sooner to God, will enlarge his recompence from him. He ran his course in times of great trial, and discrimination; and in all of them he approved his inflexible, and uncorrupted integrity; and adhered stedfastly to the Principles of our Church.——When Popery invaded our established Religion, he was one of those worthy Champions that defended it with an upright zeal; they held up their shields together, and united their counsels and endeavours as one man: they saw their Diocesan (whom they mightily honoured) singled out for the first sacrifice, because he would not surrender them; they saw the Roman Eagle advancing every day, and fresh attempts made to demolish our Church; and then it was that by preaching, and praying, and writing, they gained an universal esteem, and supported our holy religion. In this Cause our Friend whom we are waiting upon did cordially concur with his Brethren; and was prepared to suffer as much as any of them. He understood our *Constitution* entirely, and that made him the more hearty in asserting it upon all occasions.——Therefore, he did upon all emergencies maintain an unspotted fidelity to the Church; and acted consonantly to what he had professed concerning it, in these words: *Whatever her fate may be, I am chained to her fortunes by my Reason, and Conscience; and shall ever esteem it more eligible to be crushed in pieces by her fall, which God avert, than to flourish, and triumph on her ruins* (12). This resolution he kept to the last, and still with a peaceful, and charitable spirit; and without aiming at his own interest through that of the Church: for when offers were made to him of higher Stations in the Church, he declined them upon the sense of decays creeping upon him; and he rejoiced more in the advancement of other worthy men, than he would have done in his own. His inherent Greatness wanted no outward accessions; and the Preferment he was ambitious of, was to go from his flock unto the Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls.' C

SEDLEY [Sir CHARLES], Bart. one of the gay wits that enlivened the pleasurable Court of King Charles the Second, was grandson of Sir William Sedley, Bart. the munificent founder of the Sedleian lecture of Natural Philosophy at Oxford (a), and son of Sir John Sedley of Aylesford in Kent, Bart. by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Henry Savile, Knt. [A], the learned Warden of Merton-college in Oxford, and Provost

(a) See Sir H. Savile's article. The salary of the lecture is now reckoned to be 200 l. a year. Dr Edward Lapworth of Magdalen college, who accumulated his degrees in Physic in 1611, was the first Professor. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 189.

[A] By his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir to Sir Henry Savile. We have the following particular concerning this lady, from that indefatigable collector of private memoirs Mr Wood. Who tells us, he had been credibly informed, that Sir A. Weldon, author of the *Court and Character of King James*, did, at the

beginning of the Long Parliament, communicate the manuscript of it to the lady Elizabeth Sedley, (mother to Sir William and Sir Charles) accounted a very sober and prudent woman; who, after perusal, did lay the vileness of it so much to Sir Anthony's door, that he was resolved never to make it public; which, perhaps, continues

(10) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 896, 897.

(11) Funeral Sermon, p. 21, &c.

(12) Dedicat. of 1st Part of the Christian Life.

Provost of Eton. Sir Charles was born probably at Aylesford, about the year 1639; and, after a proper foundation of Grammar learning, was sent to Oxford, where he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner [B] of Wadham-college, in Lent term, 1655-6. But he left the university without taking any degree, and retiring into his own country, lived privately there; out of humour, as it should seem, with the governing powers, 'till the restoration of King Charles the Second: when he came to London (b), in order to join in the general jubilee, the gaiety of which was both agreeable to his years, and exactly suitable to his taste and temper. He was soon introduced to the King, and it was not long before they who recommended him to his Majesty, found they had thereby in some measure supplanted themselves (c). Sir Charles had such a distinguishingly polite easiness in his manner and conversation, as set him higher in the royal notice and favour, than any of the courtiers his rivals, notwithstanding they all aimed at the same turn, and some of them even excelled in it. In the view of heightening their pleasures, our author, among the rest, did not neglect to exert his talents in writing. The productions of his pen were some plays, and several delicately tender amorous poems (d); in which, the softness of the verses was so exquisite, as to be called by the Duke of Buckingham *Sedley's Witchcraft*. There were no marks of genius or true poetry to be descried; the art wholly consisted in raising loose thoughts and lewd desires without giving any alarm, and so the poison worked gently and irresistibly [C]. Our author, we may be sure, did not escape the infection of his own art, or rather was first tainted himself, before he spread the infection to others. Dissoluteness and debauchery were the scandalous characteristic of the times; and Sir Charles ambitioned to distinguish himself for being most extravagantly in the fashion. He was confessedly the hero of the frolic with Lord Buckhurst and Sir Thomas Ogle, in 1603, at a tavern in Bow-street Covent-garden (e), and as such was fined heavier than his comrades, being sentenced to pay five hundred pounds to his Majesty; and to go completely through the part he had begun, he gave the Judge himself some highly indecent language (f); who thereupon asking him, if he had ever read a book called the *Compleat Gentleman*, he replied, that he had read more books than his Lordship. However, some time before the day appointed for payment, Sir Charles desired Mr Henry Killigrew *, and another gentleman, to apply to his Majesty to have the fine remitted; which, 'tis said, they promised, but instead of supplicating in their friend's behalf, they begged the money for themselves, and did not abate him a single farthing. By such ways as these, Sir Charles found his estate much hurt; yet did he not seek to repair it by asking favours of his Majesty, the usual resource of favourite courtiers. He is said, indeed, to have received some marks of the King's bounty (g). But the temper of that Prince is well known; he knew not how to deny an importunate craver, though he hated his forwardness; neither could he remember, to any good purpose, the silent indigence of his friend, though he applauded the modesty of it. After the lastmentioned affair, Sir Charles took a more serious turn, applied himself to business, and was chosen a Recruiter † of the Long Parliament in this reign, to serve for New Romney in Kent. He sat likewise in the three succeeding Parliaments of the same reign, and was a frequent speaker in them. We find him also in the House of Commons in the succeeding reign of King James the Second, whose attempts upon the constitution he vigorously withstood. When the defeat of the rebels in the West, under the Duke of Monmouth, made it necessary, in the language of the Court, to have a standing army, it was opposed strongly by the Country Party in the Parliament, among whom were the *Earl of Dorset* and *Sir Charles Sedley*; one of which bore a great sway in the House of Peers, and the other in that of the Commons. Their interest was so great in both, especially Sir Charles Sedley's, that the King, foreseeing it would be a work of the greatest difficulty, to gain their consent for the payment of more troops than what were upon the establishment of the last reign, contented himself with dropping the pursuit of it, by a dissolution of the Parliament (h). In the same spirit, our patriot was very active in bringing on the Revolution. This was thought more extraordinary, as he had received favours from King James: But that Prince had taken a fancy to Sir Charles's daughter (tho' it seems she was not very handsome || [D]); and, in consequence

(b) Memoirs of Charles Montague, late Earl of Halifax, p. 7. edit. 1716, 8vo.

|| King James was remarkable for his choice of mistresses in that respect. General History of England.

of

continues our Antiquary, is the reason why a certain writer should say*, that with some regret of what he had maliciously written, he did intend it for the fire, and died repentant, *though since stolen to the press out of a lady's closet*. And if this be true, our exceptions may willingly fall upon the publisher of the said libel, who, by his additions, may abuse us with a false story; and therefore in some manner gives us occasion to spare our censure on Sir Anthony, who was dead some time before the said libel was published. The second edition of it, printed at London, in 8vo. 1651, is dedicated to the said noble lady, Elizabeth Sedley (1).

[B] *He was admitted a Fellow-Commoner.* Was he then only a younger son, and his elder brother, Sir William †, still living? Otherwise, as the eldest son of a Baronet, he would have had a right to be admitted a Nobleman, *inferioris ordinis*, by Archbishop Laud's statutes: but, indeed, those statutes were little regarded at this time.

[C] *The poison worked gently and irresistibly*] We have a most picturesque description of it in the following lines, by Wilmot Earl of Rochester.

Sedley has that prevailing, gentle, art,
That can, with a resistless charm, impart,
The loosest wishes to the chafest heart;
Raise such a conflict, kindle such a fire,
Betwixt declining virtue and desire,
That the poor vanquish'd maid dissolves away,
In dreams all night, in sighs and tears all day (2).

[D] *She was not very handsome.* She is satirised by the Earl of Dorset, that best natured man with the worst natured muse, in the following lines; which, bitter as they are, intimate, however, that she had been once, at least, mistress of a good face.

(2) Imitation of the 10th satire of the first book of Horace, among Rochester's Poems.

To

(b) 1d. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1099.

(c) He has been compared in this respect to Cardinal Richlieu, but with this difference in his favour, that he was never ungrateful.

(d) See his Works, in two volumes 8vo.

(e) See the Article of Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset.

(f) Mr Wood, from whom we have the account of this frolic, tells us, Sir Charles's words were, that he thought he was the first man that ever payed for th—g. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1100.

* Almoner to the Duke of York, and author of *The Conspiracy, a tragedy*, besides several sermons; father also of Mrs Anne Killigrew, and brother to Will. and Tho. Killigrew, all of them distinguished wits and poets, and Court-favourites in these times. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1035, 1036, 1080, 1081, 1082; and Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III.

(g) See the preface to the second volume of his Works.

† That is, he was chosen to fill up a vacancy, which happened during the course of that Parliament, after it's first meeting in 1661.

* W. Saunderson, in the poem to his Reign of King James I. Lond. 1655, fol.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 729.

† So he is called in the preceding remark.

of his intrigues with her, he created Miss Sedley Countess of Dorchester [E]. This honour, so far from pleasing, greatly shocked Sir Charles; however libertine as himself had been, yet he could not bear the thoughts of his daughter's dishonour; and, with regard to this her exaltation, he only considered it as rendering her more conspicuously infamous. He therefore conceived a hatred for King James, and readily joined to dispossess him of the throne [F]. Sir Charles lived many years after the Revolution in full possession of his wit and humour, and was an agreeable companion to his death; which seems not to have happened before he had arrived to a good old age, and perhaps not much before the year 1722 (i); when his Works were published, in two volumes, 8vo. with a preface to the second volume, by Mr Ayloffe, a relation of the author's, who speaks with pleasure of the happiness he had enjoyed in Sir Charles's company, during the then long interval of peace. We shall give some account of his Works below [G]; which, however censured, it is certain the author was, in Charles the Second's time, the oracle of the poets; and it was by his judgment every performance was approved or condemned: which made the King jestingly tell him, that *Nature had given him a patent to be Apollo's Viceroy* [H]. He was also a good friend to his brother poets (k).

(i) However, the story, that he lived to the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, and died at an age near ninety, in Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. III. suggests at least a great incon- sistency.

(l) Among others, he was particularly instrumental in bringing Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, into the notice of the world. That Earl's Memoirs, ubi supra.

To the Countess of Dorchester, mistress to King James II.

Tell me, Borinda, why so gay,
Why such embroidery, fringe, and lace;
Can any dresses find a way,
To stop the approaches of decay,
And mend a ruin'd face.

Wilt thou still sparkle in the box,
Still ogle in the ring,
Can'st thou forget thy age and pox;
Can all that shines, in shells and rocks,
Make thee a fine young thing.

So have I seen, in larder dark,
Of veal a lucid loin,
Replete with many a brilliant spark,
As wise philosophers remark,
At once both sink and shine (3).

(3) Collection of the Works of the Minor Poets, p. 199. Vol. I. edit. 1750.

(4) It is remarkable, that his Lordship is severe upon the Oxford antiquary for this very quality. So true it is, that two of a trade can never agree.

(5) She had a daughter by his Majesty, an account of whom see in Sheffield's Duke of Buckingham's article.

[E] *She was created Countess of Dorchester.* Bishop Burnet, another dealer, like Wood, in secret history (4), introduces an account of this creation in the following story. An accident happened, says he, at this time, that gave the Queen great offence, and put the King [James] much out of countenance. The King continued to go still to Mrs Sedley, and she gained so much on him, that at last she prevailed to be made Countess of Dorchester (5). As soon as the Queen heard of this, she gave orders to bring all the priests, that were admitted into a particular confidence, into her closet; and when she had them all about her, she sent to desire the King to come and speak to her. When he came, he was surprized to see such a company about her, but much more when they fell all on their knees before him, and the Queen break out into bitter mourning for this new honour, which they expected would be followed with the setting her up openly as mistress. The Queen was then in an ill habit of body, and had an illness, that, as was thought, would end in a consumption; and it was believed, that her illness was of such a nature, that it gave a very melancholy presage, that if she should live, she could have no children; the priests assured the King, that such a blemish in his life blasted their designs, and the more it appeared, and the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all their endeavours would prove. The King was much moved with this, and was out of countenance for what he had done; but to quiet them all, he promised them that he would see the lady no more, and

pretended that he gave her this title in order to the breaking with her more decently; and when the Queen did not seem to believe this, he promised that he would send her to Ireland, which was done accordingly; but after a stay for some months, she came over again, and the ill commerce was still continued (6). The priests, continues the Right Reverend Historian, no doubt were the more apprehensive of this, because she was bold and lively, and was always treating them, and their proceedings, with great contempt. After King James's abdication, she married the Earl of Portmore (7).

(6) Burnet's History of his own Times, p. 632, 683. Vol. I. fol. edition.

(7) Warburton's notes to the character of her daughter, in Pope's Letters.

[F] *He joined to dispossess King James of the Throne* Being asked one day, why he appeared so warm against the King, who had created his daughter a Countess; he replied, *it is from a principle of gratitude; for, since his Majesty has made my daughter a Countess, it is fit I should do all I can to make his daughter a Queen* (8).

(8) Gen. Hist. of England,

[G] *Some account of his works.* These are, besides his poems and speeches in Parliament, which have been already mentioned, the following plays. 1. *The Mulberry-Garden*, a comedy, acted by his Majesty's servants, at the theatre royal, 1668; dedicated to the Dutchess of Richmond and Lenox. 2. *Anthony and Cleopatra*, a tragedy, acted at the Duke of York's theatre, 1667. This met with great applause. The story is taken from Plutarch's life of Anthony. 3. *Bellamira: or, The Mistress*, a comedy, acted by his Majesty's servants, 1687. It is taken from Terence's Eunuch. While this play was acting, the roof of the playhouse fell down, but very few were hurt, besides the author, whose merry friend, Sir Fleetwood Shepherd, told him, there was so much fire in the play, that it blew up the Poet, house, and all: Sir Charles answered, No; the play is so heavy, it brought down the house, and buried the Poet in his own rubbish. 4. *Beauty the Conqueror: or, The Death of Mark Anthony*, a tragedy. To him are also ascribed, 5. *The Grumbler*, a comedy of three acts; scene, Paris. And 6. *The Tyrant King of Crete*, a tragedy; both of them first printed with his works, in two volumes 8vo. 1722.

[H] *Nature had given him a patent to be Apollo's viceroy.* Lord Rochester bears testimony to this, when he puts him foremost among the Judges of Poetry.

I loath the rabble, 'tis enough for me,
If Sedley, Shadwell, Shepherd, Wycherly,
Godolphin, Butler, Buckhurst, Buckingham,
And some few more, whom I omit to name;
Approve my sense, I count their censure same.

P

SELDEN [JOHN], the famed Antiquarian, was born December 16, 1584, at a small village called Salvinton, near Tering, a sea-port town in Sussex; where his ancestors, though not above the common rank, had lived for some time in good repute [A]. He was

(1) Mr Wood tells us he was a Pebeian, but excellently skilled in Music, and obtained his wife thereby. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 179.

[A] *A family of common rank* In our author's epitaph wrote by himself, he observes that his father John Selden (1), son of Thomas Selden, was born in 1561; that he married Margaret, only daughter and heir of

Thomas Baker of Rushington, descended from the equestrian family of that name in Kent; that from this match there issued besides himself the eldest, two other sons George and Henry, who both died in the cradle,

was first put to the free-school at Chichester, and gave a remarkable specimen of his genius at ten years of age [B]; and at fourteen, the schoolmaster (a) seeing him fit for the university, recommended him to his brother Mr Anthony Barker, Fellow of New-college in Oxford, who had him admitted of Hart-hall [C] in 1598 (b). He went through his academical studies with unusual eagerness, absolutely mastering every difficulty that occurred to him in any of the sciences. He continued at the university four years; after which, fixing his choice upon the Law for his profession (c), he removed to Clifford's-Inn in 1602 (d); where, having instructed himself in the ordinary forms and practice of the Courts, he was admitted *Socius* of the Inner Temple in May 1604: but being persuaded that his talents did not suit for making a figure at the Bar, he resolved to pursue the bent of his inclinations, and employed himself in searching into the origin of the Law in all its branches. This plan he pursued with indefatigable diligence and extraordinary success. The first fruits of his studies was, A Treatise of the Civil Government of our Island, before the coming in of the Normans, which he drew up in 1606. This being done at the age of two and twenty, when the manuscript was shewn to some persons versed in this kind of antiquities, it was much applauded (e), and esteemed an extraordinary performance for his years [D]. Continuing to push his researches the same way, he soon became acquainted with the most eminent in it [E], and published in a few years several other tracts relating to the same subject [F], and, in 1614, enriched the learned world with his incomparable piece upon the Titles of Honour [G]. This was followed by

(a) Mr Hugh Barker of New-college. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 179.

(b) Life of Selden, prefixed to his Works in fol. 1726. Mr Wood fixes his admission in the year 1600.

(c) See his epitaph below, in remark [].

(d) Wilkins, in his Life, as before, who says he was four years at Oxford.

(e) Consult his preface to his *Diis Syris*.

cradle, and an only daughter, afterwards married to John Bernard of Goring in Suffex, to whom she brought two boys and four girls, nephews and nieces to our author, who by his last Will bequeathed a hundred pounds to each of them.

[B] *Specimen of his genius.*] This was a smart epigram contained in a Latin distich, which was wrote over the door of the house where he was born, as follows:

Gratus, Honeste, mihi; non claudar, inito, fedebis;
Fur abeas, non sum facta soluta tibi (2).

The house it seems was distinguished by the name of *Lacies*. The practice of putting mottoes over doors was more in use at that time than it is at present. That which the late Lord Bolingbroke put over the door of his house aptly bespeaks the admiral genius of our author (3). This of our author seems to be drawn in imitation of that famous one set over his school by Plato *ἰδὲ δὲ ἀγεωμετρίας εἰσίεισο*. Let no one unskilled in geometry enter here; which he might not improbably have met with in some of his school books.

[C] *Admitted of Hart-Hall.*] This custom of tutors in colleges procuring chambers for their pupils in the neighbouring halls, has been already mentioned in the course of the present work (4). Dr Wilkins has given our author, besides Mr Barker, another tutor, Mr Thomas Young, but both Fellows of New-college.

[D] *An extraordinary piece for his years.*] The title runs thus: *Analektōv Anglo-Britannicōv Libri duo; quibus ea maxime quæ ad civilē illius, quæ jam Anglia dicitur, Magnæ Britannicæ partis antiquitus administrationem, res domi publicas, sacras, profanas, statusque catastrophas usque ad Normanni adventum attinent, ex antiquis simul & neotericis deprompta, temporum juxta seriem digesta, historice & arctissime componuntur*. It was put into the hands of a printer as soon as finished, but was not printed 'till 1616, at Francfort, and then so defective and incorrect, that he would not acknowledge it for his work (5). Degory Whear, Professor of history at Oxford, recommends it to young students, as a fit book to begin with in the study of the English history (6); but then he will find it necessary to consult others in many points, since the *analektica* do not so clearly account for the religion, government, and revolutions of state, as to give full satisfaction (7); and this is insinuated by our author, where he says it was his first piece, and not ill performed for one of his years, *quod primo meum & ætatula non ita indignum* (8).

[E] *He became acquainted with some of the most eminent in it.*] Dr Parr tells us (9), that Archbishop Usher became acquainted with him in his third voyage to England in 1609; therefore he must have been known to Camden and Sir Robert Cotton before that time; whether with Sir Henry Spelman so early may justly be doubted, since that knight did not settle in London 'till the year 1611 (10). But that he was not a member of the Society of Antiquaries, upon the revival of it in 1614 is highly probable, since his name is not expressly mentioned by Sir Henry Spelman in his ac-

count of it, a distinction which would surely have been made to his merit at that time: it seems a little hard to suppose him concluded in the words 'among others.' However that be, 'tis most likely that he was intimate very early with that *Prince of Poets*, as he calls him (11), Ben Jonson, who 'tis said, first gave him a true relish for *Horace*. Our author, whose ambition seems to have aimed at universal scholarship, did occasionally attempt to play the Poet, figuring it in Greek and Latin, as well as English verses, to his friends in various measures. On account of his prodigious learning, he is called the *great dictator of learning of the English nation* *; and for the same reason Sir John Suckling has given him the precedence in his session of poets.

* There was Selden, and he sat close by the chair,
* Wainman not far off, which was very fair.

[F] *Tracts relating to the same subject.*] These are first, *Jani Anglorum facies altera*; secondly, *England's Epinomis*; the latter of these served for a foundation to the former, and both were printed in 1610, 8vo. †, the former at his own expence, and dedicated to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and Lord High Treasurer of England (12). Dr Adam Lyttleton, author of the *Anglo-Latin*, &c. dictionary, published a translation of it into English, with large notes, under the name of Redman Westcot, Gent. Lond. 1683, folio (13). They contain several curious remarks upon the English history under the Normans, but is observed, that the laws quoted in the *Jani Anglorum*, &c. are as faulty as Lambard's translation of them, and want William Somner's emendations (14). Our author published also, in 1610, a third tract, *De Duello, or of single Combat* ‡; and a fourth, intitled, *Notes and illustrations on the first eighteen songs in Michael Drayton's Polyolbion*, 1612, folio.

[G] *Titles of honour.*] This learned piece is dedicated to his friend Edward Heyward of Cardeston in Norfolk, Esq; who was his chamber-fellow in the Temple, and had prefixed a commendatory copy of verses in Latin, to Selden's *Jani Anglorum*, &c. and a Recommendatory Poem, by his friend Ben Jonson, is also prefixed to it. In the second edition printed in 1631, folio, there are many additions. It was reprinted there in 1672, folio. From this edition it was translated into Latin, by Simon-John Arnold, Inspector of the churches of the Bailiwick of Sonenburg, and printed at Francfort 1696, 4to. And Mons. Briot (who published the French version of Sir Paul Rycaut's history of the Turks) had designed to translate it into French for the use of the French nobility ||, but was prevented by death. Dr John-Christopher Beeman took an occasion from it of writing a treatise upon the same subject; and Eric Mauritius in his *Dissertationibus* has one p. 237, *de Nobilitate imprimis Germanicæ*, in which the subjects of several of Mr Selden's chapters in this book, are handled in the same manner. Dr Nicolson observes, that 'as to what concerns our nobility and gentry, all that come within either of those

(11) *Poetarum ille facile Princeps*. *Vindiciæ Existimationis suæ* &c. p. 1422. in the second volume of his Works, by Wilkins.

* *Lexicon Historicum Universale Germanicum*, Tom. IV. p. 390. where there is an account of his Life and Writings, but full of errors.

† *Biblioth Angloise*, Tom. VI. p. 1.

(12) There was another edition in 1681, without either dedication or preface.

(13) See his article.

(14) Nicolson's *Historical Library*, ubi supra.

‡ It was reprinted in 1706, and a 2d in 1712, on occasion of the quarrel between Duke Hamilton and Lord Mohun. *Bibliothèque Angloise*, Tom. VI. p. 1.

|| As *Théâtre d'Honneur*, by Andrew Favin, was translated into English, for the use of the English Nobility, in 1623.

(2) Dr Wilkins says it was still to be seen in his time.

(3) See his article.

(4) In the article of Sir Thomas More.

(5) Preface to his *Syntagmata de Diis Syris*.

(6) *De Ratione & Methodo legendi Historias Civiles & Ecclesiasticas*, §. 27. edit. Oxon. 1637.

(7) Nicolson's *English Historical Library*. Lond. 1636, 8vo.

(8) Preface to his *Syntagm. de Diis Syris*.

(9) In his Life of Archbishop Usher.

(10) See his article.

by some notes on Sir John Fortescue *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, and Sir Ralph Hengham's *Sums*, printed in 1616, 8vo. The next year, 1717, he published his *Treatise upon the Idolatry of the Ancient Syrians* [H]; and in the mean time he wrote a *Dissertation upon the State of the Jews, formerly living in England*, published in Purchas's *Pilgrimage* [I] the same year. His reputation for profound learning was raised at this time to the highest pitch, and therefore the Clergy were greatly alarmed, by an attempt which he made to lessen the general opinion of their divine right to tythes, in 1618. This was thought a matter of so much importance, that complaint being made of it to King James, his Majesty was greatly incensed thereby; and, when this first storm seemed to be blown

over,

' lifts will allow, that Mr Selden's *Titles of Honour* ought to be perused for the gaining of a general notion of the distinction of a degree, from an emperor down to a country gentleman †. Our author in this tract, col. 727, delivers his opinion, that the bishops and other principal governors in the Church, were subject under William the Conqueror, to a military tenure, by act of Parliament: which is confirmed also, by a passage of William of Malmſbury, *in vita St. Wulfſtani* §. Dr White Kennett in his *third Letter to Bishop Merks*, p. 85, takes notice of an inadvertency of our author, upon a passage from *Froiffard*, which mentions the *Cinque Pers d'Angleterre*, who sat at the table next the King. 'I know not, says Selden, what to make of this passage, though I cannot judge of it by any manuscripts of him having none by me, yet I am forward to think *Cinque Pers* may be mispublished in him for *Cinquante Pers*, which does not notify any established but an accidental name only for those that sat with the King at that time.' A strange and remote conjecture, says Kennett, to make a plain thing seem intricate, for most certainly Froiffard's placing the King at the head table at the coronation Dinner, with the *Cinque Pers* at the second table, and the commonalty of London at the third, must intend the *Cinque Barons*, or the *Barons of the Cinque Ports*, who then had, and still have, that precedence of dining at every King's Coronation. The same author, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, p. 418, speaking of the revenues, which were formerly given out of the profits of the county, for the better support of the dignity of an Earl, convinces Selden in this *Treatise of the Titles of Honour* of a mistake, in asserting, that Hugo de Aldithly Earl of Gloucester, was not the first Earl, who by his creation-charter had this revenue granted him in lieu of the third penny out of the pleas of the county*.

[H] *Idolatry of the Ancient Syrians.*] The title is *De Diis Syris syntagmata duo*. It was wrote as a commentary upon all the passages of the Old Testament, where mention is made of any of the heathen gods, as Bel, Astaroth, &c. and therefore besides the Syrian, gives an account of the Arabian, Ægyptian, Persian, African, and European Idolatry. The first edition was all bought up in a few years, whereupon *Ludovicus de Dieu*, Professor of Hebrew at Leyden in Holland, wrote a letter to our author, desiring leave for Elziver to print another edition there; Mr Selden complied with the request (15), revised it, making some additions, and dedicated it to *Daniel Heinsius*, who assisted *de Dieu* in the care of the press. This second edition came out in 1629, 8vo. After this it was reprinted at Leipſe in 1668, 8vo. and again in 1672, by the same editor Andrew Boyer. Dr Richard Mountagu (16) charged Selden, with having stolen a great part of this book out of Peter Faber's *Semestres*, but he vindicated himself from that imputation in the preface to the second edition. Mr *Le Clerc* censures our author (17) for three mistakes common to him, he says, with other writers upon the idolatry of the ancient nations. First, that in treating of the history and deities of these nations, together with those writers who might know something of these matters, either by the advantage of the times and places of their living, or from the ancient histories, he cites the Rabbins as of equal authority, who 'tis well known had no ancient remains of the writers of their nation, except the Old Testament, and never read the heathen authors to inform themselves; but when they attempt to explain any place of the Old Testament, which alludes to the idolatry of the people bordering on the Jews, relate meer romantic stories, as if they were exactly true. Secondly, he taxes Selden, with perpetually confounding the gods of the Greeks with those of the barbarous nations, without making the least distinction. The third error, he says,

is, that Selden and others admit in some places, an allegorical meaning of the fables to represent under them certain mysteries. Dr Wilkins's edition has this advantage, that several additions are therein made from the author's manuscripts; among the rest he had some manuscript notes, by Henry James, given him by Dr Tanner, then Chancellor of Norwich, one of these was taken from Sir John Marſham's *Canon Chronicle*, p. 481, where mention being made of Selden's opinion, *de sorte fortunæ*, that Leali's acclamation, when she congratulates Zilpah's having born a child to Jacob, is to be understood of this *sors fortunæ*, in the sense of the astrologers: Sir John says, it does not suit with the age of the Patriarch, since there is no instance of the Syrian's art so ancient, unless we allow, with some, that all Mathematicks had their original in Seth. Again, in p. ii. c. 4 Selden says, the Mahometans borrowed their custom of dedicating the sixth day, Friday, to Venus from the Saracens, of which he makes a great doubt in lib. iii. c. 20. *de jure N. & G. apud Hebræos*; Dr Wilkins has likewise given us a curious letter from Selden (18), in answer to one from Ben Jonſon, inquiring into the true sense of that text in Deuteronomy xxii 5. *The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment*; which Mr Selden is of opinion does not relate to confounding of the dress peculiar to each sex, about their ordinary occasions; observing that the original is, *The woman shall not put on the armour of the man*; a practice much used by the Syrians and other neighbouring nations to the Jews, in their idolatrous worship of Mars and Venus, to which he says this prohibition refers. In the same letter, having given the state of this species of idolatrous practice among the Eastern nations, he excuses himself from entering into that of the Greeks and Romans, 'Mr Jonſon being, as he says, a perfect master of the most recondite parts of that learning.'

[I] *The state of the Jews in Purchas's pilgrimage.*] In this peice he observes, that the time when the Jews first came into England is uncertain; but that their condition was servile both before and after the Conquest; and it appears by the laws of the Confessor, that all they had was the king's right. In the 17th of Henry the Third, the *Domus Converterorum* [now the Rolls, in Chancery-lane] was built for the converts, their goods being then confiscate to the Crown. Their custom was to steal a young boy, whom they first circumcised, and then crucified him at Easter. That five Jews were dragged at horse tails, and hanged on gibbets, for this offence, in the reign of Henry the Third; and in the the thirty-ninth of the same reign eighteen of them were executed for the like offence. That the lands they held were subject to executions for debt, when other lands were not; so that particular judges were assigned to hear and determine their causes, *secundum leges & consuetudines Judaismi*, according to the laws and customs of Judaism. That in most cases, two Christians and two Jews were appointed public notaries, for signing all debts of contracts; which instruments were lodged in a chest, of which all four had each a different key. That they were expelled the kingdom for extortion and usury in the eighteenth of Edward the First. This tract is printed very defectuously in the *Pilgrimage*, as Dr Wilkins informs us, from Mr Prynne, who, in a piece intituled, *A short Demurrer to the Jews discontented Remitter*, observes, that our author complained much of it. What complaints soever he might make of that kind they did not hinder him from inscribing a copy of Greek verses in commendation of Mr Purchas's work (19); and the marginal notes in that work are cited by Gataker, as made by Selden (20).

(18) It is dated Feb. 28, 1615, and printed in the second volume of Selden's Works, p. 1690, & seq. from a copy communicated by Matth. Ha'e, Esq; of Alderly in Gloucestershire.

(19) It is a treatise, and is printed in the 2d volume of Selden's Works, by Wilkins, p. 1721.

(20) *Dissertatio de Nomine Tetragrammato*, among Gataker's *Opusculis Philosophicis*, printed in his *Opera Critica*, col. 35.

[K] *The*

† Historical Library.

§ C. 16. apud Anglum Sacram, Vol. 11. fol. 264.

* Before this book was finished at the press, our author fell dangerously ill of a fever, but was recovered by the assistance of Dr Fludd, which he gratefully acknowledges in the dedication.

(15) These Letters are prefixed to this edition.

(16) In his *Dialectice*, &c. p. 9.

(17) In *Bibl. Choicæ*, p. 82, & seqq.

over, by the interest of his friend Ben Jonson the poet, he was soon after prosecuted in the High-Commission-Court, and obliged in a solemn manner to acknowledge himself guilty of a fault, in publishing that History. The book was likewise suppressed, and he was restrained from printing any thing in defence of it [K]. In 1621, King James having,

[K] *The divine right of tithes.*] As our author's conduct had yet raised no suspicion of his disaffection to the Clergy, this piece, without any difficulty, obtained the licence from the Archbishop's chaplain; since he declares, in the preface, that it was not written to prove tithes are not due by divine right; or, that the laity may detain them, or still enjoy impropriations, nor at all against the maintenance of the Clergy. But, after it came out, being more diligently perused, it was presently observed, that though he had indeed, strictly speaking, given only the history of the authorities on each side, concerning that right, without making any absolute determination upon it; yet in weighing these authorities, he had managed it so, that every one might plainly see which way the balance turned in his hand; and that though he had cautiously forbore to decide the question himself, yet he had taught others to do it for him. Complaints being made of this to the King, Sir Robert Naunton, Secretary of State, brought him a summons, about the middle of December, to appear before his Majesty, then at Theobalds, in his return from Newmarket: being himself a stranger yet at Court, he got Ben Jonson and Edward Heyward, of Ruffam, in Norfolk, Esq; to introduce him. He staid three days at Theobalds, where his Majesty, among other things, objecting to an incidental passage in his book upon Christmas day; wherein he had intimated, that the 25th of December was not the true birth-day of our Saviour, as had been asserted in the Apostolical Constitutions; and being apprehensive, that the Presbyterians might make an ill use of it against the observation of that festival, desired Selden to write something further upon it. In obedience to his Majesty's request, he drew up his piece upon Christ's birth-day, and presented it to the King in a month's time (21); after hoping, as he says, his Majesty's anger was well pacified: but, in the latter end of this month, he was cited before some Lords of the High Commission, which occasioned the following act to be registered in that Court:

Vicesimo octavo die mensis Januarii, anno domini, juxta computationem ecclesie Anglicanæ, 1618, coram Reverendissimo in Christo Patre Domino Georgio, Providentia divina, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primate & Metropolitanano; Johanne London, Lancelot Winton (22), & Johanne Roffen, eadem providentia respectivo Episcopis; Johanne Bennet, Wilhelmo Bird, & Georgio Newman, Militibus in Manerio Episcopali apud Lambeth, in comitatu Surrey, judicialiter sedentibus, præsentè Thoma Mottershed, officiali dominorum contra Johannem Selden, de Interiori-Templo, London, Armigerum.

This day appeared personally, John Selden, Esq; and made his submission, all under his owne handwriting, touching the publication of his book, intituled, *The History of Tithes; sub tenore verborum sequente.*

My good Lords,
I most humbly acknowledge my errour, which I have committed, in publishing the History of Tithes; and especially in that I have at all, by shewing any interpretation of holy Scriptures, by meddling with Councils, Fathers, or Canons, or by what else soever occurs in it, offered any occasion of argument against any right of maintenance, *jure divino*, of the ministers of the Gospell; beseeching your Lordships to receive this ingenuous and humble acknowledgment, together with the unfeined protestation of my griefe, for that through it I have incurred both his Majesties and your Lordships displeasure conceived against mee in behalfe of the Church of England.

John Selden.

The same Court proceeded also in the same spirit, to prohibit the sale of the book; neither did the matter rest here. The following year, Sir James Sempil, a Scotch Knight, published a treatise, intituled, *Sacriledge sacredly handled*; in the appendix to

which, he takes our author's history to task. 'By his title, says he, and by his preface, he disclaims it to be written to prove, that tithes are not due by the law of God; wherefore, I have no reason to suspect, much less to account him an adversary to my position. The most is, he may doubt, (and so do many of great note) but he who ingenuously doubteth, may, when God pleaseth, find resolution (23)'. In proceeding, he makes it a remark, that Mr Selden hath given us *veram historiam*, as he found it recorded, *sed hæc ipsa historia, non est vera*, but leaves dangerous insinuations and prejudicial impressions on the *jus divinum* (24). In return to this, our author drew up a paper, which he called *The Admonition*; wherein he treats the Scotch Knight with great contempt (25). About this time, his Majesty being informed, that an answer to the history was preparing by Dr Richard Mountagu, he sent for Mr Selden, and acquainting him with Dr Mountagu's design, said these words, 'If thou presumest, either thy self, or by any of thy friends, to write any answer to that book, I will throw thee into prison.' Our author had also some discourse with the Marquis of Buckingham, upon this subject, at Greenwich; soon after which, he wrote a letter to that Minister (26), wherein he takes notice, that his Lordship had spoke of the great prejudice the Clergy had suffered by the publication of his book. 'I doubt not, says he, but both his Majestie and your Lordship have been moved only by information, to speak of any such prejudice; seek for an example of it, I dare venture the loss of my life, if any such can be produced.' The Marquis had also told him, that the Clergy alledged, that his whole book was written to no other purpose than to prove that tithes are not due, *jure divino*; to which he declares, that, in England, tithes are not recovered by that right; but I have, says he, delivered other mens conclusions for and against it, but have not judged of their reasons, nor made any resolution either way about them: this the Marquis, it seems, had pressed him to do, but he declined it, yet, so as sufficiently to intimate his opinion. Complaining of his Majesty's prohibition, he says, all that will, have liberty, (and some use it) to write and preach what they will against me, to abuse my name, my person, my profession, with as many falsehoods as they please, and my hands are tied: I must not so much as answer their calumnies. I am so far from writing more, that I have scarce ventured, for my own safety, so much as to say, they abuse me, though I know it. However, animadversions upon the history being published by Dr Tillesly, Archdeacon of Rochester (27); who, in the preface, took notice of the abovementioned submission; Mr Selden wrote an answer, several copies of which he dispersed among his friends, wherein he has these words: 'He tells you I made a submission in the Court of High Commission. That I was ever present in that Court, or called thither, as I live, it is more than I know; but I wonder not that the doctor should begin with playing false with you, it is common with him through the whole. I confess that I did most willingly acknowledge, not only before some Lords of the High Commission (not in the High Commission Court) but also to the Lords of his Majestie's Privy-Council, that I was most sorry for the publishing of that history, because it had offended; and his Majestie's most gracious favour towards me, received that satisfaction of the fault in so untimely printing it; and I profess still to all the world, that I am sorry for it; and so should I have been, if I had published a most orthodox catechism that had offended; but what is that to the doctrinal consequences of it, which the doctor talks of. Is there a syllable of it of less truth, because I was sorry for the publishing of it? Indeed, perhaps, by the doctor's Logic, there is; and just so might he prove, that there is more truth in his animadversions, because he was glad of the printing them, and because he hopes, as he says, that my submission hath cleared my judgment, touching the right of tithes. What dream made him hope so? There is not a word

(21) It was not printed till after his death, under the title of *God made Man: proving the Nativity of our Saviour to be on the 25th of December.* Lond. 1661, 8vo. with his picture before it.

(22) Our author in his *Vindiciae*, &c. says, this book displeased all the Bishops but Bishop Andrews, who was well pleased with it, as most agreeable to the received usage.

(23) P. 36.

(24) Ibid. p. 34.

(25) There is a MS. of this piece in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford; but that being imperfect, Dr Wilkins has printed it, from a corrected copy, in the hands of Joseph Moyle, of Abridge in Hampshire, brother to Walter Moyle, Esq; of whom an account may be seen in this work.

(26) It is dated May 5, 1620. and printed in the second volume of our author's Works, ubi sup.

(27) The title is, *Animadversions upon Mr Selden's History of Tithes, and the Review.*

having, in his speech to the Parliament, asserted that their privileges were originally grants from the Crown, Mr Selden was consulted by the House of Lords on that occasion, who gave his opinion in favour of the Parliament; which being dissolved in June, he was committed to the custody of the Sheriff of London, as a principal promoter of the famous protest made by the House of Commons, immediately before that dissolution (f). During this confinement, which lasted only five weeks [L], he prepared the *History of Radmer*

(f) King James was so much enraged at it, that he tore it out of their books with his own hands. Annals of the Reign of King James I. under this year.

of tithes in that submission more than in mentioning the title; neither was my judgment at all in question, but my publishing it, and this the doctor knows too, as I am assured: for the submission, he talks of, was through the favour of some of the Lords, (to whose noble regard towards me I owe all service) given by me in writing in some six lines, least by misreports of some such as the doctor is, I might be injured, by false relations of what I should speak only, and copies of it I dispersed into many hands; and I know the doctor hath seen one. In sum, I was and am sorry that I published it, and that I so gave occasion to others to abuse my history, by their false applications of some arguments; but there is not a passage in it, but that I ever did think and do now think to be most constant truth, as I have there delivered it.' An answer to Mr Selden, was published the same year by Dr Tillestry in a second edition of his *Animadversions*; before which (in the title page is) *in lieu of the two first chapters, purposely pretermitted, is premised a catalogue of seventy two authors before the years 1215, maintaining the jus divinam of tithes, or more, to be paid to the priesthood under the Gospel.* In the preface, he remarks Selden's prevarication, in distinguishing between making a submission to the Court, and in the Court; and then to answer even that shift produces a copy of the very act of the Court itself, as above. Dr Mountagu's learned performance came out likewise this year, 1621, intituled, *Diatriba upon the first part of the late history of tithes*, dedicated to the King. He begun his attack upon our author's strongest fort, and that which would most sensibly touch him; namely, his scholarship. In the introduction (23), addressed to Mr Selden, he writes thus, 'I can tell you, you are vehemently suspected to steal other men's children, and send them into the world for your own. Is all your own which your history representeth? I can say, no: it is as your syntagma *δεδιόν στυρηρίσμενον*, and you know what that is; if you will say it was not stolen, but borrowed, I will say so too, and confess it lawful so long as you profess *per quos profeceris*, in what place you had it and of whom. But to drive away, without leave, other men's cattle out of their grounds; for a man to employ or sell them in markets as his own, to alter or embezzle the marks of them, as Sisyphus and Autolyceus used of old, to draw them backward into dens and caves with Cacus by the tails; and last of all, which is worst of all, to deny them upon enquiry and demand; this is not thrift, but theft, that is, as I take it, flat felony; is it not so in law? Yet well fare a little ingenuity at last. You profess yourself beholden to Mr Allen, of Gloucester-Hall; you are very much; and you acknowledged it unto that worthy gentleman, Sir Robert Cotton (29); you could not but profess this, because it was apparent, that you owed much unto his excellent library, that magazine of Antiquity; and do you not owe much also to his pains, as well as to his books? I do but ask you the question, who did mark out, with black lead, in his manuscripts, all places, concerning tithes, with one mark, as other passages with another.' In the same vein, the doctor suggests his taking, at second hand, passages from Plutarch in Lucullo, and in Camillo Diodorus Siculus, lib. v.; and Herodotus in Clio; of Xenophon and Pliny, from Dr Carleton's book of tithes; besides, continues he, you are to be taxed deeply for dealing ungentely and unthankfully with your much admired, and almost deified, Joseph Scaliger, your whole discourse of Jewish tithing is transfused out of his *Diatriba*, even the very instances and examples are the same. Likewise, in the body of the work (30), he keeps up the same strain 'Good counsel, says he, was given you, before you meddled with the history of tithes, not to begin it, by a friend of your's and mine, in Somersetshire, which you would not follow (31).' This last stroke is evidently in return to our author's alleging in his

preface, that his book had been shewn to, and approved by, men of the best learning, and even such as were (as he terms them) *Decimatissimi*. The other repartees are given to be even with him for reproaching the Clergy with their ignorance; as if they had nothing but beard, title, and habit; as also for the character which he gives of his piece, that it was drawn from originals never before shewn. He speaks very slightly, without naming them, of all that had gone before him upon this subject. These were, 1. *The anatomy of Anania's and Sapphira's Sacrilege*, by Robert Gostwicke, 1616, 4to. 2. *The Writers of the Gospel say, Tithes are due to the Ministers of the Word by that Word*, by Foulke Roberts, B. D. Camb. 1613, 4to. 3. *Tithes examined and proved to be due by Divine Right*, by George Carleton, 1611, 4to. 4. Bishop Andrews also had written to prove the same in his tract, *de Decimis*, printed among his works (32). Bishop Kennett, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, says, this tract least deserves Selden's name. But Dr Thomasin (33), declares, that he was the first that left off trifling upon this subject, *primus qui hic desipere desit*; and he received the following letter from Dr Langbain, in relation to it, to this purpose, 'That although the learned world differed about the divine right of tithes, yet the legal right was greatly strengthened by what he had said: some, whose fears led them thereto, inquired of me, what I thought of this legal right; to whom I had no better answer, than to send them to your History of Tithes; this will seem strange to them, but I make no doubt, but that work, which has greatly destroyed the divine right, will build up the legal right most firmly; and if that should be allowed to be the principal design of that book, I should not despair of it's meeting with good success.* The three first chapters of this History were turned into Latin, by Mr Le Clerc, and inserted in his Commentaries upon the Pentateuch, with corrections.

[L] Lasted only five weeks.] After some time, he sent to Bishop Williams, then Lord-Keeper, desiring his interest with the Marquis of Buckingham, with which he readily complied, and dispatched Mr Selden's letter inclosed in one to that favourite, wherein, having first applied for the release of the Earl of Southampton, committed to his own custody, he proceeds thus: 'Now poor Mr Selden falls to the same letter of mercy, and humbly petitions your Lordship's mediation and furtherance. He and the world take notice of that favour your Lordship hath ever afforded my motions; and myself, without the motion of any, do so address my language to intreat for him. The which I do the more boldly, because, by his letter inclosed, he hath absolutely denied, that ever he gave the least approbation of that power and judicature lately usurped by the House of Commons. My Lord, the man hath excellent parts, which may be diverted from an affectation of pleasing idle people, to do some good and useful service to his Majesty. He is but young, and it is the first offence that ever he committed against the King. I presume, therefore, to leave him to your Lordship's mercy and charity.' Accordingly; says Dr Hacket (34), he was released by the next packet, that came from the Court in progress. Our author's own account of this matter is very agreeable to this letter; he tells us, that after five weeks imprisonment, he was sent for to Court; where, coming before the King, he was examined by some of the Council, and asked particularly, what power the Parliament had without the King? Bishop Andrews, being present, stood his friend against that ensnaring question, and further assured his Majesty, that he had been falsely accused. This seems to be the ground of attributing his discharge, as some do (35), to this last Bishop, without mentioning the former, which perhaps did not occur to those writers. This letter of Bishop Williams helps to explain Selden's meaning; where he suggests, that when he was sent for by the Parliament, he spoke freely, as well in defence of the prerogative, as of their

(28) P. 23, 24.

(29) This is in the dedication of Selden's book to that gentleman.

(30) P. 227.

(31) See more of this in Dr Mountagu's article, in this Work. Mr Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, has given an abstract of Selden's History, and Mountagu's answer to it.

(32) P. 106.

(33) In Dissertat. de decimis, in additamentum observationum selectarum ad rem literarum spectantium, or the Supplement to the Observations Hallenses.

* Ex Lelandi Collectaneis, Append. I. p. 291.

(34) Life of Bishop Williams, p. 69.

(35) Vindicæ, &c. p. 1443. in the second volume of his Works, by Wilkins.

(g) *Vindiciae*, &c. p. 1426. in ad vol. of his Works, by Wilkins.

(b) *Ib.* p. 1427.

(i) Wilkins's *Life of our author*, as before.

Eadmer for the press (g), and it was published in 1623 [M], in folio, with a dedication to the Lord Keeper Williams; wherein he gratefully acknowledges that Bishop's favour, in procuring his releasement. He was chosen Member of Parliament for Lancaster on the 12th of February the same year; but there happening no occurrence which called for his profound knowledge in the constitution of his country, he stuck close to his books, not suffering the divisions of the times to interrupt him in the pursuit of his darling studies (b). In the same humour, he obstinately refused to comply with an order of the society of the Inner Temple, appointing him Reader at Lyon's-Inn in 1624 [N]. In the next Parliament that was called the following year, upon the accession of King Charles the First to the Throne, Mr Selden was returned a Burgess for Great-Bedwin in Wiltshire (i). In this Parliament, he declared himself warmly against the Duke of Buckingham; and in the ensuing Parliament, which was called the next year, 1626, being elected again for the same borough, he was first chosen of the committee for drawing up articles of impeachment against that Minister, and afterwards appointed one of the managers for the House of Commons at his tryal [O]. After the Parliament was dissolved, the King being

(36) Dr Wilkins does so, and is therein followed by the General Dictionary; tho' Wood gives the honour where it is due, to Williams.

(37) *History of England*, Vol. IX. p. 502. edit. 1729, 8vo.

(38) Reply to Dr Tillesley.

(39) This author's merit is, that he was both a spectator and an actor in the transactions which he relates, from anno 1666 to ann. 1122.

† In p. 1664. of the notes upon *Eadmer*, Selden has given a copy of the contest at Pinnedene, betwixt Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and Otho Bishop of Bath; concerning which the reader will find more in Hale's *Dissert. Episc.* p. 7. and a correct copy of this conference is given by Dugdale, in *Origines Juridicales*; and by Henry Wharton, in *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 334. Again, in p. 1683. Selden makes Godwin, when he wrote *De Praesulibus*, to be Bishop of Landaff, whereas he was only then Subdean of Exeter, and was made a Bishop by Queen Elizabeth upon writing that book.

(40) So the meetings of the Masters of the Bench in the Inner Temple are called.

their privileges (36). Dr Wilkins tells us, he complained then, that the King's mind was alienated from his Parliament, by his courtiers; I wish he had given us his vouchers for it. Rapin observes, that this attempt of King James, to stretch the prerogative, increased the number of State-Puritans, as he calls them, greatly, which was inconsiderable before the dissolution of this Parliament; and that, joining with the Church-Puritans, they became formidable (37). Among the former, he reckons Mr Selden as a principal one. However, that be, 'tis certain, he very much abhorred the principles of the latter. For, when Dr Tillesley charged him with some Puritanical conceits, he very briskly answers, he hopes that was not pointed to him; 'For, says he, I was never yet, I trust, either mad enough or fool enough to deserve that name (38).'

[M] *Eadmer was published in 1623.*] In the dedication, after speaking of the odium raised against him on account of his *History of Tithes*, in such a manner as must be grounded upon a knowledge, that his patron thought with him upon that subject, he expresses his gratitude to Williams in these terms: *Non modo insigni benignitate, atque ea opportunissime prius fere quam tibi omnino innotescerem, in summis primæ reipublicæ fastigiis positus me obstrinxisti, sed fronte etiam continenter exporrocto variatim, Et perpetuo mihi non defuisti, etiamnum accumulare gratuito.* The title of this piece is, *Spicilegium in Eadmeri vi libros historiarum*; consisting of explanatory notes upon that author, whose obscurity had before buried him in oblivion (39). It was reprinted in 1673, at the end of the life of St Anselm. Dr Nicolson observes, that the laws of the Conqueror are here wretchedly translated. But these were afterwards published more correctly, by Sir Henry Spelman. Then Abram Wheelock, Professor of Arabic, at Cambridge, published them with Selden's Latin version, in *sua Archaionomia*. The editor of the manuscript of the Croyland Monastery added them to his work without a version, p. 88. Nath. Bacon wrote a commentary upon them, in his *Discourse historical, of the uniformity of the government of England*, part i. cap. 50, 51, 52. They were published by Dr Brady, with an English version, in his introduction to the old English history †. Lastly, a new edition was given of them by Dr David Wilkins, in his edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws.

[N] *He refused to read at Lyons-inn.*] This is entered in the register of the Inner-Temple, under Michaelmas term, that year, as follows: 'Whereas an order was made at the Bench-table this term, since the last Parliament (40); and entered into the Buttery-Book in these words:

' Jovis 21 die Octobris, 1624.
' Memorandum, That whereas John Selden, Esq;
' one of the Utter-Barristers of this House, was in
' Trinity term last chosen Reader of Lyon's-inn, by
' the Gentlemen of the same House, according to the
' order of the house; which he then refused to take
' upon him, and perform the same, without some
' sufficient cause or good reason, notwithstanding
' many courteous and fair persuasions and admonitions
' by the Masters of the Bench made to him; for
' which cause, he having been twice convented be-
' fore the Masters of the Bench, it was then ordered,

' that there should be a *ne recipiatur* entered-upon
' his name, which was done accordingly; and in
' respect the Bench was not then full, the further
' proceedings against him were respited until this term.
' Now, this day, being called again to the table, he
' doth absolutely refuse to read; the Masters of the
' Bench, taking into consideration his contempt and
' offence; and for that it is without precedent, that
' any man elected to read in Chancery has been dis-
' charged in like case, much less has with such
' wilfulness refused the same; have ordered that he
' presently pay to this House the sum of twenty pounds
' fine, and that he stand and be disabled ever to be
' called to the Bench or to be a Reader of this House.
' Now at this Parliament the said order is confirmed.
' And it is further ordered, that if any of this House,
' who shall hereafter be chosen to read in Chancery,
' shall refuse to read, every such offender shall be
' fined, and be disabled to be called to the Bench, or
' to be a Reader of this House.'

However, in Michaelmas term, 1632, it was ordered, that 'Mr Selden shall stand enabled and be capable of any preferment in the House, in such a manner as other Utter-Barristers of this House are, to all intents and purposes, any former act of Parliament to the contrary notwithstanding.' Accordingly, he was called to the Bench in Michaelmas term following.

[O] *One of the managers against the Duke of Bucks.*] Six articles being brought in against him by Dr Samuel Turner, they were explained by our author, as well as Sir Thomas Wentworth and William Noy. At last, it being voted that common fame was sufficient to ground an impeachment upon; May 8, 1626, the Commons sent up thirteen articles to the Lords; of which Selden had the defence of the fourth and fifth. They related to the discharge of his office of Lord-High-Admiral; as first, for not guarding the seas. In proving this to belong to the office of Lord-High-Admiral, he takes notice, that the seas of England and Ireland are part of the demesne and possessions of the Crown of England; and that thereby, the Admiral had not only jurisdiction, as in the case of the Admirals of France and Spain, but asserts, that the laws of the States of Genoa, Catalonia, and other maritime parts of Spain; as also the maritime towns of Germany, Zealand, Holland, Friesland, Denmark, Norway, and divers other parts of the Empire, shew that the kings of England, by reason that their said realm hath used, time out of mind, to be in peaceable possession of the seas of England and of the islands belonging to them; and altho', says he, Grotius, the Hollander, writes of purpose to destroy all dominion in the Eastern ocean, yet he speaks nothing against the dominion of our English seas; however, he hath been misrepresented, but expressly elsewhere saith, *Meta Britannicis littora sunt oris.* The utmost limits of the dominions of the Crown of England are the shores of the neighbouring countries. The whole seas, or the *territorium maximum* that intervenes, being a parcel of the possessions of the Crown of England. That before the title of Admiral came in, these were called *Custodes Maris*, whose duty consists, 1. In certifying yearly to the King's Council, the names of the King's ships, and also of those of the Merchants, with the number of mariners in each. 2. To shew the wants for these services, and to give in estimates for

being advised to impose a loan by virtue of his prerogative, Mr Selden was very active in opposing that measure, prevented the printing of Dr Sibthorp's sermon in defence of it [P], and November 22, 1627, and pleaded at the King's-Bench as Counsel for Mr Hampden [Q], who had been imprisoned for refusing to submit to it. In the third Parliament of King Charles the First, our author sat as one of the representatives a second time for Lancaster (k), when he had a principal share in all the leading steps towards preparing and establishing the famous *Petition of Right* [R]; which being granted, and a prorogation ensuing

(41) So he says himself in his *Vindictæ*, tho' Dr Wilkins tells us, he was returned for Ludgerhall in Wiltshire.

for a supply. 3. To go himself upon great occasions to sea. He then proceeds to estimate the greatness of the Duke's offence, by the consequences of it; which were, 1. The losses sustained by the Merchants. 2. The weakness of the naval strength. 3. The neglect of chivalry not regarded nor rewarded. 4. The decay of trade. 5. The loss of the quiet possession of so large a territory as the seas of England and Ireland, by the free use of which the ancient glory and greatness of the Crown of England hath so constantly subsisted. He concludes, with giving instances of the Parliament's jurisdiction in these matters. The consequences he observes, besides the damage of the Merchants, and the discouragements to those that are subject to the marine jurisdiction, that it tends to place an absolute authority in the Admiral, without law or legal course, over the ships and goods of all Merchants whatsoever (41); and instances in the Duke of Suffolk, who being adjudged in Parliament for treason, in Edward the Sixth's time, it was alledged, among other things, that he took to his own use goods piratically taken, and expressly against an order by the Lord Protector, and of the whole Council, whereunto his hand had been set for the restitution of them.

(41) The fifth article against the Duke was, the staying the ship called Peter of Newhaven, and detaining part of her cargo. This he pleads to be against all laws marine of common merchants, and therefore against the law of nations.

[P] *He hindered the printing of Sibthorp's sermon.* This famous sermon being preached at the assizes at Northampton, February 22, 1626; the author first offered it to Archbishop Abbot for a licence, and being refused, he applied to the Bishop of London, whole chaplain, Dr Worrall, a man of great learning, signed an *imprimatur*; but before he returned it to the party, he sent the sermon, with a letter, to Selden, desiring his opinion of it. Selden having perused the sermon, and not caring to give his opinion in writing, sent for Worrall, and said to him, 'What have you done here? You have given your approbation to a book full of errors; which if they were true, there could be no *meum & tuum* in England, no body could have any property; and upon a change of the times, when the past transactions will be brought under examination, you will certainly be hanged for this *imprimatur*.' The other then asking him, in a fright, what could be done, since his name was actually set to it; Selden advised him to be at the pains of erasing his name so perfectly that no traces of it might be discernible; which was done accordingly, and the sermon was not printed 'till 1628 (42).

(42) Life, by Dr Wilkins.

[Q] *He was counsel for Mr Hampden.* In his speech on this occasion, our author observes, among other things, that if *Magna Charta*, cap. xxix. was fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he does. The law says expressly, no free man shall be imprisoned without due process of law; the words are *secundum legem terræ*; by which must be meant, either by presentment or indictment; for without that interpretation, the free man will have no privilege above the villain, which both the King and the Barons had, and could imprison for it; but if I imprison another man's villain, that villain may have an action of false imprisonment against me.

(43) This is the second of his speeches in Vol. III. of his Works, by Wilkins, and contains four leaves.

[R] *Leading steps to the petition of right.* Before the meeting of this Parliament, our author made a long speech or argument concerning the *Habeas Corpus* (43); and upon the assembling of the Parliament, March 17, 1727, when the debates upon the imprisonment of Hampden and others begun in the House, March 25, 1628, he got up in great warmth, saying, I rise not to make an argument in this point, the greatest that ever was in this place or elsewhere. He then observes, that the liberties of the subject had been violated in other instances, but never, he was confident, had been adjudged before, that upon any commitment of the King and Council, no enlargement can be. I do desire, says he, that some of the King's Counsel

may speak what they can, to satisfy us of the power (44). This being done by the Solicitor General, on the twenty-seventh, our author, the next day, made a reply, wherein he took notice, that, in speaking of the judgements given in the King's-Bench, the precedents are said to be mis-cited; let a sub-committee search into judgments and precedents. I heard here a *quousque*, and there is nothing but a *remittitur*. The course of the officer is to enter *quousque*, &c. and that is, 'till they be delivered by law, and is all the judgment that can be. Upon this a sub-committee was appointed, and he was chosen chairman; and upon his reporting to the House, that in the precedents relating to *Habeas Corpus* they found only a *remittitur*; those resolutions were made which are printed in Rushworth (45). In the debate upon confinement, April 2, Selden spoke thus: 'For the liberties already concluded (which are the chief) let us determine how we shall right ourselves in them; for confinement is different from imprisonment, and it is against the law, that any should be confined to his house or elsewhere. Every Christide many are confined to their houses by proclamation, this will be taken for a law. I know not what you call a punishment, but that there is some ground of it, or mention in acts of Parliament, law books, or records, but for this I find none. Also, it is a punishment itself. *Bracton*, p. 36. *lib. de corona*; speaking of abjuration, saith that *exilium est triplex, certorum locorum interdictio, sive villæ, vel comitatus, &c.* So it is with him a banishment. In 35 of Eliz. there was then a desire of this House to confine recusants, and they petitioned the Queen about it; but that was not held a safe way, but they made a law for it. In all the questions stirred among us, we cannot better determine them, than by comparing ourselves to *villains*. A *villain regardant* must not be out of his lord's manor, 22 Hen. VI. 31. but *liber homo est qui potest ire quo vult**, saith the book of *Domesday*. Jews were confined to certain places, as here in London to the Old Jewry. So Civilians have perpetual prisons and coercive prisons, upon judgments in court, and *carcer domesticus*, and that is in English confinement. Madmen may be confined. Upon which it was ordered, that no person should be confined in his house or elsewhere. This was succeeded by another question, concerning the violation of the property of goods by deputy-lieutenants. Sir Thomas Wentworth calling for the question to determine this article, Selden said, I am glad to hear we are so nigh the question, but we are near a mistake; no man doth this but as deputy-lieutenant, he is but deputy to the lord-lieutenant, and his authority is derived from him. Those people who are deputy-lieutenants have orders of direction from their lords. After these debates it was resolved, that neither the King, nor any of his ministers, could impose a tax, or tribute, or subsidy, upon the people, without consent of Parliament. Thursday April 3, in the debate upon the employment of the subject in foreign services (46), Selden observed, that there were three courses for levying forces, (1.) By calling them together who were bound to serve upon tenure. (2.) By sending to those who by covenant were engaged to serve the King. (3.) By this new way of pressing. Upon the first way he observes, that the Conqueror gave 6000 knights fees, at 20 *l.* a year each, to have armed men by their tenure, which he would not have done, if he could have compelled men by his prerogative. These were obliged to serve the King upon any occasion within the kingdom, but no man is to go out of his country but for defence of the realm. (2.) For the point of covenant with the King to serve him in his wars, those only were obliged who held by tenure. The King's right of summoning them to go out of the realm, upon any other occasion, was contested in Edward the Third's time. The Parliament declared against it. This was the way of raising forces from Edward II. to Henry VIII. The barons

(44) On the 27th he made a speech upon the same subject; 'tis the third speech, ubi supra.

(45) Vol. V. p. 513.

* i. e. He is a free man who can go where he pleases.

(46) Some of the inferior sort of persons were pressed for soldiers, for refusing to pay the loan imposed this year by the King.

and

(1) He passed the summer there. Dedication to his *Liber de Successionibus*, &c.

ensuing in June, he retired to Wrest in Bedfordshire, a seat of the Earl of Kent's (1); where, during this recess of Parliament, he put the last hand to his *Commentaries upon the Arundelian*

and great men could raise 1000 men at any time. (3.) For pressing one may tell whence it came. When covenants were in use, the great men could raise armed men; but when these great mens greatness ended, then their officers began to press. There is not a word in any statute of any soldiers being pressed or sent away by compulsion, and so then the law knew no pressing. Upon the votes of the Lower House being sent to the Upper House, several conferences between the two Houses ensuing, our author made a speech at the first of these; and April 7, he made a long speech, touching personal liberty, out of precedents, records, and resolutions of Judges in former times. Upon this affair, one Kirton declared, that the Earl of Suffolk had said, Selden deserved to be hanged for erasing publick instruments, and promoting sedition. To which Selden said, 'As for erasing records, I hope no man believes I ever did it; I cannot guess what the lord means. I did deliver in whole copies of divers records, examined by myself and divers other gentlemen of this House. These I delivered into the Lords House, and the Clerk of the Crown brought in the records of the office before the Lords. I desire that it may be a message from this House to the Lords at the Bar, to make out a charge against the Lord that spoke this, and I hope we shall have justice.' This was done, but his Lordship denied the words. April 14, when the King's orders and instructions, about the right of arms, were publickly read in the House, Selden said, this matter is of the greatest consequence of any that we have yet meddled with. This concerns our lives. We find the Justices dare not meddle with the law, by reason of these commissions. The commission concerns soldiers, and all dissolute persons that meddle with them. He made several speeches upon this argument, in the debates that were held about it (47). May 14, in the debate about prosecuting Dr Mainwaring, for his sermon, intituled *Religion and Loyalty*; it being moved in the committee, that an information should be lodged against him, Mr Pym alledged, that this might create a dispute between the two Houses. Selden said, we cannot fitly go otherwise than by the Lords; this is a temporal crime, to have Parliaments thus scandaled in pulpits. To go by bill I do not think fit. In such cases there was never any bill of attainder. In Henry the VIth's and Edward the IVth's time, many attainders were; but in the bills, time was given to the party to come in, or else to stand attainted. He may be fetched from the Convocation into the Lords House, and there answer for himself, and then there may be a bill of attainder. Upon this question, May 16, a bill was proposed for restraining the tumults which might arise from ministers of God's word; When Sir Henry Martyn was for maintaining the privileges of the Clergy, and quoting *Magna Charta* for them, Selden said, as for *Magna Charta*, the Church has many liberties, but these liberties, by many acts of Parliament, are lessened and varied. All Clergymen were not to be tried by the Laity, for any offence under treason; as for that, that ministers must be under lay jurisdiction, they were ever in part, and, since the 2d of Hen. VIII. have been totally. As for the points of scandal, we do but the same as the canons, and all councils in former times, did. We have titles *de concubinato Episcoporum, & de ebrietate eorum*; but I think the bill is not to pass. May 20, an emendation being offered to the Petition of Right, concerning the oath *ex officio*, Mr Selden explained how that oath was unlawful, thus: This oath is not lawful. No new oath is lawful, that is not warranted by the common law, or by act of Parliament, the ground of this appears, by a resolution in the Queen's time, that Under-Sheriffs did take oaths; but it was resolved they could not, till the statute was made of 13 Eliz. 1. That Judges of Assize may take assizes and oaths in time of Lent and Advent, because before that they could not. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14. against heresies, it is said to be against justice and equity, that any man should suffer without accusation and witnesses. It was never heard of, that at the first dash a man should be put to his oath, without accusation or witness. May 21. upon the question about the clause added to the Petition of Right by Bishop Williams (48), Selden having shewn, by many instances, that such a clause was

unprecedented, and would render the whole petition frustrate, continues to answer the arguments urged in it's favour, thus: For this [saving of the King's sovereignty] it was objected, that in the 28th of Edw. I. in the end of *articuli super chartas*, which was a confirmation of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*, there is a clause, *savant le droit & signory*. The words are extant in that roll that is now extant, but but the original roll is not extant. In the bill there was no *savant*, but it was put in afterwards; and to prove this, it is true there is no parliament-roll of that year, yet we have histories of that kind. In the library at Oxford, there is a journal of a Parliament of that very year, which mentions as much. Also in the publick library of Cambridge, there is a manuscript that belonged to an abbey, 'tis also of the same year; it mentions the parliament, and the petition, and *articulos quos petierunt, sic confirmaverat Rex, ut in fine adderet salvo jure coronæ Regis*, and it came by a proclamation so in London. When the people heard this clause added in the end, they fell into execrations for that addition, and the great Earls that went away satisfied from the Parliament, hearing of this, went to the King, and after it was cleared at the next Parliament. Now there is no Parliament-roll of this of that time. Only in one roll, at the end of Edw. III. there is a roll that recites not the Parliament bill, but the statute that was the effect of the roll that was proclaimed. June 5, a message being sent from the King, requiring them not to enter upon any new business, Selden made several warm speeches against the Duke of Bucks, of which the following is an extract. Let a declaration be drawn under four heads. (1.) Let us express our dutiful carriage towards his Majesty. (2.) Of our liberties that are violated. (3.) To present what the purpose of the House was to have dealt in. (4.) To preserve our assurance, that that great person, fearing himself to be questioned, did interpose himself, and cause the distraction. All this time, we have cast a mantle upon what was done last Parliament; but now being driven again to look on that man, let us proceed with that which was then well begun (49). Ye know the charge that was last Parliament, to which he made an answer; but the particulars were sufficient to demand judgment on that answer only. This debate held to the 14th of June, when Selden put the finishing hand to the resolution which was taken, of petitioning his Majesty against him, in these words. As for the last clause, concerning our grievances, it is certain that the power of the Duke is the cause of all this evil. Now we offer it, whether it be fit for so much power to be in one hand; but all here refer it to the excess of his power; let us mention the abuse of his power, and pray that this man may be removed from his Majesty. June 18, there happened a debate, whether the goods of bastards dying intestate belonged to the King. Selden having seconded Sir Edward Coke against this prerogative, alledged, among other things, It is a prerogative I know attempted, but all men may be questioned by it; and then having shewn, that the instances alledged in favour of it, extend only to the King's servants and accompants, he concludes thus: This prerogative is fetched from beyond sea. In France, the King hath the goods of men intestate that are bastards. He observes on this occasion, that bastard was originally not a term of reproach, and that King William the Conqueror, a bastard from a mother whose name was Arlot, gave rise to the appellative word harlot, i. e. strumpet. June 21, Edmund Sawyer, Knt. a member of the House, being found to have exacted a rate of 12d. a pound, against the goods of one Dawes, Selden spoke thus: I find these two things, (1.) His offence to the commonwealth; that is, his project, as far as he could, to double the book of rates. (2.) A scandal of his offence to this House, to plot beforehand, that we might not know the truth; let it be reported to the House; let us commit him to the Tower, and turn him out of the House; 'tis subornation; let him also stand for ever disabled to sit here. Our jurisdiction here extends to the members of our own House, to maintain the privileges of the House, we can fine as well as the lords; and as they disable Lords from sitting there, so can we disable any member of our House from sitting here.

(49) The King had sent a message to that Parliament, asserting the Duke's innocence of his own certain knowledge; and it was dissolved during his tryal. General Histories of England, under that year.

(47) Viz. April 15, 19, 22, 26, and May 7. They are all printed by Wilkins, ubi supra.

(48) See his article.

June

Arundelian Marbles [S]. In the next sessions, he continued among the warmest of the members in opposition to the Court [T], and joined vigorously in the remarkable protestation that was made by the House of Commons, while the Speaker was held by force in the chair, and the doors locked [U]: soon after which he was committed to the Tower by an order of the Privy-Council, and his study sealed up, March 24th, 1628. Here he was kept a close prisoner for three months [W], but magnificently supported at the King's expence: and being afterwards allowed the use of such books as he desired, he proceeded in his studies. On the third of October, 1629, a demand being made of security for his good behaviour, upon a proposal of the Judges to discharge him (m), he steadily rejected that proposition, as entirely unwarranted by Law; and continuing immovable in that resolution, he was, in pursuance of his own suit at the King's Bench, in Hilary term, 1629, removed to the prison of that Court, where he remained above a year (n), but had the liberty of going abroad in the day-time, observing the common rules of that prison. It was at this time that he wrote his piece, *De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti, secundum Leges Hebræorum* [X]; and he was now prosecuted in the Star-Chamber, for dispersing a libel,

(m) At Serjeant's Inn in Fleetstreet, Mr Selden taking notice they had been 3 months in close confinement, the Chief-Justice told him, it might become 8 years if they did not submit.

(n) The King sent his Chaplain Morley to suggest to him, that upon a petition he might be discharged.

June 24, in the famous debate upon tonnage and poundage, Selden spoke as follows: The King's Counsel objected, that it was granted time out of mind to the King. I fear his Majesty is told so, and some body doth ascertain him so; but we may clear that, and shew how far it is from truth. As for 1 Eliz. it was so also in 1 Jac. but the words time out of mind are, that *subereas Henry VII. and other your progenitors, have had some subsidies for the guarding of the seas; there was never a King but had some subsidies, and so in that sense it is indeed time out of mind. This is a matter of free gift: for publick bills, the King saith, Le Roy le veut; for petitions of right, soit fait comme il est desire. For the bill of subsidy, it is thus; the King heartily thanks his subjects for rheir good wills. In all the bills for tonnage and poundage, it is the same answer save one, which was the 1st of Elizabeth; and, but for that only mistake of the clerk, it hath ever had the same assent as the bill of subsidies.* Upon the 26th of June the Parliament was prorogued.

* All these extracts of our author's speeches are printed from a MS. of Mr Pym, by Wilkins.

[S] *Arundelian Marbles.* Selden was recommended to this work by his friend Sir Robert Cotton, to the Earl of Arundel, who had brought these excellent antique monuments from Constantinople the year before, and placed them in his house and gardens in the Strand: so that our author in this book gave a new treasure to the learned world, which no doubt was the principal motive for his undertaking it. But the edition being found very faulty, after these monuments were removed to Oxford, another edition of them was printed by order of that University, and a third has been since printed by Michael Mattaire, Gent. (50). Selden's mistakes were severely censured by Tho. Lydiat, which, Mr Wood tells us, so much provoked our author, that when Lydiat was afterwards thrown into jail for a debt contracted by being bound for a relation, he refused to contribute any thing towards his discharge †.

(50) See Humphry Prideaux's article.

† Athen. Oxon. Vol II. under Lydiat's article.

[T] *He appeared warm against the Court.* Feb. 12, complaining of the restraint put upon them, in selling books against Popery and Arminianism; and as the liberty of the press depended on a decree of the Star-Chamber only, Selden promoted the petition of the Printers, and proposed that a law might be made about it; otherwise, he said, the Printers and Booksellers might, by virtue of that decree, be fined, imprisoned, and any ways ill used, contrary to the liberties of the subject. This was chiefly levelled at Archbishop Laud, who had the chief hand in these decrees (51).

(51) As appears by his article.

[U] *Protestation, while the Speaker was held in the chair.* While the cause of Chambers, a member of the House, was before the Star-Chamber, Selden furnished them with a precedent for imprisoning the Sheriff of London, for that seizure. He said, indeed, he did not remember where one of the Sheriffs was imprisoned, but he did where they both were, upon Roll's complaint. Feb. 10, he said, if there be any near the King, that doth misrepresent our actions, let the curse light on him, not on us. I believe it is high time to vindicate ourselves in this cause, else it is in vain for us to sit here. Upon this speech, a committee was appointed; and, on Feb. 22, after a long and warm debate, a motion being made, to vote any such seizure to be a breach of privilege, the Speaker refused to put the question, saying, that it was contrary to the King's command. Mr Selden said, Dare you not, Mr Speaker, put the question, when we command you? If you will not put it, we must sit still. Thus we shall never be

able to do any thing. They that come after, they may say they have the King's command not to do it. We sit here, by the command of the King, under the Great Seal; and you are by his Majesty, sitting in his royal chair before both Houses, appointed for our Speaker, now you refuse to do your office. After which, the Speaker being held in the chair, and the doors locked, the protestation was read (52).

(52) For this, and more of this affair, we must refer to Mr Hampden's article.

[W] *Close prisoner for three months.* About a fortnight after his commitment, the Earls of Arundel, Dorset, and Manchester were sent with the Attorney to examine him more strictly, and objecting to him some words spoken again the King's right to tonnage, he gave such an answer, that the Earl of Dorset, always his friend, told him, he hoped he would be released, but was deceived; and in the Easter holidays, instead of an *Habeas Corpus*, which they pleaded for, it was hindered by a letter from his Majesty, ordering the Lieutenant of the Tower to detain them in close custody, for a notable contempt (those are the words) *against us.* This being sent to the Judges, they were remanded to prison, May 7; they remained close prisoners 'till the latter end of November, when they were suffered to walk about the Tower; which Selden says he imagines was done to save expence, for they were, 'till this time, magnificently entertained at the King's charge*.

* *Vindiciæ*, p. 1430.

[X] *De Successionibus, &c.* This piece is dedicated to Dr Laud, then Bishop of London, whose library, he acknowledges, was of great help to him in it; and in the prologomena † he professes his opinion against the Fanatics, that the only true way of interpreting scripture is by the Fathers; *Cordatiore Christianorum qui ecclesiæ Romanæ renunciarunt, idque ob compluria in ea sancita seu sententias repertas quæ sibi visa sunt divinæ contraria sine prudenti præscarum ejusce ecclesiæ historiaram, annalium, Patrum, Conciliorum, Canonum, sententiarum receptarum, usus forensis, id genus aliorum delectu, suam formari noluerunt. Et qui morose hæc & delectum hujusmodi respiciunt, sui duntaxat ingenii vi sacras literas temere explicantes, ridiculis atque impiis pacem Christianam novationibus perturbare solere passim videmus.* In libro de successione in Pontificatum primo, cap. xii. he gives it as his opinion, that by the High-Priest mentioned in the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, is not understood the High Priest properly, but the Prince or Ruler of the Synagogue; and that when mention is made of two High-Priests at the same time, it is to be understood of those Rulers. This passage is attacked by Dr Hody, in his *Case of Sees vacant by unjust or uncanonical Deprivation, stated.* 'I deny, says he (53), Selden's conjecture

† P. xiv. in the 2d volume of Wilkins's edition of our author's Works in 1726.

(53) P. 34. edit. 1693.

' to be true; and against it I offer the following conclusions, 1. Neither Josephus nor any of the Jewish writers any where tell us, that the High-Priests, properly so called, were deprived by the Romans of their power and authority in juridical matters, and confined to the offices of the temple. Selden does not pretend to the authority of any writer; and had there been any such thing, Josephus would certainly not have failed to have mentioned it; especially, since he mentions, that in such and such parts of Judæa there were courts of judicature erected by the Romans. 2. Josephus is so far from warranting any such opinion, that he speaks, throughout his whole History, of the High-Priests, properly so called, as of persons of great power and authority

libel, intituled, *A Proposition for his Majesty's Service, to bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments*, which was proved before the Court to be written by Sir Robert Dudley, in the preceding reign [Y]. Hereupon, the King made it one expression of his joy, on the birth of Prince Charles, on the 29th of May, 1630, to discharge this cause. Our author taking this favourable opportunity, applied next day to the Earl of Portland, Lord-Treasurer, who procured him to be removed to the Gate-House in Westminster, May 30 (o). By this means, he was so much at liberty, that he passed the long vacation at Wress [Z]. But when his *habeas corpus* was brought as usual, in Michaelmas term ensuing, it was absolutely refused by the Court as before; and the Judges complaining likewise of the illegality of this removal to the Gate-House [AA], he was remanded by an order from them to his former prison, where he continued, though with the same liberty as before, 'till May 1631; when, upon a dispute in Law between the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Kent, and Pembroke, he was admitted to bail, to have the liberty of appearing in any of the Courts of Law, upon the business of that suit [BB]. After this, he was bailed from term to term, and never more detained in prison; 'till at last, petitioning his Majesty [CC] for the purpose, in the end of July, 1634, he was freed likewise from this bail, by the favour of Archbishop Laud, together with the Lord Treasurer (p). During these troubles, he wrote his book *De Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebraeorum* [DD], as he did also his *Uxor Hebraica* *, and finished the second edition of his *Titles of Honour*. As he gave no fresh matter of provocation, the King's displeasure against

(o) Dr Wilkins mistook this for an absolute discharge, but says he could not tell how Mr Selden obtained it; and he is followed herein by the General Dictionary. No doubt it was in this view that he got the removal out of the Tower.

(p) *Vindiciae*, p. 1434, & seq.

* The whole title is, *Uxor Hebraica: sive, de Nuptiis & Divortio ex Jure Civili, id est Divino & Thalmudico Veterum Hebraeorum. Libri III.* It was published in 1646, at London, in 4to. and reprinted at Francfort in 1673, 4to.

in civil affairs. 3. It is likewise confirmed by the frequent and continual changing of the High Priest under the Romans; for if they were not concerned in civil government, only in sacred, how could they come under the displeasure of the Romans. 4. When St Paul was told, that the person he had reviled was God's High-Priest, that is, High Priest properly so called, he strait infers, that he was the ruler of the people. 5. Those difficult places of scripture, upon which Selden's opinion is grounded, may fairly admit of another explication. Against this opinion of our author, that there were two rulers of the synagogue, one stiled the Prince, and the other the Father of it, and that the high-priesthood of Annas was a civil dignity; Bafnage, who opposes it, observes, that Lightfoot was once of this opinion, but retracted it afterwards, when he perceived that there was none of that name ever Prince of the synagogue. Bafnage thinks Annas and Caiaphas were both High-Priests, only held the office yearly by turns (54).

(54) Bafnage, in *Exercitationibus Historico-criticis*.

[Y] *He was prosecuted in the Star Chamber.* Dr Wilkins tells us, that he was imprisoned, and together with him, the Earls of Bedford and Clare, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr [Oliver] St John. Our author mentions this prosecution (55), but says nothing of any imprisonment upon that account, and 'tis certain he was already a prisoner on another account. Another author tells us, this paper was industriously spread about by the Fanatics, to discover the importance of Parliaments; and how, by the peoples pufes, to keep the nation in a good defence against the King's enemies. And it was suggested, that the King had not only such a design on foot, but that by him, or his means, this plot first took birth; whereas, if any credit may be given to Sir David Foulis, one not ignorant of State affairs, being therein several times employed by King James, it was discovered by him that this paper was contrived several years before; to wit, about 1613, by Sir Robert Dudley, then living at Florence, with the title of the Duke of Northumberland. The same author also informs us, that this paper was afterwards published under the title of *Strafford's Plot discovered*, &c. endeavouring thereby to make that Earl odious to the people, as if he had been the composer of it, and that only because a copy of it was found in his study (56).

(55) In his *Vindiciae*, &c.

(56) Foulis's *Hist. of Fanatic Plots*, p. 68. edit. 1674, folio.

[Z] *He passed the long vacation at Wress.* This is the liberty which Hugo Grotius speaks of, in a letter to Peiresc, dated September 3, this year, in the following terms: *Ex magna Britannia, nihil habes boni post marmora Arundeliana nisi hoc unum, libero caelo sui virum optimum, & civem fortissimum Seldenum faventibus bonis omnibus* (57).

(57) Grotii *Epist.* 118. inter *Epistolas ad Gallos*.

[AA] *The illegality of his removal to the Gate-house.* When the Judges returned to their seats in Westminster Hall, in Michaelmas term, they sent for the Marshal of the King's-Bench Prison, and demanded his prisoner, Selden; and when he produced the Treasurer's warrant, he was reprimanded by the Court for letting his prisoner go without a *breve* from them; observing, that if the King's mandate had been

notified to the Court in time, it might easily have been done in due form of that Court. The Judges added, that in this business, the Clerk of the Crown should have given the writ to be subscribed by the Judges, upon their return to Westminster; and least the like error should be committed for the future, the Court sent Whitlock to the Treasurer, alledging, that Selden despised all Courts and forms of law, and that he had suggested to him [the Treasurer] this new and irregular method of removing himself only in the spirit of opposing them; the Treasurer professed, that he would not have granted this favour to Selden, had not that gentleman assured him, that it was quite regular; and, therefore, as it was by no means in the King's desire to oppose their proceedings in form, he delivered him up to their pleasure; whereupon, a writ was made out for remanding him to the King's-Bench Prison (58).

(58) Wilkins, as before, p. xxviii.

[BB] *Was admitted to appear in any of the Courts of Law.* At this time, he was retained as counsel for Donald, Lord Rea, in the famous cause of treason, against David Ramsay; the King determined that it should be decided by arms, and in duello, or single combat. In order to which, the cause being according to form, in that way of trial, to be adjudged by the Civil Law; Selden, as a common Lawyer, was excluded. He spoke this year, in Hilary term, as counsel, before the House of Lords (59), for Charles Longueville, in his application for the Barony of Grey and Ruthien; the claim to which, was derived from his mother, Susanna, sister to Henry, Earl of Kent, who died without issue; but the cause was given against him, in favour of the Earl of Kent (60).

(59) The speech is printed by Wilkins, ubi supra, and said to be spoken in Hilary term, 6 Charles I.

(60) Crooke's Reports, Vol. III. p. 601.

[CC] *Upon petitioning his Majesty, &c.* Dr Wilkins well observes, that this petition was not at all inconsistent with his former refusal to petition upon the first commitment. That would have implied an acknowledgment of the offence for which he was said, in the King's letter, to be committed, which was even dangerous; but that order was superseded by the second, for admitting him to go out of prison upon bail for his surrendering on demand (61).

(61) The bail were Herbert and Gardiner, both of the Inner-Temple; they were bound in 150 l. each, and himself in 500 l. *Vindiciae*, &c. p. 1433.

[DD] *His book, De Jure Naturali & Gentium, &c.* This piece has been variously censured. Le Clerc (62) and Barbeyrac (63) condemn it, not only for that obscurity of stile and perplexity of method observed in all our author's performances; but because in it he derives not his principles from the light of reason; laying down as certain, the Rabbinical tradition, concerning the seven precepts, said by them to be given by God to Noah for all mankind to observe. The author of a piece, intituled, *Polygamia Triumphans* (64), goes still further, and observing, that Selden here asserts, polygamy not to be contrary to the law of nature (65), produces his testimony in defence of that practice. On the other hand, this piece is highly applauded by Puffendorf, who declares, that our author would have been equal to the best writers, if he had undertaken to accommodate the *jus naturale* to mankind in general, with the same accuracy as he has done to the traditions of the Jews.

(62) *Bibl. Choisee*, Tom. IX. p. 396.

(63) In the preface to Puffendorf's, *De Jure Naturæ & Gent.* in French.

(64) P. 14. edit. Stockholm, 1682.

(65) *Viz. in lib. v. c. 6, 7.*

[EE] *The*

against him gradually wore away; and the share that he took, as one of the committee for managing the mask exhibited by the gentlemen of the Inns of Court, before their Majesties, on Candlemas-night, 1633, must needs have been very acceptable to them, since it was done expressly to shew, how greatly those gentlemen disapproved of William Prynne's *Histriomastix* (q). Besides, there was a particular reason against suffering such a mark of the King's unkindness towards him, to stand any longer unremoved. For the disputes with the Dutch about the herring-fishery, began at this time to run to an extremity, the latter having lately set up a claim to that fishery, even upon the British coast. These pretensions were grounded chiefly upon the arguments in a treatise of the celebrated Hugo Grotius, wherein this liberty was asserted to be a matter of common right. It was well known, that our author had composed a piece in defence of the King's dominion over the British seas, not long after the first rise of this dispute in the preceding reign (r); but some accidents having hindered the immediate publication of it [EE], he was easily prevailed on (s), at this juncture, to put it to the press, where it was finished in the beginning of the year 1636 (t) [FF]; and a copy of it placed among the records of the Crown,

(r) Heylin says particularly by Bishop Laud.

(s) An edition of it was printed the same year in Holland, with a defence of their right prefixed by Boxhornius, intitled, *Apologia pro Navigationibus Hollandorum*, &c. The importation of it into England was prohibited.

(p) See Lord Clarendon's article.

(q) This fishery was first discovered by a Dutchman in 1495, by Henry VIII. and Philip Archduke of Austria, who was the discoverer of the Netherlands. Article XIV. of that treaty long before the Dutch had erected themselves into a sovereign power, by the treaty of Munster in 1654.

[EE] *The publication was hindered by some accidents.* This treatise was written in the year 1618, as we are told by our author himself, as follows: That when he brought his discourse on Christmas-day to the King, the Lord-High Admiral hearing that he had written a discourse about the dominion of the sea, in the spring of 1618, ordered him to shew it and present it to his Majesty; and that, in the summer of the same year, he presented a fair copy of it, at his Majesty's own request, who gave it to the Lord-High-Admiral, to be communicated to Sir Henry Martyn, Judge of the Admiralty-court; who having read it, had the pen in his hand to give an *imprimatur*, but threw it down; saying, it was better to be done by the King himself: that his Majesty was about signing it when he slept suddenly; saying, he remembered something in the book about the northern sea, which might perhaps displeas his brother of Denmark, which he would not willingly do, since he owed him a large sum of money already, and must desire him to lend more freely. It was the last chapter of the second book. I accordingly, says Selden, took it again, and filled up the method again in a short time, and carried it to Court; where having waited for his Majesty often, and long, in the Admiralty-chamber to no purpose, and not being received as I thought was my due, I put the book in my study, giving over all thoughts of desiring it to be published; neither, concludes he, did I ever, of my own accord, go to the Admiral afterwards. A little after this, William, Earl of Pembroke, a friend of mine, had the book to review it, and restoring it in a month or two, it lay by me in oblivion for ten years and upwards. I heard, and and believe it, that some creatures of the Admiral's had insinuated, that I had in this book said something in diminution of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty, when he grew loose about the publication of it, behaved himself unfriendly to me at Court. I was told also, by some about the King, that his Majesty, upon second thoughts, imagined it might be of some disservice to him with the United Provinces. In the beginning of the spring 1619, the Marquis of Bucks sent for me into the Parliament-chamber, and asked me in good humour, why I had not brought my book to be licenced; I answered, that I had often waited in his chamber to no purpose, both for him and my admission to his Majesty; upon which ill usage I had abstained from Court. He then invited me thither, but I never had more words with him upon the subject afterwards (65).

English right, exclusive both of French and Dutch, from fishing in the four seas, is clearly made out, from the records against the objections of Hugo Grotius, in his *Mare liberum*. But we must observe, that Grotius's book had been of so much service to our author, as to bring the question to this point, that if an occupancy could be proved it would constitute a right; that point, therefore, was laboured by Selden from the records. 'Tis in this view, that Selden denies that he opposes Hugo Grotius in this dispute. He speaks highly of that great man's abilities, *Virum ingentis eruditionis, & rerum divinarum humanarumque (id est juris) scientissimum*; and again, speaking of the speech made in defence of the English right to the fishery, by Sir Dudley Carleton, against Grotius; and of this latter's complaint, of an insinuation in that speech, as if he was imprisoned to deter other from defending his opinion, our author has these words: *Diſta hæc fuerit non tam in Hugonem Grotium, quam in ipsum (quod perperam ostenditur) communioris maris jus naturale: cui expressus & simplicius multi quam ipse patrocinantur, tam doctæ & ingeniose nemo* †. Grotius too speaks in the like handsome manner of Selden's work, in a letter from Paris this year (67). *Ex Magna Britannia nihil habes boni, post mariora Arundeliana, nisi quod Johannes Seldenus, spectatum jam multis operibus ingenium, mare clausum addidit mari libero oppositum, si forte legeris. Eo in libro multa sane eruditione asperso, totum id mare quod ab Anglia ad littora usque Hispaniæ, Galliæ, Belgiæ, Germaniæ, Daniæ, patet, Anglico regno jure proprietatis vindicat. At nequis ostentamentum tantum ingenii putet, Extraordinario Batavorum Legato, qui nunc Londini est, facta est per Regis Britannici Ministros, ejus juris denunciatio; edicloque cautum est, ne quis eum Seldenum librum, alibi editum, in regnum importaret* ||. In another letter also from Paris, May 7, 1636, he writes thus to his brother William Grotius: *Seldenus sumpserit egregium libri sui epiphonema, in quo locutiones meas figuratas opposuit seriis. Ego vero illi & humano & erudito, quod me & humane & erudite tractaverit, multum debeo. Epigrammate tamen hoc puto me non lesisse jus amicitiae, quæ inter nos est:*

* *Mare Clausum*, Lib. I. c. xxvi.

† Ibid.

(67) Letter to Peirelc, dated Sept. 1630.

|| See note (r) in the text.

*Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennefigæum,
Est Græca Xerxes multus in historia,
Lucullum, Latii, Xerxem dixere togatum,
Seldenus Xerxes vere Britannus erit.*

In the second book of this treatise, cap. vii. our author endeavours to prove, that the words *litus Saxo cum*, in the *Notitia*, which was under the dominion of the *comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, comprehends, not only the British, but the opposite shore of France and Holland. The words *littoris Saxonici* being equivalent to *limitis transmarini*. This Mr Somner thinks is a mistake of our author's, in not understanding rightly the words in the *Notitia*. Indeed, says he, admitting *limes* for *litus*, *Britannicus* had been enough; nay, it had been proper, and only proper, without any further paraphrase such as that of *per Britanniam*. But if we grant that the *litus transmarinum* was the *limes*, or limit, or frontier, of the British maritime court's dominion; then of necessary consequence, the ports, havens, creeks, harbours, &c. on the opposite coast one

(66) *Vindiciæ*, &c. p. 1425. in the 3d volume of his Works, by Dr Wilkins.

[FF] *It was published in 1636.* The dedication to King Charles the First, in which he gives the following account of the history of the publication, is wrote, not only in elegant Latin; but in a courtly and polite address: *Divi parentis tui jussu tentata olim adumbrataque, inter schedas sive neglectas sive cives per annos amplius fidecim mecum latuit, ut imperfecta nimis, sic etiam ceu interitura. Postquam autem recognitioni ejus instaurationique totus, idque ea intentissimi studii alacritate, qua, clementissimis utpote Majestatis tuæ auspiciis excitus, cavere nequibam, per menses aliquot vacaveram, non tam ut evocata revixit, quam plane renata est. Tot scilicet in ea sint emendata, tot dissoluta, recitata limata, immutata, tanta insuper accessit ubique summa est, ut pristino, quantum erat, incremento præsertimque discrepante, exeat omnino nova: tam nimirum ex iterata origine, quam ex natura* &c. Atchdzacon Nicholson thinks, that the

and

in the Council-chest in the Exchequer, and in the Court of Admiralty; the English sovereignty in the seas being acknowledged by the Dutch, who payed the King thirty thousand pounds for their permission to fish in those seas this year, and agreed to give an annual tribute for the future (u) [GG]. In the mean time, how hearty soever Mr Selden shewed himself, by this performance, in maintaining the prerogative of the British sceptre, against the encroachment of foreigners, yet he was by no means well affected to the Court doctrine of the King's power, to levy money for this purpose upon the subject, without their own consent. He had been a confessor in that cause, and continued still as much out of humour as ever with the opposers of it. Therefore, in the two ensuing Parliaments, of 1640 and 1641, being returned for the University of Oxford, he both spoke and acted with the same spirit, not only in procuring satisfaction for himself and his fellow-sufferers, from the Court, but joined with the most violent, in prosecuting the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud (w) [HH]. He was likewise very instrumental in depriving the Bishops of

(u) General History of England.

(w) Several of his speeches are printed in the last edition of his Works, by Dr Wilkins.

and all were appertaining to the Britons; nor might the Dutch, French, or those of Britain Armoric, then, or at any time since, justly challenge or use them as their own, nor of right stir or put out to sea by them, much less claim or have any toll, tallage, tax, tribute, impost, wreck, or any other customs or rights in any part of the maritime tracts there; nor yet might they or any other nations, without a trespass, or as invaders of the British empire and dominions, pass or repass by the channel though never so near the transmarine shore; nor, but by courtesy of the Britons, make any other use of it, which for all that I have seen or read, I cannot believe to have been observed or practised in those times (68).[†] Dr Wilkins well observes, that this matter has been settled by treaties between the two nations, which are much more firm than the arguments of these learned men. However, a Statesman must not be unacquainted with them, in the view of being prepared in case of future disputes. Archdeacon Nicolson tells us, that when our author penned this book, he was not such an inveterate enemy to the prerogative doctrine of ship-money as afterwards; for he professedly asserts, that in defence of their sovereignty at sea, our Kings constantly practised the levying great sums of money on their subjects, without the concurrence of their Parliaments. And he insinuates, that it was upon this account that the book was commanded by the King's council to be laid up as an inestimable jewel among the choice records which concerned the Crown. In answer to this, Dr Wilkins observes, that the levies for the support of the navy, 'till the end of Henry the Second's reign, are mentioned by our author, from the laws and statutes of the times when he mentions them, and 'tis well known were not passed without consent of the people; so that there was no occasion for taking express notice of the matter, and had it been otherwise understood at that time, when our author opposed the ship money without an act of Parliament, can it be imagined that his antagonists would have been silent on this head, and yet we do not find that this was ever done or that this book was then ever objected to him. It was afterwards † translated into English by Merchmont Nedham, the scurrilous news writer, as Mr Wood calls him, who suppressed the Epistle Dedicatory, interlarding it with several treasonable comments and false glosses of his own; besides which, he added a few old evidences, supposed to be communicated to him by John Bradshaw, of infamous memory. After the Restoration it was revised and corrected by James Howel, Historiographer Royal. The book was attacked by Theodorus Grafwinckell, Knight of the order of St Mark, and Advocate of the Finances in Holland, in *Vindiciis Maris Liberi, &c.* (69); in which the author having taxed Selden with prostituting his pen to the service of the Court-party in order to obtain his liberty, cites the following words, as from Petrus Burgus: Seldenus *nuperrime integrum opus scripsit* *; and then adds, says Selden, most insolently, *Non mirum: virorum enim ille inter sæculi nostri primicerios numerandus, & meliori fortuna dignus, sati sui infelicitate, carceris se non digni colonus erat. Hinc ut exiret, seque libertati amissæ redonandum sperare daretur, animum ad scribendum appulit, &c.*

fence, his *Vindiciæ, &c.* which we have often quoted in the course of this memoir, and of which something more will be remarked above at the end of the text.

[GG] They agreed to pay an annual tribute for the future.] It would be a great mistake to ascribe this submission to the force of Mr Selden's arguments. They stood out 'till the *ultima ratio regum* convinced them of their folly in opposing the claim; and did not consent to it, 'till their whole fishing fleet had been destroyed by sixty of our men of war, under the command of the Earl of Northumberland; an observation which no doubt had been made by Sommersdyke, when he advised the States to suppress Grafwinckell's answer to Selden; saying, that this affair must be decided by the sword, and not by the pen *Ea res non esset calami, sed gladii* (70).

[HH] Archbishop Laud.] When the Canons, which had passed in Convocation after the [Short] Parliament was dissolved in 1640, were called in question by the ensuing [Long] Parliament in the House of Commons, the Archbishop thinking, possibly he might have some interest in Mr Selden, wrote to him the following letter:

To myc much honored friend, Mr John Selden,
' These. *Sal. in Christo.*

' Worthy Sir,

' I understand that the business about the late cannons will be handled againe in your House to morrowe. I shall never aske any unworthy thinge of you; but give me leave to saye as follows. If wee have erred in anye point of legalitie unknowne unto us, wee shall be hartelye sorye for it, and hope that error shall not be made a cryme; we heare, that ship-monye is layd asyde as a thinge will dye of it selfe; and I am glad it will have soe quiett a death. Maye not these unfortunate cannons be suffered to dye as quietlye, without blemishinge the Church, which hath to manye enemyes both at home and abroad? If this maye be, I heare promise you, I will presentlye humblye beseech his Majestye, for a licence to reviewe the cannons, and abrogat them; assuringe myselfe, that all mye brethren will joyne with me to preserve the publicke peace, rather then that anye act of ours shall be thought a publicke grievance. And upon mye credit with you, I had moved for this licence at the very first sittinge of this Parliament, but that both myselfe and others did feare the House of Commons would take offence at it, (as they did at the last) and sayde we did it on purpose to prevent them. I understand you meane to speake of this busynesse in the House to morrowe, and that hath made me wright these lynes to you to lett you knowe our meaninge and desyers. And I shall take it for a great kindnes to me, and a great service to the Church, if by your means the House will be satisfied with this, which is heare offered of abrogatinge the cannons. To God's blessed protection I leave you, and rest,

' Your lovinge poor friend,

Lambeth,
November 29, 1640.

W. Cant.

' I mean to move the Kinge this daye for a licence, as is within mentioned (71).'

[II] A piece

(68) Wilkins's preface to our author's Works, p. xxviii, & seqq. from Somner's MS. in the Canterbury Library.

† Upon the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1652.

(69) The whole title runs thus: Theodori J. F. Grafwinckelii J. C. Hagæ Commentum, 1652. *Maris liberi Vindiciæ adversus Petrum Baptistam Burgum Ligustici maritimi dominii assertorem.* 1652.

* Burgus writes, with more truth, *editit.*

† Ad Burg. c. vi. p. 113.

Neque talia agitantem successus destituit ||. And the following year Selden published, in his own de-

(70) Huberus in H.R. Civili, p. 3. §. 6. l. 2.

(71) From a MS. in the possession of the late Nicolas Harding, Esq; printed in the General Dictionary.

of their votes in Parliament, and incapacitating the Clergy in general to exercise any temporal jurisdiction. He likewise printed a piece, in 1642, in favour of the Presbyterian parity [II], and others upon the power and privileges of Parliaments [KK]. But though he opposed the King's commission of array [LL] this year, yet he asserted his prerogative over

[II] *A piece in defence of the Presbyterian parity.*
This was a passage in the annals of Eutychius, concerning the government of the Church of Alexandria. Our author printed it with this pompous title, *Eutychii Egyptii Patriarchæ Orthodoxorum Alexandrini, Scripturis at in Oriente admodum vetustis ac illustris ita in Occidente tum paucissimis visi, tum per raro auditi, Ecclesiæ suæ origines, ex ejusdem Arabico nunc primum typis edidit, ac versione & commentario auxit Johannes Seldenus;*

— Non si quid TURBIDA ROMA,

Elevet, accedas; examenque improba in ILLA

Castiges trutinæ. —

PERS.

In the preface he observes, that the disputes about the order of Bishops, turn greatly upon the authenticity of a passage in the eighty-fifth epistle of St Jerom, relating to the Patriarchate of the Church of Alexandria; in which, any superiority of order is expressly denied. He obtrudes this author as an Egyptian Bede, and makes no doubt but these annals were, for the most part, taken out of the archives of the Church of Alexandria; whereas it appears, from the history of *Abul Farajus*, published by Dr Pococke, that in the tenth century, when Eutyches wrote, there were no archives of that Church. For when the city was taken by the Saracens, many years before, in the reign of Sultan Omar; his General, Annas Elmal, as by a particular order from his master, commanded all the books and writings in it to be sent to the baths as fuel for heating them, where they were all consumed. Eutyches was extremely ignorant in the ecclesiastical affairs of that time, to which Selden's passage relates; as is evident from the instance of Origen, than whom no person was more famous in the Church at that time, the latter part of the third century, when he flourished; yet Eutyches has thrust him down to the middle of the sixth century, makes a Bishop of him, and brings him to the Council of Constantinople, called by the Emperor Justinian, to be there condemned. Selden had imbibed a great opinion of this author from Erpenius, who, as he says, gave him a copy of it at London; to whom it was recommended by Isaac Casaubon as a very useful work. Selden, therefore, in the year 1652, prevailed with Dr Pococke to undertake a translation of it, and put that, with the original Arabic, to press at Oxford, engaging to be at the whole expence of the edition himself. Dr Langbaine, Provost of Queen's college, was also desired by him to assist in the business. This appears from several letters of this last to Selden, in one of which (72), upon Pococke's disliking one of the characters of the Arabic font at Oxford, and desiring him to procure a new puncheon and matrice, with five or six pounds of letters, the request was preferred to Selden, by Dr Langbaine, in the words of the Friars in Chaucer, who begged money for completing their cloyster;

Now help Thomas, for him that harrow'd hell,

Or else mote we all our books sell.

In another, wrote to Dr Pococke, presently after Selden's death, Langbaine acquaints him, that he saw Selden the day before he died, 'who told me, says he, in the hearing of one of his executors, Mr Hayward, how he had disposed of his impression of Eutychius to you and myself; and so he did, by a codicil made to his will in June 1653. I mentioned to him, continues the doctor, that he had often spoken of intended notes; upon that, he gave orders, that all letters or notes concerning that author should be delivered to us.' The codicil here mentioned runs thus: 'Whereas there is in the press, at Oxford, Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, his annals, in Arabic and Latin, under the care of my loving friends Dr Gerard Langbaine and Dr Edward Pococke, Professor of Hebrew and Arabic; if at the time of my decease there should not be left by me, in the hands of Dr Langbaine, money enough to pay for the finishing of the work at the press, my mind and will is, that so much shall be given into his hands to finish it, as he and Dr Pococke shall direct.

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' And farther, that when the impression is finished, all and every the copies of the said impression be left wholly to the said Langbaine and Pococke; to whom I hereby give and bequeath them, which I think will be five hundred in number. There are indentures in my behalf, between the said Dr Langbaine and the Printer, which direct the business for the charge of the press (73).' Accordingly, Dr Pococke published the work in 1658, in two volumes folio; in the preface to which, he declares, that it was not undertaken by him from his own choice and inclination, but upon the persuasion and importunity of Selden. That there are many fabulous things in these annals relating to Ancient History, and that the author gives as absurd accounts of the transactions in the western parts of the world, as our Western writers do commonly in those of the Eastern. As to the paragraph of these annals, that had been printed and published by Selden, who had done it very incorrectly; Dr Pococke sets it in a true light (74). In justice to Selden, his picture was put before this edition, and underneath *Illustrissimo Johanne Seldeno* ἱεροσολίμης Chorago. Whence the compiler of the Bodleian catalogue of printed books, in 1674, imagined, that Selden began this translation, which was only finished by Pococke, whereas the word *choragus* (75) expresses in a beautiful figure, that it was printed at Selden's charge.

[KK] *And another upon the power and privileges of Parliaments.* These are, 1. *A discourse concerning the rights and privileges of the Subjects, in a conference desired by the Lords, and had by a Committee of both Houses, in the Year 1628.* 2. *The privileges of the Baronage of England when they sit in Parliament.* 3. *A brief discourse concerning the power of Peers and Commoners in Parliament, in point of Judicature.*

[LL] *The King's commission of array.* Lord Clarendon assures us, that our author 'declared himself very positively with much sharpness against it, as a thing expressly without any authority of law; the statute upon which, being, as he said, repealed; and disapproved very much of the ill consequence which might result by submitting to it. He answered the arguments which had been used to support it, and easily prevailed with the House not to like a proceeding, which they knew was intended to do them hurt, and to lessen their authority. But his authority and reputation prevailed much further than in the House, and begot a prejudice against it in many well-affected without doors. When the King was informed of it, he was much troubled, having looked upon Mr Selden as well disposed to his service (76). We have in the General Dictionary a letter of Selden's to Lord Falkland, wrote, after the vote against this commission had passed the House, as follows:

June 29, 1642.

' That of the vote your Lordship speaks of is true, as I presume you by this time see in print. But in what degree it was grounded on my authority (which doubtless goes here for little or nothing), you may guess by this, that I was not in the House at that voting, or any other time when any agitation or mention of it was there, 'till yesterday, being Tuesday, when there was a declaration voted there to shew the reasons of that vote. But it is true, that I was of the committee of Lords and Commons, to whom some ten days since it was referred. And among the rest, my opinion (and that upon the best consideration I could make) was, that it is against law; and so is my opinion still, which shall, as in all other things, change, when I shall be taught the contrary. Your Lordship had sooner received answer, if I could sooner have put my reasons together, and have them transcribed: As they are, I humbly thus offer them to you, and am most devoutly,

' Your Lordship's most humble

' and most affectionate Servant,

' J. S. (77).'
[MM] Yet

(73) Dr Langbaine died in 1654.

(74) It had been censured before by Abraham Echellensis, Part I. c. ix. p. 29. and Morinus de Ordinationibus, P. iii. c. 7. and Renaudot.

(75) It denotes originally the person who was at the charge of exhibiting the scenes in a play, and is taken from Plautus in *Perf. Act I. scene 3.* where Saturn asks, ἄνευ ὀργαντα. Tom. answers, *Abs Chorago.* Du Pin has made the same mistake in *Bibl. Eccles. Tom. VIII.*

(76) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 667. edit. 1707.

(77) Copied from some papers in the hands of the late Nicholas Harding, Esq;

(72) Epist. 732.

over the militia [MM]; and, about the same time, the Lord Keeper Littleton having voted for that ordinance of the Parliament, for the assuming this power to themselves, his Majesty took the Great Seal from him, intending it for Mr Selden; but he declined the first overture that he received of that intention [NN]: yet some of the leading men in Parliament observing his conduct, took up a suspicion of his being concerned, the following year, with Mr Waller the poet, in the design of delivering the city of London to the King. But that jealousy appearing upon examination not to be well grounded [OO], and our author having, moreover, purged himself by his oath, on the sixth of June, when the Assembly of Divines at Westminster was erected on the 12th of that month, he was appointed one of the lay-members, and frequently sat in it [PP]. Soon after this he took

[MM] Yet he asserted the King's prerogative over the militia.] The last mentioned Noble Historian informs us, that ' Lord Falkland, with his Majesty's leave, wrote a friendly letter to Mr Selden, to know his reason, why, in such a conjuncture, whatever his opinions were, he would oppose the submission to the commission of array, which no body could deny to have had it's original from law, and which many learned men still believed to be very legal, to make way for the establishment of an ordinance concerning the militia, which had no manner of pretence to right. He answered this letter very frankly, as a man who had believed himself in the right upon the commission of array, and that the arguments he had used against it could not be answered, summing up some of those arguments in as few words as they could be comprehended in. But then he did as frankly inveigh at the ordinance for the militia, which he said was without any shadow of law or pretence of precedent, and most destructive to the government of the kingdom; and he did acknowledge, that he had been the more inclined to make that discourse in the House against the commission, that he might the more freely argue against the ordinance, which was to be considered upon a day then appointed; and was most confident that he should likewise overthrow the ordinance, which he confessed could be less supported; and he did believe, that it would be much better, if both were rejected, than if either of them should stand and remain uncontrolled. But his confidence deceived him, and he quickly found, that they who suffered themselves to be intirely governed by his reason, when those conclusions resulted from it, which contributed to their own designs, would not at all be guided by it, or submit to it, when it persuaded that which contradicted, and would disappoint those designs. And so upon the day appointed for the debate of their ordinance, when he applied all his faculties to the convincing them of the illegality and monstrousness of it, by arguments at least as clear and demonstrable as his former had been, they made no impression upon them, but were easily answered by those who with most passion insisted on their own sense; he had satisfied them very well when he concurred with them in judgment, but his reasons were weak, when he crossed their resolutions. So most men, concludes his Lordship, are deceived in being too reasonable; concluding, that reason will prevail upon those men to submit to what is right and just, who have no other consideration of right or just, but as it advances their interest, or complies with their humour and passion (78).'

[NN] He declined the first overture of that intention.] This is grounded upon the following letter, to the Marquis of Hertford, concerning that affair, copied by the same hand as the former to Lord Falkland, from Mr Harding's papers.

' My Lord,

' I received from his most excellent Majesty a command for my waiting on him at York; and he is most graciously pleased to say, that I should make as much haste as my health will permit. I have been for many weeks, my Lord, very ill, and am still so infirme, that I have not so much as any hope of being able to endure any kind of travell, much less such a journey. Yet if that were all, I should willingly venture any loss of myself rather than not perform my duty to his Majesty. But if I were able to come, I call God to witness, I have no apprehension of any possibilitie of doing his Majesty service there. On the other side, it is most probable or rather apparent, that a member of the House

' of Commons, and of my condition, by coming thither, might thereby soon be a cause of some very unseasonable disturbance; by this name, I call whatsoever will, at this time, (as this would) doubtlesse, occasion some further or other differences twixt his Majesty and that House. My legal and humble affections to his Majesty and his service are, and shall be, as great and as hearty as any man's; and, therefore, when I am able, I shall really expresse them. But I beseech your Lordship, be pleased, upon what I have here represented, to preserve me from his Majesty's displeasure, which I hope too, from his most excellent goodness towards me; your Lordship's great and continual favours to me, imboldned me to make this suit; which granted, will be a singular happiness to,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

J. S.

This letter is very agreeable to, and even confirms, Lord Clarendon's account of this affair; which is, that ' the Lord Falkland and himself, to whom his Majesty referred the consideration of a proper person for it, did not doubt of Mr Selden's affection to the King; but withal, they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place if it were offered him. He was, continues his Lordship, in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; he was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed for any preferment which he had never affected (79).'

[OO] The suspicion appeared not to be well grounded.] Mr Waller was examined about it; and ' being asked, whether Selden, Pierpoint, Whitelocke, and others by name, were acquainted with that design; he answered, that they were not; but that he came one evening to Selden's study, where Pierpoint and Whitelocke then were with Selden, on purpose to impart it to them all; and speaking of such a thing in general terms, those gentlemen did fo inveigh against any such thing as treachery and baseness, and that which might be the occasion of shedding much blood, that he said, he durst not, for the awe and respect which he had for Selden and the rest, communicate any of the particulars to them, but was almost disheartned himself to proceed in it (80).'

[PP] Sat in the Assembly of Divines.] Mr Whitelocke, who was himself a member, tells us, that in the debates of that assembly, Mr Selden spoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning; and sometimes, when they had cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, perhaps, in your little pocket bible with gilt leaves, which they would often pull out and read, the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus or thus; and so would often totally silence them (81). Of this there are some instances: as when Gilassius Scotus, from Deuteronomy xvii. 12. endeavoured to prove there were two courts of Priests and Judges, and that there lay an appeal from one to the other; Selden denied that two courts were intended by those words. The Vulgate, 'till forty years ago, read the place in question so, *Qui non obediverit sacerdoti, ex decreto Judicum morietur*; if this be the true reading, there is not the least shadow of two courts, as included there. If the Judges, in any inferior courts, were doubtful in their opinions and went to Jerusalem for a solution therein, and brought back a solution of their doubt, and yet did not give judgment accordingly, they were put

(79) Hist. of the Rebellion, as before.

(80) Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 70. Lond. 1732, fol.

(81) Ibid. p. 1.

(78) History of the Rebellion, ubi supra.

(x) He had been one of the managers for the House of Commons in the Archbishop's trial.

took the Covenant, and, on the eighth of November, he entered upon the post of Keeper of the Records in the Tower, at the appointment of the Parliament. However, upon the attainder of Archbishop Laud (x), in 1644, when the Commissioners seized his endowment of the Arabick lecture at Oxford, Mr Selden, always a friend to learning, defended the Professor's right against that seizure, and procured a restitution [22]. He published his treatise *De Anno Civili & Calendario Judaico* the same year. In 1645, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Admiralty, but that commission determined in a few days (y); and, upon the death of Dr Eden in July following, being elected unanimously Master of Trinity-hall in Cambridge [R R], with the direction and approbation

(y) It was only a committee of six Lords and twelve Commons, 'till this affair could be settled; they were appointed April 15, and on the 18th the Parliament made three commissioners, the Earl of Warwick, B. and Pelham.

to death. Those Judges were called rebels by the law of the Hebrews.—Upon the point of the Christians assembling immediately after the Ascension, Acts xi. 46. he gave this explication, that they were *πρεσβυτεροι παρισιαις*, not as Christians, but as Judaizing Gentiles. For the Jews, who were divided into Scribes and Pharisees, did not acknowledge the Christians to belong to their nation; 'tis said they were called Essenes. Now the Jews of Jerusalem, converted to the Christian faith there, held themselves obliged to observe the law of Moses; and what wonder, if in this opinion they were constantly in the temple. Whence as there is said to be four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem, in Megillan, folio 73; seventy of which consisted at least of ten families, as appears from Maimonides, חלפול; so the same custom was observed by the Christians; and they divided themselves into different synagogues or assemblies. After the manner of Jews, they feasted at the temple; after the manner of Christians, they broke bread, κατ' οίκου; בית כנסת the house of the synagogue was some house set apart for this use; as to preferve the Christians in Jerusalem, κτήματα καὶ ὑπόθηκες, so no house could be called his own by any Christian; but in this place κατ' οίκου means the house where all had public prayer.—When the discourse turned upon Acts ii. about the different languages heard at Pentecost, some asserted that it was only different dialects of the same language, which yet was understood by all: Selden contradicted them, and said, that variety of languages was not necessary in the ministry of holy things; and that, except in the words of the woman taken in adultery, and of the sacerdotal benediction, which are pronounced in Hebrew, the benedictions in the temple were made in any language that was understood by the people. That the Hellenistic Jews, wherever they were dispersed, spoke in the Greek language; and Phœbe is affirmed by Drusus to be ignorant of the Hebrew; that when a Judge, to be admitted into the Sanhedrim, was required to be instructed in the knowledge of LXX languages, it was to be understood that he must understand various languages. Synagogues of the freedmen, Grecians, &c. manifest a diversity of nations, and why not therefore a diversity of languages. That in Acts vi. a plain and evident distinction is made between the Hellenists and the Hebrews living separately at that time, when all things were common.

Here we see how good a reason Cleveland, the Poet, had for the following words in his mixt assembly:

And Selden is a galliard by himself,
And well may be, there's more Divines in him
Then in all this their Jewish Sanhedrim (82).

(82) Lightfoot's Genuine Remains.

[22] He procured a restitution, &c.] This was an estate of about forty pounds a year, called Budd's pastures, in the parish of Bray, in Berkshire. John Greaves acquainted Selden with the injury done by this seizure to his friend Dr Pococke, then Arabic Professor, appointed by the Archbishop himself; and begged his interest in the matter. No body could be more ready than Selden was, to grant the request; he told Mr Greaves, that he had a due sense both of the injustice and scandal of the proceeding, and that the persons concerned in it could have no countenance for it, from the order of Parliament, by which they pretended to act; for the sequestration appointed by that order could only relate to particular persons: as Teius and Sempronius, (that was his expression) and not to corporations, which was the case of these lands. He also promised, that he would himself search the rolls, where this donation was recorded, and make the best use of it he could when he

had found it. Accordingly, he afterwards commended the matter to some of the leading men of that time, with much earnestness, with whom he had a considerable interest, and by their means this donation was at length restored to Dr Pococke, about the middle of the year 1647, after it had been detained from him about three years (83).

[R R] He was elected Master of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge.] Some time after the election, Selden, deferring his answer, not being, as it seems, determined in his mind about the acceptance, to which he was sollicitated by several of his friends; the Fellows of the society sent him the following Latin letter:

‘ Clarissime Vir,
‘ Cum primum te in præfecturam aulae Trinitatis
‘ cooptavimus, illud nobis solum incubuisse arbitrati
‘ sumus, ut uno eodemque negotio collegio magistrum,
‘ rei literariæ ornamentum, & academiæ patronum,
‘ & præsidium prospiceremus. Qua quidem in re
‘ postquam summis utriusque ordinis viris visum sit
‘ electionis nostræ album calculum adicere, nihil
‘ denique restare speravimus, nisi ut desiderijs nostris
‘ gravissima, jam Pan-Anglii hujus autoritate munitis
‘ succumbes, & voluntatem tuam, adhuc fluctuantem
‘ in utilitatem, atque commodum nostrum dirigi ac
‘ desigi patiaris. Te igitur repetitis denuo votis
‘ ambimus, ut & nos tanti senatus judicio fruamur,
‘ & tu suffragijs tandem nostris supremam manum
‘ imponas: in cujus omnino potestate est, ne orbi-
‘ tatem nostram importune lugeamus. Frustra statu-
‘ torum interpretamentum sollicitamus, cum am-
‘ plissimus ille conventus (nisi ipse nobis te ipsum
‘ invidens) societatem nostram ditioni tuæ addiderit.
‘ Satis cum modestia tua certatum est, ad humani-
‘ tatem tuam provocamus, quam si expugnari demum
‘ siveres curatum erit, ne aut nostris nos obsequi
‘ aut tuæ te facilitatis poeniteat. Fac nos te factu-
‘ rum & speramus & ardemus, vir exoptatissime, ut
‘ te præsentem cominus salutemus, quem eminus mirati
‘ sumus; at qui in Edeno securi fuimus, in Seldeno
‘ felices esse possimus.

‘ Humillimi tui clientes.’

And to leave nothing undone, that might be done, to testify their ardent desires to have this honour, they denounced the election to the Chancellor of the university, the Earl of Holland, in form, for his ratification, to this effect, That the Mastership of the said Hall being vacant by the death of Thomas Eden, the late Master, on the eighteenth of July; they, the Fellows, or at least the major part of them, assembled for the choice of a new Master, and due regard being had for a fit person for the same, did, on the twenty-third of the same month, direct their votes upon John Selden, Esq; Therefore, say they, and because it did and doth belong to your office, we have ordered Robert Wiseman, LL.D. William Forth, and John Begg, LL.B. jointly and severally to appear before you, and present our election and this instrument of it to you. In witness whereof, we have set our common college seal to these presents, dated 19 August, 1645.

Dr Wilkins observes, it does not appear what moved Selden to make this refusal; and is of opinion, that it was not, however, out of any secret hatred to the Clergy, since, though he denied the Clergy's divine right to their possessions, he was very zealous for maintaining them in their rights established by the laws of England. One would be apt to think, from this reason of the doctor's, that he mistakes Trinity-hall for Trinity college, which indeed is a society chiefly of Clergy, and the Master also obliged to be in Orders; a reason sufficient for Selden's refusal; whereas,

(83) See Pococke's articles.

(z) Wilkins says, it was by a mandate of the Parliament. Life of our author, p. 37.

of some of the principal members in both Houses of Parliament (z), he renounced the election: yet, in 1646, he secured a donation of Archbishop Bancroft's to that university [SS]. In 1647, he published *Fleta, seu Commentarius Juris Anglicani sic nuncupatus* *; and being appointed one of the standing Committee for hearing and receiving reports from the visitors of the two universities (aa), he was very serviceable to that of Oxford, upon many occasions, both this and the following year [TT]. He was greatly displeas'd with the

* In this piece, among other things, he discovered the author, viz. Rich. de Winchedon, of the Year-book in the time of Edward II. which was printed in 1638, fol. in pursuance of a particular recommendation of Judge Hale, from a manuscript authenticated by Mr Selden. Preface to that Year-book. (aa) This committee consisted of 20 Lords, and 49 Commoners, six of whom were Lawyers.

whereas, Trinity-hall is a foundation appropriated to the study of Civil and Canon Law, and entirely consisting of such Fellows; and, therefore, Selden's obstinacy must be attributed to the causes assigned by Lord Clarendon, for his opinion, that he would have refused the Great-Seal, which was designed for him; otherwise several particular motives concurred to incline him to make this acceptance of the Mastership; besides it's being a society dedicated to his study, he must have been well acquainted, and probably have had some degree of friendship with Dr Eden, not so much on account of his eminence in his profession, as that the doctor had sat in the House of Commons with him in every Parliament, notwithstanding he was Chancellor to Dr Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, from the first year of King Charles's reign, and lately had been joined with him in the committee for examining into the complaints against the Lord Marshal's court, or Court of Honour, October 4, 1640; and in 1643, in that for managing the affairs of the Admiralty. The doctor had likewise taken the Covenant as well as Selden, had been a singular benefactor to his college, and effectually saved them from those injuries which had been voted to other colleges, and which is well hinted in the conclusion of the Fellows letter above cited, as an inducement for Selden to take them under his protection; *Ut qui in Edeno securi fuimus, in Seldeno felices esse possimus.*

[SS] He secured a donation of Archbishop Bancroft's to Cambridge.] The Archbishop, by his Will (85), bequeathed all the books in his study to the Archbishops his successors, upon this condition, that his immediate successor should give his bond, or other security, that he would leave them entire, and without embezzlement, to his successor, and so on, from one to another, for ever; but if his successor should refuse to give such security, then he bequeathed them to his Majesty's new-erected college at Chelsey, but conditionally again, that the said college was finished in six years after his decease; and, if that did not take effect, then to the university of Cambridge. Whether his successors, Abbot and Laud, gave the security demanded, or no, is uncertain; however, the books continued at Lambeth 'till this time, when the first design of building Chelsey-college having been set aside, and the order of Bishops being voted down, Mr Selden, of his own mere motion, and without any application at all, suggested to the university their right to the said books; and, by his direction and assistance, not only Archbishop Bancroft's books, but likewise his successor Abbot's, were delivered into the possession of the university. However, after the Restoration, when Archbishop Juxon demanded them back, and he dying in a short time, his successor Sheldon pursued the demand, as founded upon Bancroft's Will, they were restored to the Archbishop, and remain still in the library at Lambeth (86). The university of Cambridge wrote some letters of thanks to Selden on this occasion, in one of which they express themselves thus: *Illud propensissimum in nos animum non parum commendare possit, quod præter spem expectationemque omnem quasi Deo quopiam procurante dormientibus fere hæc evenerint, idemque dies & consilium titum, & felicissimum eventum obtulerit.* And in another letter they write as follows: *Tua primum solertia hunc thesaurum nobis auxerit, tua animi benevolentia academice vocavit, tuis auspiciis & diligentia suffragia omnium adjudicarunt* (87).

[TT] He was very serviceable to Oxford on many occasions.] The committee was appointed May 1, this year; and on the 15th a citation was fixed by the visitors upon the doors of the Convocation house, appointing both the Proctors, and all the Heads of colleges, to appear before them in that place, on the 19th of the next month, between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning; when it happened, that Harris, one

of the Visitors, preaching before them at St Mary's, held them 'till past eleven. Upon which, the Vice-chancellor, Dr Samuel Fell, having gotten a testimonial of the attendance of those that had been summoned, attested on the place in due form by a publick notary, immediately dismissed the assembly. However, the citation being renewed, both Dr Fell and the rest were ejected; among these was Dr Payne, Hebrew Professor, and Canon of Christ-Church. Selden, upon the death of Dr Morris, the Hebrew Professor, next year, procured an order from the committee, appointing Dr Pocke to succeed him in that Professorship, and to Dr Payne's Canonry. There are several letters expressing Selden's protection to the university, in his Life by Dr Wilkins; and a long one upon this occasion, in which they applied to him as their only hope and refuge. In one of these letters, Dr Gerard Langbaine, dated March 20, 1648, writes thus: Notwithstanding those common endearments, by which you have purchased so great an interest in their disconsolate university.—However, the condition of this place be now so desperate, that *salus ipsa servare non potest*; yet we are all abundantly satisfied in your unwearied care and passionate endeavours for our preservation. We know and confess,

— Si Pergama dextra

Defendi poterant etiam hac defensione fuissent.

Of this we are confident, next under God's, it must be imputed to your extraordinary providence, that we have stood thus long. You have been the only *belli mora*, and

Quicquid apud nostræ cessatum est mania Trojæ

Hæctoris (I cannot add *Æneæque*, for he had no second) — *manu victoria Graium*

Hæsit.

By your good acts and prudent manage, our six months have been spun out into two years, and it has been thus far verified upon us by your means,

Nec capti potuere capi.

In another letter, after this, it appears, they did not absolutely despair of his being able to serve them.

Noluit desperatissimam valetudinem medicinæ præcipue quam Deus & quædam interat, Te adstante & salvare jubente, adhuc denuo non diffidimus instauraturi sunt clienti, simul ac matri tuæ,

Academice Oxoniensi *. * Wilkins's Life, p. xliii.

Pocke was summoned, it is said, by the Visitors, to take the Covenant; upon which, his friend Greaves wrote to Selden, who advised neither to provoke them, nor to give them any advantage by appearing before them, but to keep out of the reach of their quarter-staff, which would strike down all before it, and against which there was no ward, but suffering or complying. Pocke's name being returned to the committee, as one that contemned their authority, Mr Greaves found the same continuance of affection from Selden as formerly; but he complained greatly of such injustice and wilful baseness, as made him weary of striving against the stream, tho' he said he despaired not entirely of doing Pocke some good. As Pocke, it is certain, was never before the Visitors upon this occasion, and yet kept his place, Dr Timothy Halton being asked about it, said, the Visitors never had the opportunity of pressing the Covenant upon any members of that university, nor was any removed for not taking it. That though, in their commission in 1647, the clause of tendering the Covenant was inserted, yet that com-

(84) See a further account of this worthy person, in Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham-college, p. 240, & seq. of which he was some time Law Professor.

(85) He died Nov 2, 1610; and his Will is dated Oct. 28, preceding.

(86) Wilkins.

(87) Dr Hill, Master of Trinity-college, and Vicechancellor, was also instrumental in procuring this disposition in favour of the University. Funeral Sermon, by Dr Tuckney.

the violent measures that were then pursued against the King, and when the Εικων Βασιλικη came out, presently after his Majesty's death, our author could by no means be prevailed upon to draw his pen against it, notwithstanding Cromwell employed his utmost interest to engage him thereto. After this, the management of publick affairs fell into hands, upon whom our author had no influence; he therefore spent his time altogether in his study, where he was sure both to gratify his own private humour, and at the same time to do eminent service to the publick. In 1650, he printed his first book *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Hebraeorum* [UU]. He profecuted this subject as long as he lived afterwards; to which he added a second book in 1653, and in the interim published, in 1652, a preface to the *Decem Scriptores Anglicanae*, containing an account of those writers, with some remarks upon their several histories in folio (bb). In 1653, he published his *Vindiciae secundum integritatem existimationis suae*, &c. and made his Will the same year. In the beginning of 1654, being near seventy years old, he began to decline very sensibly, and in some months grew apprehensive of his approaching dissolution; when, sending for Dr Usher and Dr Gerard Langbaine, he discoursed with them upon the vanity of learning, and declared, that all his hopes of salvation was upon the promises in Scripture. Not long after, having a mind to make some alterations in his Will, he wrote a letter to his friend Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq; in these terms:

‘ My Lord,
 ‘ I am a most humble suitor to your Lordship, that you would be pleased that I might
 ‘ have your presence for a little time tomorrow or next day. Thus much wearies the
 ‘ most weak hand and body of your Lordship's most humble servant,

‘ J. SELDEN (cc).”

This letter is dated November 10, 1654, from White-Friars. He had resided for some years in the Friary-house there, being possessed of it in the right of Elizabeth, Countess-dowager of Kent, who had appointed him executor of her Will, having before, from the first of her widowhood, committed the management of her affairs to him*. Mr Whitelocke came according to his request, but found his weakness so much increased, that he was not able to perform his intentions. He died the last day of November, 1654, and was buried, according to his own request †, in the Temple-church, Archbishop Usher preaching his funeral sermon. He wrote an inscription for his monument [WW], which was found in the same box with his Will (dd). By this last it appeared that he died very rich [XX], as well in other effects, as in books and monuments of literature. These he bequeathed

(bb) Dr Wilkins, in his preface, has given us a dissertation of Rudd, keeper of the Durham library, asserting the History of the Church of Durham to Simon Dunelmensis, Monk and Precentor of that monastery, against Selden, who ascribes it to Tergotus Prior of the same monastery.

(cc) Whitelocke's Memorians.

* He lived in a conjugal way with her, unmarried. Wood and Wilkins.

(dd) Langbaine's Letter to Dr Pococke, in the Life of the latter, prefixed to his English Works, by Leonard Twells.

† Mentioned in his Will. Mr Wood has given a very particular description of the vault in which he was buried.

(88) Pococke's Life, by Twells.

(89) Wood's History and Antiquities of Oxford.

(90) See Greaves's article.

(91) In Canone Chronico, p. 182.

mission was vacated; and in the next, granted November 28, 1648, the clause was omitted by the interest of Mr Selden (88). Mr Wood, who says this clause was inserted likewise in the second commission, tells us, that this commission was clandestinely obtained, only six or seven of the committee being present. It is not unlikely, that Mr Selden was one of the absent members; and, upon hearing what had been done, might procure either a revocation, or an order for this clause, which required the taking of the Covenant not to be put in execution (89). Dr Pococke was not the only person who felt the good effect of Mr Selden's friendship in these times; for, when Mr Greaves was ejected, this friend rescued the chest of his papers and mathematical instruments from the hands of the soldiers, and procured them for the owner (90).

[UU] *De Synedriis & Praefecturis Hebraeorum.* Among many other singular notions started in this treatise, he speaks of these Courts assembling before Moses; to which Sir John Marsham (91) remarks, that it does not appear that any of the Patriarchs before Moses, exercised any forensic jurisdiction, and much less that Courts of Law were constituted in the cities and villages: that the family of Heber, from Sem to Abraham, lived in Mesopotamia, and that it was not sufficiently clear that they were *sui juris*; that the posterity of Abram were in continual peregrination, 'till they were settled in Egypt, where they were far from having their own laws; that there was no republick of the Hebrews, no courts of Judicature, nor forensic practice, before they came out of Egypt; that the laws concerning the Judges were given at *Marah*, where God gave them statutes and judgments. Exod. xv. 25.

[WW] *He wrote an inscription for his monument.* It was drawn up in these terms: ‘ Natus est 16 Dec. Salvingtonæ, qui viculus est Terring, oppidi in Suffexia maritimi, in ædibus LACRES ibi dictum, parentibus honestis, Johanne Seldeno Thomæ filio (qui anno natus, septuagenarius obiit) & Margarita Barkeræ, Thomæ cognominis à Rushington, ex equestri in Cantia Bakerorum familia oriundi filia unica & hærede, quibus primogenitus erat & hæres. Fratres habuit ex hisce binos, Georgium & Henricum, in cunis

‘ mortuos; sororem unicam Mariam, Johanni Bernardo à Goring enuptam. Literis puerilibus in scholâ Cicestriensi publica Oxonium amandatus est; ubi, in Aula Cervina, disciplinis academicis per aliquot annos incubuit. Jus illic Anglicanum ultro affectans, primo Hospitii Cliffordensis Londini, deinde Interioris Templi, Maii 1604, Socius admissus est: non indiligenter loci studiis, nec infeliciter, operam navavit; sed genio suo indulgentior, nec molestiis forensibus fatis idoneus, ad alia, ut explorator, se contulit. Amicitias cujusque ordinis, optimis, doctissimis, amplissimis, etiam & illustrissimis, nec paucis beatus fruebatur †, nec sine summis procacium aliquot veritatis & libertatis justæ osorum inimicitias, quas gravissimè sed viriliter perpeffus est. Comitibus Parliamentariis ut Burgensis sæpius intererat, etiam & in illis quæ & Regem habuere & nullum. Denatus anno hic prope situs est (92).’

[XX] *He died very rich.* It appears by his Will, dated July 11, 1653, that his estate in land consisted of the manor, lordship, or Grange, of Cheadle in Staffordshire, and of diverse lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in Cheadle; and also of one third part of certain lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the county of Lincoln. The whole of these, as well as all his personal estate and sums of money belonging to him, either in his own right, or as executor of the last Will and Testament of the Lady Elizabeth, late Countess-dowager of Kent, he bequeathed, after discharging his funeral expences, debts, and legacies, to his executors, Edward Heyward, of Reyfsham in Norfolk, Esq; John Vaughan, of Troescod in the county of Cardigan, Esq; Rowland Jewks the elder, Esq; all of the Inner-Temple; and Matthew Hale, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; to be divided equally among them. Bishop Burnet having observed, that Judge Hale raised his fortune from a hundred a year, to near nine hundred, assures us, that a considerable part of this increase was the share he had in Selden's estate. Besides the legacies mentioned in remark [A], and those taken notice of in remark [YY], he bequeathed to the College of Physicians in London, Hippocrates's Aphorisms in Arabic, and such pieces of Galen as he had in Arabic,

† Among these was Grotius, Peiresk, Salmasius, Pochart Pricæus, Petit, Gerard Vossius, Imperiali, Holstenius, Rivet, Collius, Gronovius, Dan. Heinsius, Bæclerus, Spizelius, and other foreigners; besides Usher, Langbaine, Pococke, Sir Rob. Cotton, Joh. Greaves, &c. at home.

(92) Wilkins.

(ee) Mr Wood says, the University received it in the year 1659. History and Antiquities of Oxford, under the account of the Bodleian Library.

bequeathed to his executors, desiring them rather to part them among themselves, or otherwise dispose of them, or the choicest of them for some publick use, than to put them in any common sale; 'it may do well,' these are his words, 'in some convenient publick library, or of some college in one of the universities.' The executors, resolving, in honour to Mr Selden's memory, to keep the collection entire, first intended it for the society of the Inner-Temple, of which he was so many years a member; and it was removed to some chambers in the King's-Bench-walks there, for that purpose: but this society neglecting, for the space of five years, to provide a proper room to receive it, they gave it to the university of Oxford [YY], where a noble room was added to the Bodleian Library for its reception (ee), and all due respect was shewn by that learned body to their worthy benefactor [ZZ]. As to Mr Selden's character, his profound learning,

and the first book of Avicen in Arabic, and also all and every other books, among his manuscripts, of the oriental tongues, written upon Physick or Surgery. These legacies are left in a codicil annexed to his Will, and of the same date with it; after which he proceeds in these words: 'Item, Whereas the Right Honourable the Lady Elizabeth, late Countess dowager of Kent, did put to school in Holland, under the care of Mr Francis Junius, William Lyddell, a young boy, to be brought up there, and made fit for some course of life; being now past the age of twelve years, I give and bequeath to him, for his maintenance and education yearly, to begin at the first half year after my decease, the sum of 50*l.* until he be 18 years old, if he shall so long live, and no longer: or otherwise, and if he the said William Lyddell, shall live until he be of the said age of 18 years, then I give and bequeath to him the sum of 500*l.* for a stock to set up with for himself, or otherwise to enjoy it for his best advantage. Item, And whereas Jane Lyddell, sister to the said William Lyddell, was put to be an apprentice with _____, in St Martin's; if she shall live to be out of her apprenticeship, I give and bequeath unto her, the said Jane, the sum of 300*l.* for a portion to marry her with. Item, My will and desire is, that my servants of my family be competently maintained with diet together in my house, for some space after my decease, under the direction of my servant William Richardson; and that every one of them have the whole half-year's wages, for that half-year current wherein I shall happen to die. Item, I give and bequeath to my servant, Thomas Gill, 300*l.* and to my servants, James Gill, William Richardson, and Clement Lavander, 100*l.* a piece, to every of them. Item, To Philip Rumball, of Silesko in Bedfordshire, 100*l.* Item, to _____ Snead, my porter, 50*l.* All these, and the aforesaid sums, to be paid within three months after my decease. Item, I give and bequeath to Mrs Rachel Casewell, widow, since Mrs Williamson, the sum of 500*l.* Item, To Mrs Lucy Longueville, the sum of 100*l.* to Mark Lemon, 100*l.* to Anne Jenkins, 100*l.* All these sums I desire may be raised and paid within three months after my decease. Item, I give unto William, Lord Marquis and Earl of Hertford, my crystal cabinet, with the two cases thereto belonging, together with all the agate stones, and the rest that are in it. Item, I give and bequeath to the Right Hon. Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, a bason and ewer of silver gilt in yellow cases, the one marked A, the other B. Item, to the Right Hon. Jocelyn Lord Percy, my crystal ship, a galley, with all its tackling, and the case belonging to it; together with my square nicomy marble table, set in ebony and ivory. Item, To Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. a dozen of silver plates, parcel gilt, of Hercules's labours, in a yellow case, marked G; and a crystal kind of flagon, set in silver gilt, marked H, in a yellow case; and a cup of pearl shell, set in silver gilt, in a black case, Marked I; and my cabinet, covered with crimson velvet, which is in perspective the representation of the entrance into Hampton-court. Item, To Mr Grey Longueville, a bason and ewer, and two dozen plates, all parcel gilt, in several red cases, marked C, D, E, F, which were his great-uncle's, Henry Earl of Kent, and afterwards continued to Charles Earl of Kent, his grandfather, and then to Henry Earl of Kent, his uncle, the brother of Earl Charles, a fit heir-loom for his family; together with a hat-band set round with diamonds, which his said uncle usually wore, and is

'increased by me about the buckle with a broad diamond, and some other besides (93).'

[YY] They gave it to the university of Oxford.] Dr Gerard Langbaine, in a letter to Pococke, written soon after Selden's death, saith,

S I R,

I came here only time enough to see and speak with our good friend Mr Selden, who died on Thursday night, about 8 o'clock.—Yesterday I had the sight of so much of his Will as concerns the university. He has given to our publick library all his manuscripts of the oriental tongues, and Greek, not otherwise particularly disposed of; and all his Rabbinical and Talmudical books, which are not there already, or not of the same edition. These to be taken out of his library by you and myself. Item, All his marble statues, heads, and Greek pieces, to be conveyed to Oxford at the charge of his executors, and there placed on the walls of the library (94). The executors are, Justice Hales, Mr Vaughan, Mr Heyward, and Mr Jewx, who desire that you would speedily repair hither, to view and select what belongs to the university, before his library be otherwise meddled with. And to that purpose, I have written to the Vicechancellor and Mr Barlow, to send up the most perfect catalogue of the publick library, for our direction, and the executors satisfaction. To their discretion he hath left all the remainder of his books, not otherwise particularly bequeathed, either to be divided among themselves, or to be sent to the university, or some college or colleges, as they shall think fit. Bishop Burnet tells us, 'The executors were a little put to it, in making this donation to the university, without crossing the Will of their deceased friend. Mr Selden, continues he, had once intended to give his library to that university, and had left it so by his Will; but having occasion for a manuscript which belonged to their library, they asked of him a bond of 1000*l.* for its restitution. This he took so ill at their hands, that he struck out that part of his Will, by which he had given them his library, and with some passion declared they should never have it. The executors stuck at this a little; but having considered better of it, came to this resolution: That they were to be the executors of Mr Selden's Will, and not of his Passion.' There was the more room for such a construction in favour of the university, if it be true what we find in the *History of the Bodleian Library*, prefixed to the manuscripts of England and Ireland, the writer of which declares, he knew nothing of such a story as is told by Bishop Burnet, there being no publick evidence of it; but that it appeared from the university register, that Mr Selden had the liberty granted him in 1654, of borrowing any book out of the library, upon condition that he should take no more than three at a time, and give a bond of 100*l.* to restore them within a year.

[ZZ] Respect shewn to their benefactor.] In the room where his books were reposit, they put the following inscription at the entrance:

Auctuarium
Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ
Ex Musæo Johannis Seldeni
Jurisconsulti.

Likewise on the right hand of the west window:

Bibliothecam
Johannis Seldeni

Nitore

(93) Wilkins, from a copy in the museum of Longueville.

(94) He gave them also a map of China, made there, fairly done in colours, together with a sea-compass of their making, and divisions, which were both taken by an English commander, who being pressed exceedingly at a great ransom, and would not part with it.

(95) Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 93. Lond. 1682.

learning, it is well known, was the discourse of all the Literati in his time; but he seems to have been chiefly pleased with the attestation given of it by the famous Hugo Grotius, who intituled him, in this respect, *the Honour of the English nation*. Yet he is allowed to have some very singular opinions [AAA]. Besides the manuscripts which he left, that have been already mentioned, there were some others found among his papers [BBB]; and, in 1671, came out his *Discourse of the Office of Lord Chancellor of England*, in folio. To which was added, Dugdale's Catalogue of Lord Chancellors and Lord Keepers of England, from the Norman Conquest. In 1675, there was printed at London in 4to. *Johannis Seldeni Angli Liber de Nummis; in quo antiqua pecunia Romana & Græca metitur pretio ejus quæ nunc est in usu. Huic accedit Bibliotheca Nummaria*. But our Antiquary's name was abused, by setting it to that superficial tract, which was not written by him, and had been published before he was born (ff). In 1683, Dr Adam Littleman, together with his English translation of *Jani Anglorum facies altera*, published the two following pieces of our author; one, *Of the Original of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Testaments*; and the other, *Of the Disposition or Administration of Intestates Goods*. In 1689, his amanuensis, Richard Milward, published a piece in 4to. intituled, *Mr Selden's Table-talk, being discourses of his sense of various matters of weight and high consequence, relating especially to Religion and State*. Yet many of these have been thought not genuine, as containing inconsistencies in the several parts, and some remarks not worthy of our author's learning and judgment (gg). In 1725, Dr David Wilkins published an edition of Mr Selden's Works, in three volumes in folio, containing several speeches, arguments, debates, and letters, never before printed. To which is prefixed, an Account of the Author's Life [CCC]; where among other things he tells us, that Selden, notwithstanding his opinions concerning the power of the Church, yet was a friend to the Church of England. Mr Baxter assures us, that Sir Matthew Hale told him, Selden was a *resolved serious Christian, and a great adversary to Hobbes's errors*; and that Sir Matthew Hale affirmed, he had seen Selden openly oppose Hobbes so earnestly, as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the room (hb). Mr Whitelocke says, *his mind was as great as his learning, being very generous and hospitable, and a good companion, especially where he liked*. Dr Wilkins observes (ii), that *he was charitable, especially to scholars*; and Mr Wood gives a remarkable instance of this, in the case of Henry Jacob, a man of more learning than prudence (kk). Dr Wilkins produces some others, but observes that he was naturally of a severe temper, which was soured by his sufferings; so that he was free only with

(AA) He was bred under Erpenius, and instructed Selden in Hebrew, assisted him in writing the *Mare Clausum*, and on some of his other pieces made several remarks, which are printed in Wilkins's preface to his Works. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 159. Selden's *Vindiciae*, &c. p. 53. edit. 1653.

(ff) The true author was Alexander Sardo of Ferrara. It was published in 1575 at Mentz, in 4to. with the *Bibliotheca Nummaria* subjoined to it, by Father Labbé the Jesuit.

(gg) Dr Wilkins, as before; and the publisher of the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ*, anno 1684.

(hb) Notes on the Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 40. edit. 1682.

(ii) In the Life of our author.

Nitore ingenii, candore morum, præcellentia doctrinæ,
 Imparilis viri heic repositam
 Johannes Vaughan, Matthæus Hale, Rolandus Jewks,
 Armigcri
 (Quibus testamenti sui fidem mandavit) in
 Duraturam tanti Viri memoriam & rei literariæ
 Bonum, amplissimæ huic Academiæ sacratam voluere.

And in honour of their legacy of the marbles, which were placed according to the direction of his Will, mentioned by Dr Langbaine, as above, about the walls of the library, the university set up a stone, inclosed in an iron palisado, in the præscholium of the Divinity-school, with this inscription:

Universitas Oxoniensis
 Johanni Vaughan supremo Tribunalis Regii Justitiario
 Matthæo Hale
 Fisci Regii Baroni Primario
 Rolando Juks Armigero
 Viris ex recondita Juris peritia
 Et virtute magis sua
 Illustribus
 Ob antiqua marmora & bibliothecam instructissimam
 Diligentia & sumptu ingenti comparatam
 Johannis Seldeni
 Academiæ olim Alumni, Patroni
 Et Burgensis Parlamentarii
 Jurisconsultorum Doctissimi
 Antiquariorum Coryphæi
 Munificentia insolita & merito suspicienda
 Ab ipsis dono datum
 Monumentum hoc honoris ergo
 Et gratitudinis
 L. M. L.
 Posuit
 XII cal. Jan. ann. MDCLXIX.

[AAA] He had some singular opinions.] Many such have been already mentioned in the course of these me-

moirs, and another will be the subject of the ensuing remark. To these may be added, his opinion concerning Excommunication, which was animadverted on in a piece written expressly for that purpose, by Dr Henry Hammond, and printed under the title *Of the Power of the Keys*.

[BBB] Some others were found among his papers.]

Mr Selden ordered all the papers and notes that were in his own hand-writing, except those relating to *Eutychius's Annals*, to be burnt. Those that were saved, must have been wrote by his amanuensis. These were, (1.) *The Life of Friar Bacon*, written in Latin. Selden had been at some expence in procuring the materials, and gave the copy to Sir Kenelm Digby, in order to have it printed at Paris; but Mr Wood, who tells us this (96), tells us also, that all the papers were embezzled and lost. (2.) *Collections out of many Records and Antiquities*. (3.) *Collection of Votes and Records of various Subjects, marked M*. (4.) *Extracts of the Leger Books of Battle, Evesham, Winton* &c.

(96) Ath. Oxon. under Selden's article, Vol. II.

* N. Bacon's Historical and Political Discourses on the Laws and Government of England, are said in the title-page to be collected from some manuscript papers of Selden. Lond. edit. 5. 1760, 4to.

[CCC] His Works were published by Dr Wilkins.]

The two first volumes of this collection contain his Latin Works, and in the third are inserted the English ones; among which, besides those that have been mentioned in the course of the present memoir, there are several other small pieces, as follow: 1. *Of the Privileges of the Baronage of England, in respect to their Judicature in Parliament*. 2. *A letter to Augustyne Vincent Rouge-Croix, concerning his Discovery of Errors*. 3. *An Argument concerning the Baronies of Grey and Ruthen*. 4. *Notes on Sir John Fortescue, de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. 5. *Several Speeches and Arguments*. 6. *Letters and Poems* (97). To which must be added, two letters of our author to Mr Thomas Greaves, inserted in the account of Mr John Greaves's Life, prefixed to his Miscellaneous Works, by Dr Thomas Birch (98). Mr Wood likewise tells us, our author had a considerable hand, and gave directions and advice, towards the edition of *Plutarch's Lives*, printed in 1657, with an addition of the year of the world, and the year of our Lord, together with many chronological notes and explications, out of divers authors (99).

(97) These are inserted at the end of the second volume.

(98) Printed at London, 1737, in 2 vols, 8vo.

(99) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

[A] All

(ll) Biblioth. Selecta, Tom. VII. p. 117. and Wilkins in Præfat. p. 11.

(mm) Ars Critica, Vol. I. p. 142. and Bibl. Choise, Tom. III. p. 140. and Tom. VII. p. 82. apud Wilkins in Præfat. p. 11.

(nn) The words *insolentius læsæ in vindiciis* are omitted in the General Dictionary, which might perhaps lead that author into his mistake, since, without these words, the title is not so properly obscure, as clear nonsense.

(oo) In remark [FF].

(pp) Theophilus Spizelius in literato Commonefactione xxx. p. 908. & seqq. apud Wilkins in Præfat. p. 11.

* It should be 84th year.

(qq) But Dr Hickes observes, that he was not master of the Anglo-Saxon language. Præfat. to *Theſaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*.

with a few. As to his writings, his style is universally condemned. Budd has well observed, that it is a melange of all that is bad, as well as all that is good, in the Latin language (ll). Le Clerc complains of the trouble caused to the reader, by his obscurity, as well as the perplexity of his method (mm), of which he has given a remarkable instance. We have given another in the article of Sir Henry Spelman, and a third is superadded by a mistake in the General Dictionary, the writer of which, in the conclusion of his account of the *Mare Clausum*, tells us, that this book of our author was attacked by Peter Baptista Burgus, which occasioned him to publish at London, in 1653, *Vindiciæ secundum integritatem existimationis suæ per convitium de descriptione Maris Clausi petulantissimum & mendacissimum insolentius læsæ in Vindiciis* (nn) *Maris Liberi, adversus Petrum Baptistam Burgum, Ligustici maritimi Domini adfertorem, Hagæ Comitum jam nunc emissis*. Whereas we have already observed (oo), that Selden's *Vindiciæ, &c. Maris Clausi*, was wrote against Grafwinckel's *Vindiciæ Maris Liberi*, which was levelled against Peter Burk's book adversus Petrum Baptistam Burgum, who agreed with our author in general, that the sea, as well as the earth, is subject to some states, but maintained, that the dominion of the former belonged to the Genoeſe. Nor, indeed, to do Selden justice, is his meaning so obscurely expressed, as to lead a reader of common attention into any mistake, which too the first words of the piece would have discovered. Notwithstanding this censure of his style and method, his writings are allowed, by the several censurers, to be full of various and uncommon erudition, and useful observations; and, in justice to him, we must not conclude, without ballancing their animadversions with the following elogium, made also by a foreigner (pp), who, speaking of our author, writes thus: '*Felix tunc erat atque beata Terra Angliæ, &c.* England was then blessed and happy, when she brought forth that inexhaustible treasure of Hebrew antiquities and various erudition, in the 44th year* of the last century, at Salvington. Nor did he keep it to himself alone, but communicated it to the whole learned world; for Nature had given this man that force of sagacity and quickness of wit, that whatever subject he turned his thoughts upon, he seemed not then to learn it, but to have learned it before, and with Plato to remember it. She had endued him also with a firmness and constancy of mind, equal to his wit, in undertaking and executing the most consummately arduous labours; and, whatever he had once resolved upon, for the benefit and advantage of letters, he never suffered it to slip out of his hands, either by a lassitude or listlessness (with which learned men are sometimes seized), and much less by any laziness or languor. Hence sprung that profound knowledge in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Rabbinical, Syriac, and Arabic, tongues (qq); as also his perfect acquaintance with all parts of Philosophy, and of the laws both divine and human: so that, whatever was any where extant, concerning the opinions of Philosophers, or the commentaries of the Lawyers, this Hercules daringly attempted all the difficulties, and, by turning the books over with incredible care, did not fail, as it were, to dispatch them; after which, tempering them with the laws, maxims, and opinions, of the Hebrews, he converted every thing to his own use, that is, to the illustration of sacred and venerable antiquity.' After all, the most endearing part of Mr Selden's character is elegantly touched by himself, in the choice of his motto, *Περὶ πάντων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. i. e. LIBERTY ABOVE ALL THINGS.* P

SHADWELL [THOMAS], Poet-Laureat to King William the Third and Queen Mary, was descended from a younger branch of an ancient family in Staffordshire (a), and was born about the year 1640, at Lanton Hall in Norfolk, a seat of his father, who was bred at Caius-college in Cambridge, and thence removed to the Middle-Temple, to study the Law; but having an ample fortune left him by an uncle, did not trouble himself with the practice, chusing rather to serve his country as a Justice of Peace. He was in that commission for three counties, Middlesex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and discharged the office with distinguished ability and exact integrity. In the Civil Wars he sided with the King, and was a great sufferer for the Royal Cause; so that, having a numerous family (b), he was reduced to the necessity of selling and spending a considerable part of his estate, to support it (c). In these circumstances, he resolved to breed this son to his own profession; and for that purpose, he sent him first to the same college, and then to the same seminary of Law, in which he had compleated his own education: but the son, after spending some time in both, took a resolution to travel abroad, having, as it should seem, no disposition to plod in the drudgery of the Law. He had a taste, and some genius, for polite literature; and, upon his return home, falling into the acquaintance of some of the most celebrated persons for wit and distinguished quality in the age, he thought no more of the Law, but applied himself wholly to cultivate those elegant studies, which were the fashionable amusements of the times: and it was not long before he became eminent in dramattick poetry, a specimen of which appeared in a play called *The Sullen Lovers; or the Impertinents. A Comedy*, which was acted at the Duke of York's theatre, and printed in 1668. In this piece, our author represented variety of humours, according to the practice of Ben Jonson, whom he says all dramattick poets ought to imitate, though none are like to come near, he being the only person that appears to have made perfect

(a) The eldest branch were possessed of an estate of above 500 l. per ann. for more than three centuries, and that without any honours or publick employes. Some Account of Mr Shadwell and his Writings, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1720.

(b) He had eleven children. Ibid.

(c) He was afterwards Recorder of Galway in Ireland, and Receiver there to the Duke of York. He was some time also Attorney-General at Tangier, under the Earl of Inchiquin. Ibid.

perfect representations of human life [A]. As the play was well received, he pushed his genius on in the same road, and wrote a great many more comedies, which met with good success.

[A] *All the dramatic Poets ought to imitate Ben Jonson*] Shadwell certainly did not judge amiss of the turn of his own genius, when he sets Father Ben for his pattern in humorous characters; in which respect, Jonson will always stand a monument of honour to the Poetic Tribe. 'Tis true, Shadwell followed his leader at an humble distance, as he succeeded him, after many intermediate steps, as Poet-Laureat; to which title Ben too was the occasion of procuring a remarkable honour from his friend Mr Selden; who, at his request, drew up the following account of it's antiquity; it is in his *Treatise of the Titles of Honour*; where, in speaking of the Counts Palatine, he gives an instance of the form made use of by that Count in creating a Poet-Laureat; the awful solemnity of which is not a little entertaining, as follows.

The course also used by Counts Palatine, in giving the crown of Laurel to Poets, is seen especially in that of Johannes Crusius, who received it at Strasburg in anno 1616, from the hands of Thomas Obrechtus, a Professor of Law and Count Palatine. First, the time and place were solemnly appointed by a public instrument from the Count; where he shews, how much degrees in learning conduce to the advancement of it; and then, that Paulus Crusius, having first received the dignity of Master of Arts, now out of his happy vein in verse, deserved also the laurel of Poetry; and, therefore, by virtue of the power and licence that he had from the Emperor, he appointed the twenty-third of December* for the solemnity of giving it him. Quamobrem, says he, omnes literarum studiorumque amantes, ac imprimis illustres & generosos Dominos, Comites, atque Barones, Patres Academicos omnes, omnium ordinum Doctores, Licentiatos, Professores, Magistros; auditores nobilissimos, præstantissimos, doctissimos, ea quæ decet animi veneratione, invitamus, ut felicitatem hujus actus literarii, illustri ac honorifica sua præsentia, non solum illustrare atque exornare, verum pia etiam vota, hac præsertim conclamata tempestate, pro salute ecclesiæ scholæ & reipublicæ, ad Deum facere nobiscum velint, majorem in modum rogamus ac obtestamur.

At the day appointed, the assembly being full, Crusius begins with the recital of this petitory epigram:

Cæsarei comes alme fori, clarissime Thoma,
Si merui laurum, Phœbus adesto mihi:
Si minus, hic reddas justæ argumenta repulsæ.
Parce monitis, parte in utraque, tuis.
Fallor? an adspicio viridem sub veste coronam.
O Dii! quam pulchre laurus amœna viret!
Cæsaris hoc munus, vigeat cum Cæsare laurus:
Prævaleat vulgo gratia Cæsarea
Quæ mihi contingit per te, celeberrime Confe,
Si mihi continget laurea Cæsarea.

Then the Count Palatine made a long speech in praise of the art of Poetry; which he concluded with—Audivistis hæstenus satis superque, uti spero, auditores nobilissimi, intellexistis artem Poeticam reipublicæ & utilem & necessariam esse, ejus cultores dignis officiendos præmiis, titulum & privilegia Poætæ laureati, non quibusvis promiscue & sine discretionem, sed iis tandem conferenda esse, in arte Poëtica singulares qui secerunt progressus. Then directing himself to Crusius, that was to be honoured with the laurel, Cum itaque, saith he, tu magister Johannes Paulus Crusius, Poëseos candidate, ad eundem honoris & dignitatis titulum aspirare cupias; tui jam officii tuarumque partium erit, ut antequam petitus honoris titulus, solenni cum applausu tibi conferatur, eruditionis tuæ insigne ac nobile aliquod specimen illustri huic auditorio edas, exhibeas te talem, qualem te commendo, ut omnibus & singulis liquido constet, te eum esse, quem ipsa eruditio ac doctrina commendat, & ipsa virtus & morum integritas condecorat, ipsa justitia honore petito condecorandum dignum judicet, nec ipsa etiam invidia, virtutis comes, idem denegat.

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Then Crusius recited a poem of above three hundred verses; his theme (chosen by himself) being, *Quam nihil omnis homo!* And these verses are called in the act of creation, *Specimen pro impetranda laurea*. Next the Count Palatine, (to the end, that this act of conferring the laurel might have the fuller credit and authority with all that were present) produces the Emperor's patent, that made him Count Palatine, and gave him this authority, and hath it recognized, upon a solemn observation of the seal and subscription, by a public notary, and openly read by him also. Thence he sums up the authority given him, and shews, that the course is, that whosoever is to be crowned with the laurel ought first to take an oath to the Emperor and his successor; which he bids the public notary read to Crusius, and he carefully to hearken to it. The oath was,

Promittes & jurabis, quod velis esse invictissimo, potentissimo, & serenissimo, Principi ac Domino Domino Matthiæ primo Romanorum Imperatori semper augusto, & eidem sacro Romano Imperio omnibus successoribus ejus Romanorum Imperatoribus ac regibus legitime intrantibus, fidelis; nec unquam assistes consilio, ubi periculum eorum tractetur, sed bonum & salutem eorum defendes fideliter & promovebis; damna eorum pro tua possibilitate & facultate vitabis & avertes; quæ in laudem & honorem Romani Imperii spectabunt aliquando carminibus celebrabis, amplificabis; nec licentia data in maledicentiam & convitia prorumpes; ab omnibus famosis libellis abstinebis; & omnia, quæ Cæsareum verum, sincerum, & Germanum Poëtam jure vel consuetudine decent, modo sint honesta & justa, diligenti exercitio & morum ornatu, facies & præstabis.

By direction then of the Count, he lays his hand on the book, and swears, *Hæc omnia prælestia summa, qua potero, obedientia & diligentia observabo & faciam, ut me Deus adjuvet & hæc sancta Dei Evangelia*. The oath thus taken; because, says the Count, I doubt not, but that, during your whole life, you will truly observe what you have thus sworn, it remains only, that I now give you the laurel appointed for you.

Te itaque Johannem Paulum Crusium Argentinesem, liberalium artium & disciplinarum magistrum, in hac florentissima assidentium & adstantium corona ob insignes ingenii tui dotes, præsertim vero artis Poëticæ doctrinam singularem, peritiam eximiam, ut moris est, vigore ac tenore Cæsarei hujus nostri diplomatis, tanquam Comes Palatinus augustissima imperatoris ac Cæsareæ Majestatis auctoritate, hac laurea Poëtica coronamus, condecoramus, donamus, ac Poëtam ac Vatem-Laureatum, pronuntiamus, proclamamus, facimus, creamus, promovemus, aureoque hoc annulo ornamus, condecoramus, & hoc ipso laurea Poëticæ insignibus ac titulis insignimus, investimus, aliorumque Poëtarum numero ordini & consortio cooptamus, adscribimus, & aggregamus. Concedimus insuper, plenamque facultatem auctoritatem & licentiam elargimur, ut tu per nos laurea Poëticæ titulo sic donatus, ab hac hora iis fruiturum possis & valeas, omnibus in urbibus civitatibus, communitatibus, universitatibus, collegiis & academiis quibuscunque universis sacri Romani imperii, & ubi libet terrarum, in artis Poëticæ facultate publice legere, docere, scribere, interpretari, commentari, cathedram ascendere, disputare, ac omnes præterea eos actus Poëticos, quos cæteri Poëtæ-Laureati solenniter insigniti & investiti subire, facere, & experiri, soliti sunt, suscipere, & exercere. Ac omnibus denique ac singulis quibuscunque Poëtæ, quocunque deinceps in loco, & a quibuscunque potestatem facultatemque lauream conferendi habentibus promoti, ornamentis, insignibus, privilegiis, prærogativis, exemptionibus, honoribus, præ-eminentiis, favoribus, indultis, & gratiis, uti, frui, potiri, & gaudere, quomodo libet consuetudine vel de jure, omni dolo fraude contradictione quorumcunque ac sinistra machinatione sublata penitus ac remota.

With a laurel we see also a ring was given him; and after the Count had made another speech, touching the laurel and ring, the crowned Poet recites another poem of thanks for his dignity; and so the act ended.

In proceeding, Mr Selden further observes, that this custom of giving crowns of laurel to Poets, as the ensigns of a degree of mastership in poetry, had continued above an hundred and fifty years † in the empire

† This was written in 1637.

* The instrument was dated the 20th of that month.

success. In the mean while, as it was impossible in these times to shine among the great ones, which is the poet's ambition, without siding with one of the parties, Whig or Tory, Mr Shadwell's lot fell among the Whigs; and, in consequence thereof, he was set up as a rival to Mr Dryden. Hence there grew a mutual dislike between them; and, upon the appearance of the Laureat's tragedy, called *The Duke of Guise*, in 1683, our author was charged (d) with having the principal hand in writing a piece, intituled, *Some Reflections on the pretended Parallel, in the Play called The Duke of Guise, in a Letter to a Friend*; which was printed the same year, in four sheets, 4to. Mr Dryden wrote a vindication of the Parallel, and such a storm was raised, both against Shadwell, and his friend Hunt, who assisted him in it, that this latter was forced to fly into Holland (e); and we find our author complaining, that in these, which he calls, the worst of times, 'his ruin was designed and his life sought; and that for near ten years he was kept from the exercise of that profession, which had afforded him a competent subsistence (f).' However, he was abundantly rewarded for these sufferings, whatever they were, after the Revolution, by seeing himself crowned with the laurel which was stripped from the brows of his antagonist; who thereupon, by way of revenge, wrote the bitterest satire against him that ever was penned, under the name of *Mac Flecknoe* [B]. Our new Laureat had the misfortune also to enjoy his honour but a very few years; for, being seized, as was thought, with an apoplexy (g), he died suddenly in November, 1692, in the fifty-second year of his age, at Chelsey; in which church he was interred on the 24th of the same month (h), when his friend Dr Nicholas Brady preached his funeral sermon; wherein he assures us, that our author was 'a man of great honesty and integrity, and had a real love of truth and sincerity; an inviolable fidelity and strictness to his word; an unalterable friendship, wherever he professed it; and (however the world may be mistaken in him) a much deeper sense of religion, than many others have, who pretend to it more openly.' The Doctor proceeds with observing, that 'His natural and acquired abilities made him sufficiently remarkable to all that he conversed with, very few being equal to him, in all the becoming qualities and accomplishments, which adorn and set off a complete gentleman; that his very enemies, continues this preacher, if he has any left behind him, will give him this character, at least if they knew him so thoroughly as I did.' By a remark which the same friend makes afterwards, we are led into an opinion, that he fell a sacrifice to a habit of taking of opium to excess. 'His death, says the preacher, seized him suddenly; but he could not be unprepared, since, to my certain knowledge, he never took his dose of opium, but he solemnly recommended himself to God by prayer (i).' After his death came out *The Volunteers, or the Stock-Jobbers, a Comedy*, acted by their Majesties servants, with a dedication to the Queen by Mrs Anne Shadwell, our author's widow; and an epilogue, wherein his character as a poet is set in the best and most advantageous light; which, perhaps, was judged necessary to ballance the very different drawing, and even abusive representation, of it, by Mr Dryden [C], who is generally condemned for

(d) By Dryden, in his Vindication of the Parallel, p. 40. See his article.

(e) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 729. and Vol. I. col. 364.

(f) Dedication to the Earl of Dorset of *Bury-Fair. A Comedy*, printed in 1689, 4to.

(g) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 414.

(h) Id. ibid. In the Inscription upon his monument in Westminster-abbey, his death is dated Decemb. 4, by mistake.

(i) Funeral Sermon, p. 40.

Bale, cent. 8. script. 66.

† In some pieces then published. See *Antibiblicon*. Lond. 1520.

† MS. in Bibl. Cotton.

|| See a further account of these ornaments, under his article.

§ Cent. 7. Scriptor. 23.

(1) Titles of Honour, p. 457 to 466. in Vol. III. of Selden's Works, edit. 1725.

(2) Rochester's Session of the Poets.

(3) Some Account of Dryden, &c. prefixed to his Poems, published in 1760, in 4 vols, 8vo.

empire at least. That in the latter empire, it proceeded from a kind of example which was under the old Roman Emperors. That such crowns were made proper to the gift of Emperors, by an institution of Domitian; and as from the use of the old empire the latter took the example of crowning Poets, so from that of the latter, some use of giving the laurel was anciently received in England; John Skelton had the title of Laureat * under Henry the Eighth; and in the same time, Robert Whittington called himself † *Grammaticæ magister & Protovates Angliæ in florentissima Oxoniensi Academia Laureatus*. Under Edward the Fourth, one John Kay, by the title of his humble Poet-Laureat, dedicates to him *The Siege of Rhodes* in prose †. But John Gower, a famous Poet under Richard the Second, buried in St Mary Overy's church, hath his statue crowned with ivy mixed with roses ||. *Habet ibidem statuam*, says Bale §, *duplici nota insignem, nempe aurea torque, & hederacea corona rosis interserta* (1).

[B] Dryden revenged this affront in his *Mac Flecknoe*.] Dryden seems to have carried his resentment even to the friends of his rival; in this spirit we find him expressing great contempt for Otway, with whom our author was a great favourite, and lived in a most friendly intimacy (2). 'Tis certain, this contempt for Otway was against his clear judgment, and he afterwards recanted it (3). To speak freely, this promotion of our Poet to the laurel was apparently the effect of party, and the exigency of the times upon the Revolution, which made it prudent, in disposing of all offices in the State, to have an eye chiefly to a firm attachment and warm zeal for the new establishment. Accordingly, we are told, that when some persons urged to the then Lord-Chamberlain, that there were others who had better pretensions to the laurel; his Lordship replied, he would

not pretend to say how great a Poet Shadwell might be, but was sure he was an honest man (4).

[C] *The advantageous character in The Epilogue to the Volunteers might be a ballance to the abuse of him by Dryden*] It will be proper to lay them both before the reader, that, by contrasting them to each other, his true character may at last be fixed. In *Mac Flecknoe*, the God of Dulness is introduced, making this speech upon the choice of a proper person as a son to succeed him:

Shadwell alone my perfect image bears,
Mature in dulness from his tender years.
Shadwell alone of all my sons is high,
He stands confirm'd in full stupidity.
The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into sense.
Some beams of wit on other souls may fall,
Strike thro' and make a lucid interval.
But Shadwell's genuine night admits no ray,
His rising fogs prevail upon the day.
Besides, is goodly fabric fills the eye,
And seems design'd for thoughtless majesty.

The character in the Epilogue is as follows:

Shadwell the great support 'oth' comic stage,
Born to expose the follies of the age.
To whip prevailing vices, and unite
Mirth with instruction, profit with delight.
For large ideas and a flowing pen,
First, of our times, and second, but to Ben.

Whofe

(4) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, under our author's article.

for treating our author a little too unmercifully, his resentment carrying him even beyond the bounds of truth; for that, though it must be owned he fell vastly short of Jonson, whom he set to himself as a model of excellence, yet it is certain there are high authorities in favour of many of his comedies, and the best judges of that age gave their testimony for them. They have in them fine strokes of humour [D]; the characters are often original, strongly marked, and well sustained. Add to this, that he had the greatest expedition imaginable in writing, and sometimes produced a play in less than a month (k). Besides seventeen plays, he wrote several other pieces of poetry [E], some of which have been commended. An edition of his Works, with some account of his Life and Writings prefixed, was published in 1720, in four volumes, 8vo.

(k) Dedication to the Earl of Dorset, of his comedy called *The Miser*.

Whose mighty genius and discerning mind,
Trac'd all the various humours of mankind.
Dressing them up with such successful care,
That every fop found his own picture there;
And blush'd for shame at the surprizing skill,
Which made his lov'd resemblance look so ill.
Shadwell, who all his lines from nature drew,
Copied her out, and kept her still in view:
Who never sunk in prose, nor soar'd in verse;
So high as bombast, or so low as farce.
Who ne'er was brib'd by title or estate,
To fawn and flatter with the rich and great.
To let a gilded vice or folly pass,
But always lash'd the villain and the ass.

comedy called *Epsom Wells* is so diverting, and withal so true a comedy, that even foreigners, who are not generally the kindest to the wit of our nation, have extremely commended it; and, continues he, 'tis no small credit to our author, that the Sieur de St Evremond, speaking of our English comedies in his *Essays*, has ranked this play with Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, as two of our most diverting comedies (6).

[E] *Plays and other poetical pieces.*] The titles of his Plays are, I. *The Sullen Lovers: or, the Impertinents*. II. *The Humourists*, a comedy. III. *The Royal Shepherdess*, a tragi-comedy. IV. *The Virtuoso*, a comedy. V. *Psyche*, a tragedy. VI. *The Libertine*, a tragedy. VII. *Epsom Wells*, a comedy. VIII. *The History of Timon of Athens*. IX. *The Miser*, a comedy. X. *A true Widow*, a comedy, dedicated to Sir Charles Sedley; the prologue was written by Dryden; which shews, that there was no open quarrel between them in the year 1679, when this play was acted. But we have shewn above, that it broke out not long after. XI. *The Lancashire Witches and Teague O Divelly, the Irish Priest*, a comedy. XII. *The Woman Captain*, a comedy. XIII. *The Squire of Alsatia*, a comedy. XIV. *Bury Fair*, a comedy. XV. *The amorous Bigots, with the second part of Teague O Divelly*, a comedy. XVI. *The Scowrers*, a comedy. XVII. *The Volunteers: or, The Stock-Jobbers*, a comedy. Among his poems, the principal are, *A Congratulatory Poem on the Prince of Orange's coming to England*. Another on Queen Mary. Translation of the tenth Satire of Juvenal, &c.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 445, 446.

[D] *Some of his Plays have in them fine strokes of humour*] Mr Langbaine, speaking of his comedy called *The Virtuoso*, tells us, that no body will deny this play it's due applause: at least, I know, says he, that the university of Oxford, who may be allowed competent judges of Comedy, especially of such characters as Sir Nicholas Gimerack and Sir Formal Trifle, applauded it. And as no man ever undertook to discover the frailties of such pretenders to this kind of knowledge before Mr Shadwell, so none since Mr Jonson's time ever drew so many different characters of humour, and with such success (5). The same Critic also observes, that our author's

(5) Account of the English Dramatic Poets, p. 451. Oxf. 1691.

P.

SHAKESPEARE [WILLIAM] was descended of a gentleman's family [A], at Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warwick; but his father entering into the wool-trade,

[A] *Descended of a gentleman's family.*] Mr Betterton, the player, who took a journey to Stratford, on purpose to get some informations concerning our author, found by the register and public writings relating to that town, that the family of the Shakespeare's was of good figure and fashion there, and mentioned as gentlemen (1). But this was put beyond dispute by Mr Pope (2); who procured the following transcript from the instrument in the Herald's-Office:

(1) Rowe's Life of Shakespeare.

(2) Preface to his edition of Shakespeare's Works.

' To all and singular, noble, and gentlemen of all estates and degrees, bearing arms, to whom these presents shall come. William Dethicke, Garter-Principal King at Arms of England, and William Cambden, alias Clarencieux King at Arms for the south, east, and west parts of this realm, send greeting. Know ye, that in all nations and kingdoms the record and remembrance of worthy men have been made known and divulged by certain shields of arms and tokens of chivalrie; the grant and testimony whereof appertaineth unto us, by virtue of our offices from the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, and her Highness's most noble and victorious progenitors: wherefore, being solicited, and by credible report informed, that John Shakespere, now of Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warwick, Gentleman (3); whose Great Grandfather, for his faithful and approved service to the late most pudent Prince, King Henry the Seventh, of famous memory, was advanced and rewarded with lards and tenements, given to him in those parts of Warwickshire, where they have continued, by some descents, in good reputation and credit; and for that the said John Shakespere having married

(3) This John was evidently our poet's father, and 'tis said he took out this instrument in honor of his son. Theobald's preface to Shakespeare.

' the daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden, of Wellingcote, in the same county; and also produced this his ancient Coat of Arms, heretofore assigned to him, whilst he was her Majesty's officer and bayliff of that town: In consideration of the premises, and for the encouragement of his posterity, unto whom such blazon of Arms and Achievements of inheritance from their said mother, by the ancient custom and law of Arms, may lawfully descend; we the said Garter and Clarencieux have assigned, granted, and confirmed, and by these presents, exemplified unto the said John Shakespere and to his posterity, that shield and Coat of Arms, viz. *In a field of gold, upon a bend, fables; a spear of the first, the point upward, bended, argent; and for his crest or cognizance, A falcon, Or; with his wings displayed, standing on a wreath of his colours, supporting a spear, armed, headed, or steeled, silver, fixed upon an helmet, with mantles and tassels; as more plainly may appear depicted in this margin.* And we have likewise impaled the same with the ancient Arms of the said Arden of Wellingcote; signifying, thereby, that it may and shall be lawful for the said John Shakespere, Gent. to bear and use the same shield of Arms, single or impaled as aforesaid, during his natural life; and that it shall be lawful for his children, issue, and posterity, lawfully begotten, to bear, use, and quarter, and shew forth, the same, with their due differences, in all lawful warlike feats and civil use or exercises, according to the laws of Arms, and custom that to gentlemen belongeth, without let or interruption of any person or persons for use and bearing the same. In witness and testimony whereof, we have subscribed our names, and fastned the seals

of

(a) Shakespeare's Life, by Rowe.

(b) See the instrument in remark [A].

(c) Mr Rowe tells us, that, upon the best enquiry, he found, the ghost in his own Hamlet was the top of his performances as an actor.

(4) See her monument in the church of Stratford.

(5) In the same church. It is there said, she died July 2, 1649, aged 66.

(6) These were the arms of the Lucies. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire.

trade, dealt considerably that way (a). He married the daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden, of Wellingcote in the same county (b). This gentlewoman brought him ten children, of whom our poet was the eldest, being born in April 1564. At a proper age he was put to the free-school in Stratford, where he acquired the rudiments of Grammar-learning. Whether he discovered at this time any extraordinary genius or inclination for the Classics, is very uncertain; to make the best of any, he might be endued with, in that kind, was not the point in his father's view. He had no design to make a scholar of his son, but, on the contrary, took him early from school into his own business. He did not continue very long in this employ, as a minor, under the immediate guidance of his father; he resolved to write man sooner than ordinary, and at seventeen years of age married a woman of twenty-five. However, in respect to fortune, it was no imprudent match [B]; and thus young Shakespeare not only commenced master of a family, but became father of two if not three children, before he was out of his minority [C]. So settled, he had no other thoughts than of pursuing the wool-trade, when happening to fall into acquaintance with some persons, who followed the practice of deer-stealing, he was prevailed upon to engage with them in robbing Sir Thomas Lucy's park, at Cherlocot near Stratford. The injury being repeated more than once, that gentleman was provoked to enter a prosecution against the delinquents; and Shakespeare in revenge made him the subject of a ballad [D], which tradition says (for unluckily the piece is lost) was pointed with so much bitterness, that it became unsafe for the author to stay any longer in the country. To escape the hands of the Law, he fled to London, where, as might be expected from a man of wit and humour in his circumstances, he threw himself among the players. Thus, at length, this grand luminary was driven, by a very untoward accident, into his genuine and proper sphere of shining in the universe. His first admission into the play-house was suitable to his appearance; a stranger, unacquainted and uninformed in this art, he was glad to be taken into the company in a very mean rank. Neither did his performance recommend him to any distinguished notice (c). The part of an actor neither engaged nor deserved his attention; it was very far from filling, or being adequate to, the prodigious powers of his mind: he turned the advantage which that situation afforded him, to a higher and nobler use; and having, by practice and observation, acquainted himself with the mechanical part of the theatre [E], his native genius inspired all the other most essentially superior qualities of a play-wright [F]. But the whole view

of our offices. Given at the Office of Arms, London, the day of in the forty second year of the reign of our Most Gracious Sovereign, Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. 1599.

[B] He married a woman of twenty five, &c.] She was the daughter of one John Hatheway, a substantial yeoman, in the neighbourhood; so that 'tis not improbable, that Shakespeare had an eye to his interest in the match; especially, if we consider her age; however, she survived her husband seven years, dying in 1623, at the age of sixty-seven (4).

[C] Before he was out of his minority.] He had three children by his wife, but we have an account only of two, they were both daughters. The younger was born in 1583, as appears by the inscription on her monument (5); so that, by the course of nature, the father, who was born in 1564, could not well be full eighteen years of age on his marriage, unless we suppose (what ought not to be supposed, there being no evidence of it) that her first child was the fruits of antenuptial fornication.

[D] He made a ballad upon the Knight.] This ballad was not the only shaft which he let fly against his prosecutor, whose anger drove him to the extreme end of ruin, where he was forced to a very low degree of drudgery for a support. How long the Knight continued inexorable is not known; but it is certain, that Shakespeare owed his release at last to the Queen's kindness. When he found, therefore, the character of Falstaff, in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, had won her Majesty's favour to that degree, that she ordered him to bring it once more on the stage; his address to her upon this occasion is admirable, in making this favourite a deer-stealer; which gave him, at the same time, such a natural opening against his prosecutor. The *flèche* is pointed with excellent humour, and the archer's aim hinted in such an allusion, as is not to be discerned but by those, who were in the secret. Justice Shallow appears conspicuously and splendidly ridiculous, whilst the particular merit that procured him the achievement of the dozen white *lucies* (6) would be observed only by the knowing ones in Heraldry. By this management

of the Knight's reputation, a due respect is paid to his quality; he is saved from falling into the rude and undistinguishing hands of the vulgar; such a management was no less due to the length of twenty years, which had passed for the manager's resentment to cool in. It was still more due to the sense he must have then of his absolute security from any further harm; and, especially, to the advantage he had luckily made in his fortune thereby.

[E] The mechanical part of the theatre.] He used the help of his function in forming himself to create and express that sublime, which other actors can only copy and throw out in action and graceful attitude. His disregard to the two unities of time and place, are evidently owing to this skill, which had taught him the exact temper and disposition of the spectators. These he observed were susceptible of a deception in both those points, and he never suffered either of them to cramp the native force of his genius. In forming the plan of his plays, his design was to observe the unity of action only: this was sufficient to impose the neglect of the other upon the audience; and Mr Upton is of opinion; that he is the best Poet who can impose upon his audience, and that he is the wisest man who is easiest imposed on. The story, which is the principal part, and as it were, the soul of the tragedy, being made a whole, with a natural dependance and connection, the spectator seldom considers the length of time necessary to produce all the incidents, and as to place, there is an artificial contrivance of the scenes. 'For my own part, continues this writer, I see no great hurt likely to accrue to the understanding, in accompanying the Poet in his inmechanical operations, and in helping on an innocent deceit, while he not only raises or soothes the passions, but transports me from place to place, just as it pleases him, and carries on the thread of his story (7).'

[F] The most essentially superior qualities of a play-wright.] These are generally reckoned to be, manners, sentiments, and diction; and in these there are four requisites, which are all remarkably observed by Shakespeare. 1. That they be good. 2. Suitable. 3. True, with respect to history, or common report. 4. Uniform and consistent. As to the first of these, 'tis remarked, by the last-mentioned critic, that they were

(7) Upton's Remarks upon Shakespeare.

of this first attempt in stage-poetry [G] being to procure a subsistence, he directed his endeavours solely to hit the taste and humour that then prevailed amongst the meaner sort of people, of whom the audience was generally composed; and therefore his images of life were drawn from those of that rank [H]. These had no notion of the rules of writing,

were the natural expressions of his own mind. Shakespeare being a good and honest man, as Ben Jonson testifies in his Discoveries (8); and in another place he says,

— Look how the father's face
Lives in his issue, even so the race
Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
In his well-torned and true-filled lines (9).

This is produced by Jonson, as a proof of Shakespeare's art and skill in play-writing. But however true Ben's remark undoubtedly is in general, yet a late author has pointed out a singular deviation from the fourth requisite of consistency, running through the whole fable in one of our author's most finished plays, Macbeth; where the incongruity of all the passages, in which the Thane of Cawdor is mentioned, appears prominently conspicuous. In the second scene of the first act, the Thanes of Ross and Angus bringing the king an account of the battle, inform him, that Norway,

Afflicted by that most disloyal traitor,
The Thane of Cawdor, 'gan a dismal conflict.

It appears, that Cawdor was taken prisoner, for the king says, in the same scene,

— Go, pronounce his death,
And with his former title, greet Macbeth.

Yet, though Cawdor was thus taken by Macbeth in arms against his king, when Macbeth is saluted in the fourth scene, Thane of Cawdor, by the weird sisters, he asks,

How of Cawdor? The Thane of Cawdor lives
A prosperous gentleman.—

And in the next line, considers the promises, that he should be Thane of Cawdor and King, as equally unlikely to be accomplished. How can Macbeth be ignorant of the state of the Thane of Cawdor, whom he has just defeated and taken prisoner; or call him a prosperous gentleman, who has forfeited his title and life by open rebellion? Or why should he wonder, that the title of the rebel, whom he has overthrown, should be conferred upon him? He cannot be supposed to dissemble his knowledge of the condition of Cawdor, because he inquires with all the ardour of curiosity and the vehemence of sudden astonishment, and because no body is present but Banquo, who had an equal part in the battle, and was equally acquainted with Cawdor's treason. However, in the next scene his ignorance still continues; and when Ross and Angus present him, from the king, with this new title, he cries out,

— The Thane of Cawdor lives;
Why do you dress me in his borrow'd robes?

Ross and Angus, who were the messengers that, in the second scene, informed the king of the assistance given by Cawdor to the invader; having lost, as well as Macbeth, all memory of what they had so lately seen and related, make this answer,

— Whether he was
Combin'd with Norway, or did line the rebels
With hidden help and vantage, or with both
He labour'd in his country's wreck, I know not.

Neither Ross knew what he had just reported, nor Macbeth what he had just done. This seems not to be one of the faults that are to be imputed to the transcribers; since though the inconsistency of Ross and Angus might be removed, by supposing, that their names are erroneously inserted, and that only Ross brought the account of the battle, and only Angus was sent to compliment Macbeth; yet the forgetfulness of Macbeth cannot be palliated, since what he says could not have been spoken by any other (10).

[G] *His first attempts in Poetry.*] We have no certain authority which was the first play he wrote;

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Romeo and Juliet, acted in 1597, was the highest date of any that Mr Pope could find, next to which was Richard the Second and Third, in 1598. The first part of Henry the Fifth, proves that play to be wrote while the Earl of Essex was General in Ireland. If Titus Andronicus were his, it would bid fairest for this right of primogeniture; since Ben Jonson, condemning it in his induction to *Bartholomew-Fair*, mentions it's being then of twenty-five or thirty years standing; if we take the lesser number, this play must have been wrote in 1589, when our author was twenty-five years old. But Mr Theobald takes Ben's words necessarily to extend to the largest time; and infers from it, that the play, on it's first appearance, could not be the work of Shakespeare's pen, who had not at that time left Warwickshire; and this argument is also esteemed unanswerable by Mr Upton. Mr Pope excludes this piece from the list of Shakespeare's offspring, because openly condemned by Ben Jonson while Shakespeare was living; for he will have it, that these two great Poets were good friends, and that they lived on amicable terms with each other, notwithstanding the warm contests that were carried on with less temper by their partizans (11). It is acknowledged, says he, that Ben Jonson was first introduced upon the stage, and his first works encouraged by Shakespeare, and after his death that author writes to the memory of his beloved William Shakespeare (12), which shews as if the friendship had continued through life. He thinks likewise, that the commendations of Shakespeare in Ben's Discoveries proceed from a personal kindness; he tells us, he loved the man as well as honoured his memory, celebrates the honesty, openness, and frankness of his temper, and only distinguishes, as he reasonably ought, between the real merit of the author and the silly and derogatory applauses of the players. But, however reasonable this might be, there is a very strong proof, that the players had a greater share in Shakespeare's friendship than Ben had: In his Will, he bequeaths to three of them, each a gold ring, ranking them among some of his first friends (13). In reality he had no reason to rank Ben among these; the frequent sneers which are vented in the induction to *Bartholomew Fair* against Shakespeare, while, as Mr Pope observes, he was still living, are undeniable proofs that Jonson's was such a kind of love as made him blind to some of his friend's most distinguishing excellencies. 'If there be never a *servant monster* 'ith fair (they are his words) who can help it; he says, nor a *nest of antiques*? He is loth to make nature afraid in his plays, like those that beget *tales, tempests*, and such like drolleries, to mix his head with other men's heels.' Here the *servant monster* is the character of *Caliban*, in the *Tempest*; the *nest of antiques*, is the clowns, who dance in *The Winter's Tale*; and lest he should be thought not to speak plainly enough, he expressly mentions those plays in the next sentence. I am afraid the reader will think but ill either of Jonson's judgment or his candour, when he thus ridicules what has been generally admired by men of real taste (14). This is the remark of Mr Whalley, who, however, so far agrees with Mr Pope, as to believe the sneer was designed not so much, though not absolutely without any design, to ridicule Shakespeare for his invention, as the passion of the mob for spectacles of this kind (15).

[H] *His images of life are drawn from that rank*] There being no external proofs to give light into this point, which was the first play of Shakespeare, recourse has been had to the internal evidence, for assistance therein, from the progress of his improvement by use and exercise. But all that could be discovered, was first, in regard to his comedies, that he fell into the general practice followed then, of laying his scene among tradesmen and mechanics; and in the historical plays, strictly copying the common old stories or vulgar traditions of that kind of people; and as in tragedy, nothing was so sure to surprize and raise their admiration, as the most unnatural events and incidents, the most exaggerated thoughts, the most verbose and

(11) Pope's Preface, as before.

(12) In his Epigrams, from p. 301 to 304, inclusive. Mr Pope calls it an ample and honourable panegyric to the memory of his friend; but in opinion he differs from his admired Dryden, who calls it an invidious and sparring one.

(13) See a copy of his Will, in remark [2].

(14) In regard to the character of Caliban, it is a remark of three of the prime wits in Jonson's time, Hale, Vaughan, and Selden, that Shakespeare had not only created a new being, but invented a new language for him.

(15) Works of Shakespeare, Vol. III. p. 282. note (5), edit. 1756, in 7 vols, 8vo.

(8) P. 91. Vol. VII. of his Works, edit. 1756, 8vo.

(9) Verses to Shakespeare's Memory, among his epigrams, Vol. VI. p. 303.

(10) Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth, note VI. edit. 1745, 8vo.

writing, or the model of the Ancients [I]. Shakespeare also set out without the advantage of education, and without the advice or assistance of the learned [K]; equally without the patronage

(16) This is evident, from the great pains Ben Jonson took to remove their prejudices and inform their judgments, both in his prefaces and prologues, and by the mouth of his actors, grex, chorus, &c.

bombast expression, the most pompous rhymes and thundering versification. So in comedy, nothing was so sure to please, as the mean buffoonry, idle ribaldry, and unmannerly jests of fools and clowns (16).

[I] *These had no notion of the rules, &c.*] Not only the common audience had no notion of the rules of writing, but few, even of the better sort, piqued themselves upon any degree of knowledge or nicety that way. Their tragedies were only histories in dialogue; and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no less implicitly than if it had been true history.

[K] *Without the assistance of the learned.*] Notwithstanding the remark of Ben Jonson, who knew our author when living, that he had little Latin and less Greek; yet his testimony hath not been sufficient to satisfy all his admirers. We are told, that in a conversation between Sir John Suckling, Sir William Davenant, Endymion Porter, Mr Hales of Eton, and Ben Jonson; Sir John Suckling, who was a professed admirer of Shakespeare, having undertaken his defence against Ben with some warmth, Mr Hales, after sitting still for some time, told them, that if Shakespeare had not read the Ancients he had likewise not stolen any thing from them; and that if Ben would produce any one topic finely treated by any of them, he would undertake to shew something at least as well written by Shakespeare (17). This was a very genteel turn of Ben's censoriousness into a high compliment of Shakespeare's genius; and Mr Rowe ventured further, peremptorily declaring it to be beyond all controversy, that Shakespeare had no knowledge of the writings of the ancient Poets; and that, in his works, no traces could be found of any thing which looked like an imitation of the Ancients. For, says he, the delicacy of his taste, and the natural bent of his own great genius (equal, if not superior, to some of the best of theirs), would certainly have led him to read and study them with so much pleasure, that some of their fine images would naturally have insinuated into, and been mixed with, his own writings. So that his not copying something from them may be an argument of his never having read them. Mr Pope afterwards preserved the compliment of Mr Hales, but with the same caution that he first made it, in the following paraphrase: 'There is certainly, says he, a vast difference between learning and languages; how far Shakespeare was ignorant of the latter I cannot determine, but 'tis plain he had much reading at least, if they will not call that learning. Nor is it any great matter, if a man has knowledge, whether he has it from one language or another. Nothing is more evident, than that he had a taste of natural Philosophy, Mechanics, Ancient and Modern History, Poetical Learning, and Mythology. We find him very knowing in the customs, rites, and manners of Antiquity. In Coriolanus and Julius Cæsar, not only the spirit, but manners of the Romans are exactly drawn, and still a nicer distinction is shewn, between the manners of the Romans, in the time of the former and of the latter. His reading on the ancient historians is no less conspicuous in many references to particular passages; and the speeches copied from Plutarch in Coriolanus may as well be made an instance of his learning as those copied from Cicero in the Cataline of Ben Jonson are of his. The manners of other nations in general, the Egyptians, Venetians, French, &c. are drawn with equal propriety. Whatever object of nature, or branch of science, he either speaks of, or describes, it is always with competent, if not extensive, knowledge; his descriptions are exact; all his metaphors appropriated and remarkably drawn from the true nature and inherent qualities of each subject. When he treats of ethic or politic, we may constantly observe a wonderful justness of distinction as well as extent of comprehension. No one is more a master of the poetical story, or has more frequent allusions to the various parts of it. Mr Waller (who has been celebrated for this last particular) has not shewn more learning this way than Shakespeare. We have translations from Ovid, published in his name, among those poems which pass for his, and for some of which, we have undoubted

(17) Rowe's Life of Shakespeare, ubi supra.

authority, being published by himself, and dedicated to his noble patron the Earl of Southampton. He appears also to have been conversant with Plautus; from whom he has taken the plan of one of his plays. He follows the Greek authors, and particularly Dares Phrygius in another, although I will not pretend to say in what language he read them. The modern Italian writers of novels he was manifestly acquainted with; and we may conclude him to be no less conversant with the Ancients of his own country, from the use he has made of Chaucer, in Troilus and Cressida; and in the two Noble Kinsmen, if that play be his, which Mr Pope thinks was so (18). He then proceeds to obviate an objection, which threatened to overset all these arguments, from the perpetual blunders and illiteracies which disgrace his writings. These he imputes, either to the neglect, imprudence, or ignorance, of the first transcribers and editors of his works; and ventures to say, that when the nature and kinds of these are enumerated and considered, not only Shakespeare, but even Aristotle and Cicero, had their works undergone the same fate, might have appeared to want sense as well as learning. The reader will perceive, that Mr Pope inclines, against Mr Rowe, to the opinion that our author's fine imitation of the Ancients is none of the least of his excellencies, and so raises a monument to Shakespeare's glory, though set upon a different foundation; which being observed by Mr Theobald, he sums up the whole in these words: 'The result of the controversy most certainly, says he, either way terminate to our author's honour: how happily he could imitate the Ancients, if that point be allowed, or how gloriously he could think like them, without owing any thing to imitation (19).' However, in pursuing this controversy, he takes the side against Mr Pope, as follows:—'Though, says he, I should be very unwilling to allow Shakespeare so poor a scholar as many have laboured to represent him, yet I shall be very cautious of declaring too positively on the other side of the question; that is, with regard to my opinion of his knowledge in the dead languages; and, therefore, the passages, that I occasionally quote from the classics, shall not be urged as proofs, that he knowingly imitated those originals, but brought to shew, how happily he has expressed himself upon the same topics. A very learned critic, of our own nation, has declared, that a sameness of thought and sameness of expression too, in two writers of a different age, can hardly happen, without a violent suspicion of the latter's copying from his predecessor. I shall not, therefore, run any great risk of a censure, though I should venture to hint, that the resemblance in thought and expression of our author and an Ancient (which we should allow to be imitation in learning, was not questioned) may sometimes take its rise from strength of memory, and those impressions which he owed to the school; and if we may allow a possibility of this, considering that when he quitted the school, he gave into his father's profession and way of living; and had, 'tis likely, but a slender library of classical learning; and considering what a number of translations, romances, and legends started about his time and a little before; (most of which, 'tis very evident, he read) I think it may very easily be reconciled, why he rather schemed his plots and characters from these later informations, than went back to those fountains; for which he might entertain a sincere veneration, but to which he could not have so ready a recourse (20).' This reasoning of Mr Theobald undoubtedly deserved a less ungrammatical style and a more coherent method; so that if he does not prove Shakespeare's want of scholarship, he does that of his own. As on the other hand, Mr Upton, who has entered into the list in this dispute, has confessedly demonstrated his own scholarship, however he may have failed in evincing that of Shakespeare; 'I have often wondered, says he, with what kind of reasoning any one could be so far imposed on, as to imagine, that Shakespeare had no learning, when it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that without learning he cannot be read, with any degree of understanding or taste (21).' Just so the author of Chevy Chase comes

(18) Pope's preface to his edition of Shakespeare, as before.

(19) Mr Herd observes, that Shakespeare, without designing or without knowing it, hath left us, in his historical plays, with all their anomalies, an exacter resemblance of the Athenian stage, than is any where to be found in its most professed admirers and copyists. Notes on Horace's Art of Poetry, p. 187. edit. 1753.

(20) Theobald's preface to his last edition of Shakespeare, 1757.

(21) Critical Remarks on Shakespeare.

patronage of the better sort, as without any acquaintance among them. But when his performances had merited the protection of his Prince, and the encouragement of the Court had succeeded to that of the Town, the works of his riper years are manifestly raised above those of his former [L]. The dates of his plays sufficiently evidence, that his productions improved, in proportion to the respect he had for his auditors. In this way of writing he was an absolute original [M], and of such a peculiar cast, as hath perpetually

comes within this construction of a man of learning, since without the learning of Mr Addison's notes, he cannot be read with any kind of understanding or taste; and to do this writer justice, it must be allowed too, that, like Mr Addison in that old song, his design was not so much to produce proofs of his author's learning, as to communicate the excellent use he made of his own. This is undeniable from a great number of instances, where he shews the closest connection between Shakespeare and the Greek and Latin writers, which yet he plainly supposes to be merely accidental and utterly unknown to Shakespeare. In the mean time, he has justly ridiculed all the attemptors to modernize Shakespeare; who, he observes, is set forth by these vipers as a meer mechanic, a fellow, 'tis true, of genius, who says now and then very good things, but wild and uncultivated; and one who is by no means proper company for Lords and Ladies and Court Pages, 'till some Poet or other, who knows the world better, takes him in hand, and introduces him in the modern dress to good company. He has ventured also (with what candour or success the reader must judge) to aim a stroke of his critical wand at Lord Shaftesbury, whose account of Shakespeare is given in a few words: *Our old dramatic Poet may witness for one good ear and manly reliſh, [notwithstanding his natural wildness, his unpolished stile, his antiquated phrase and wit, his want of method and coherence, and his deficiency in almost all the graces and ornaments of these kind of writings] yet by the justness of his morals, the aptness of many of his descriptions, and the plain and natural turn of several of his characters he pleases his audience and even gains their ear, without a single bribe from luxury or vice.* 'Those lines,' says Mr Upton, that I have placed between two hooks, ought certainly to be omitted, as they carry with them reflections false in every particular. 'Tis certain, his Lordship leaves us no room to doubt of the little opinion he had of Shakespeare's classical learning.' And Mr Hurd (22) inclines the same way so strongly, that he does not scruple to suggest, the want of what is called the advantage of a learned education, to have been a particular felicity to his genius, which by that means preserved it's natural freedom uninfluenced with the bond of classical superstition. However, the same critic, speaking of the position of known words and an easy deduction of new ones, recommends the study of Shakespeare, who he says, of all the Moderns, hath most successfully practised this secret (23).

[L] *Are manifestly raised above those of his former years.* This is the assertion of Mr Pope, advanced, as it should seem, to prevent any mistake that might be occasioned by a remark of Mr Rowe; who suggests, that we are not to look for Shakespeare's beginnings, like those of other authors, among their least perfect writings. 'Art, says that gentleman, had so little, and nature so large, a share in what he did, that, for ought I know, the performances of his youth, as they were the most vigorous, and had the most fire and strength of imagination in them, were the best (24).' Mr Pope confines this improvement to those plays only which were writ for the Court. 'I make no doubt, says he, in this observation, that he improved in proportion to the respect he had for his auditors, would appear in every instance, were but editions extant, from whence we might learn the exact time when every piece was composed; and whether he wrote for the town or the Court, directing us to look for this improvement only in the latter, which are his best.' And, as to the fire and strength of imagination, which is made by Mr Rowe, the characteristic of his best pieces, Mr Pope thinks this only a proof that his wit often buoys up and is borne above his subject, when that is not well chosen, as in fools and clowns. 'Shakespeare's genius, says he, in those low parts, is like some prince of a romance, in the disguise of a shepherd or peasant,

' a certain greatness and spirit now and then breaks out, which manifest his higher extraction and qualities.' Mr Rowe, in support of his opinion, says, that he would not be thought to mean, that Shakespeare's fancy was so loose and extravagant as to be independent on the rule and government of judgment, but that what he thought was commonly so great, so justly and rightly conceived in itself, that it wanted little or no correction, and was immediately approved by an impartial judgment at the first sight. On the contrary, Mr Pope declares, that 'most of our author's errors are not so much defects as superſtatations, and arise purely from want of thinking or judging, which yet was not owing so much to any real defect in the faculty or power of his own judgment, but from a compliance to the want of it in the lowest of the people *, whom he was obliged to please, and depress his judgment; or else from being misled, by keeping the worst of company, as a player, and forming himself upon the judgment of that body of men whereof he was a member. As these men live by the majority, they know no rule but that of pleasing the present humour, and complying with the wit in fashion; a consideration, which brings all their judgment to a short point. Players are just such judges of what is right, as taylors are of what is graceful. In this view, it will be but fair to allow, that most of our author's faults are left to be ascribed to his wrong judgment as a Poet, than to his right judgment as a player (25).' However, it ought to be observed, that if those disadvantages were sufficient to mislead and depress the greatest genius upon earth, yet they were recompensed by some extraordinary advantages, flowing from the particular taste and humour of the times. Thus, the universal belief of the power of witches, fairies, and enchantments, among the lowest of the people especially, gave full room for his boundless imagination to roam in. We need not take notice, that two of his best pieces † are formed upon this belief; to say nothing of his *Midsummer Night's Dream*. *The two Gentlemen of Verona*, one of the first, as well as one of the worst, of Shakespeare's plays, cannot be said to derive it's faults from any of the causes assigned by Mr Pope. Besides, his employment as a player, gave him the advantage and habit of fancying himself the very character he meant to delineate.

[M] *He was an absolute original.* This has never been contested; on the contrary, it has constantly been esteemed no slender proof of the force and penetration of succeeding wits, to be able to convey an apt and adequate idea of his. Mr Pope has laboured this point; he tells us (26), that 'Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of nature, it proceeded through Egyptian strainers and channels, and came to him, not without some tincture of the learning, or some cast of the models, of those before him. But the poetry of Shakespeare was inspiration indeed. He was not so much an imitator as an instrument of nature. 'Tis not so just to say he speaks from her as that she speaks through him.' In another place he observes, in distinction to Milton's genius, which he says, glows continually, and is kept up by the greatest art, that of Shakespeare strikes us unprepared, like an accidental stroke from Heaven. That he seems to have known the world by intuition, to have looked through human nature at a glance, and to be the only author that gives ground for a very new opinion, that the Philosopher, and even the man of the world, may be born, as well as the Poet. Mr Upton observes (28), that there is no character, that of Socrates only excepted, where refined ridicule, gallery, wit, and humour were so mixed and united with what is most grave and serious in Morals and Philosophy, as our author's; he observes, that this is the magic, with which he works such wonders:

* These faults are such as respect the choice of the subject, the conduct of the incidents, as well as false thoughts, forced expressions, clinches, &c.

(25) Pope's Preface, ubi supra.

† The *Tempest*, and *Macbeth*.

(26) In the last cited preface.

(27) In his preface to the translation of the *Iliad*.

(28) Critical Remarks on Shakespeare.

(22) Notes upon Horace's Art of Poetry, where he says, In another place he expresses it thus: 'It is possible there are, who think a want of reading, as well as a vast superiority of genius, hath contributed to lift this astonishing man [Shakespeare] to the glory of being esteemed the most original THINKER and SPEAKER since the times of Homer. Discourse on Poetical Imit. p. 215.

(23) *Ibid.* p. 46.

(24) Rowe's Life of Shakespeare.

petually raised and confounded the emulation of his successors; a compound of such very singular blemishes as well as beauties, that these latter have not more mocked the toil of every aspiring undertaker to emulate them than the former, as flaws intimately united to the diamonds, have baffled every attempt of the cunningest artists to take them out, without spoiling the whole [N]. Queen Elizabeth, who shewed Shakespeare many marks of her favour [O], was so much pleased with the delightful character of Sir John Falstaff

—Pectus inaniter angit,
Inritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus; & modo me Thebis, modo ponit
Athenis †.

† Horat. Epist.
ad Augustum, l.
211, 212, 213.

(29) In his third
letter prefixed to
his *Elfrida*.

(30) Notes on
Horace's Epistle
ad Pisonem, p.
187. edit. 1753.

Another unexampled perfection of Shakespeare's wit, is taken notice of by Mr Mason (29), who, speaking of the ordinary advantage of the ancient chorus in dramatic performances, writes thus: 'What-ever these modern play-makers may have gained by rejecting the chorus, the true Poet has lost considerably by it, for he has lost a graceful and natural resource to the embellishments of picturesque description, sublime allegory, and whatever else comes under the denomination of pure poetry. Shakespeare, indeed, had the power of introducing this naturally, and, what is more strange, of joining it with pure passion.' His striking out of the ordinary road, and rejecting the rules of the drama with success, has generally been esteemed another characteristic of his vast and original genius. Shakespeare, says Mr Hurd, first broke through the bond of classical superstition, and uninfluenced by the weight of early prepossession, he struck at once into the road of nature and common sense (30).

[N] *A compound of beauties and blemishes*] It is the observation of an elegant French writer, 'that the English as well as the Spaniards, were possessed of the theatre at a time when the French had no more than moving itinerant stages. Shakespeare, who was considered as the Corneille of the first mentioned nation, was nearly contemporary with Lopez de Vega, and he created, as it were, the English theatre. Shakespeare, besides a strong, fruitful, genius, was natural and sublime, but had not so much as one single spark of good taste, or any one rule of the drama. I will now hazard a random, but at the same time, a true reflection; which is, that the great merit of this dramatic Poet has been the ruin of the English stage. There are such beautiful, such noble, such dreadful scenes in this writer's monstrous verses, to which the name of tragedy is given, that they have always been exhibited with great success. Time, which only gives reputation to writers, at last makes their very faults venerable. Most of the whimsical gigantic images of this Poet, have, through length of time, acquired a right of passing for sublime. Most of the modern dramatic writers have copied him; but the touches and descriptions which are applauded in Shakespeare are hissed at in these writers; and you'll easily believe, that the veneration, in which this author is held, increases in proportion to the contempt which is shewn to the Moderns. Dramatic writers don't consider, that they should not imitate him; and the ill success of Shakespeare's imitators, produces no other effect, than to make him be considered as inimitable. In *Othello*, a most tender piece, a man strangles his wife on the stage, and though the poor woman is strangling, she cries out aloud, that she dies very unjustly. In *Hamlet*, the two grave diggers are drunk, singing ballads, and making humorous reflections on the skulls which they throw up; but a circumstance that will surprize you is, that this ridiculous incident has been imitated. Otway, in his *Venice preserved*, introduces Antonio the senator and Naki his courtesan in the midst of the horrors of the Marquis of Bidmars's conspiracy. Antonio, the Spaniard senator, plays in his master's presence all the apish tricks of a lewd impotent debauchee, who is quite frantic and out of his senses, he mimicks a dog, and bites his mistress's legs, who kicks and whips him. However, the players have struck these buffoonries (which were calculated merely for the dregs of the people) out of Otway's tragedy, but they have still left in Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, the jokes of the Roman shoemakers and cobblers, who are introduced in the

'same scene with Brutus and Cassius (31)'. Mr Voltaire has thus given a notable instance how far the brightest genius may be depressed and misguided by a slavish attachment to the antique laws, which he calls being in taste; and will have the various palates of different nations absolutely subjugated to them. A proper answer to this imposition is, that an Englishman scorns to submit to any laws, to which he has not given his own consent. 'Tis no wonder to find a critic, who takes his idea of Shakespeare from what he finds in Corneille, censuring the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*; Ophelia's dying words in *Othello*; and the suffering cobblers to crack jokes in the presence of Brutus and Cassius. These are masterly touches, of a very ticklish and dangerous nature*; in attempting to judge of which, the blind superstition of the servile critic is equally exposed, with the impudence of the low creeping imitator. A critic of our own has observed, that the authority of Shakespeare has been so far from spoiling the English stage, that, on the contrary, it was ruined, by leaving his noble and manly virtue to follow the effeminate softness of the French manners and taste. In this depraved spirit we were debauched, by being too much Frenchified, by residing among that people. It was after the Restoration that lewdness and debauchery were publickly brought on the stage by Dryden and Congreve; 'twas then, that Shakespeare's plays were altered to the present taste, and his faults endeavoured to be purged out by Sir William Davenant, Dryden, and the Duke of Bucks; the event shewed, that as Shakespeare came upon the stage with all his faults upon his head, so these could not be taken off without wounding the brain; by which piece of surgery, it became sensible that they were so vitally united to it, that in separating them, the body was brought into the state of a meer lifeless carcase. Originals are *sui generis*; and it would be intirely out of nature to set Shakespeare for a model to form other wits upon. Some are so formed as to succeed best under the guidance of the Greeks and the common rules. This has been the case of Dryden, Otway, and Rowe †, whose most regular compositions are reckoned their *chef d'oeuvres*. These regular beauties gain our esteem, and some degree of love and admiration; but 'tis the charm that unexpectedly arises from what was thought to be an irregular contrast of features and colour, that raises enchantment, transport, and rapture. Shakespeare puts his spectators and auditors into a trance, where they both see and feel pleasures unutterable. In this view, Mr Hurd having observed, that there was a time when the art of Jonson was set above the divinest raptures of Shakespeare; proceeds to take notice, that the present age is well convinced of the mistake, and finely remarks, that 'if Shakespeare's genius is now idolized, happily for the public taste, it can scarcely be too much so (32)'. Shakespeare alone was equal to the task of correcting Shakespeare's faults. It has been observed, that there is no vice of style or composition, but what our Poet has in one place or other ridiculed or censured. He has made use of this talent in many of his pieces. If in doing this, he lets some still keep their places, experience has since demonstrated, that his judgment in this particular was more extraordinary and surprizing, as the lofty flowings of his fancy and exactness of his judgment appear to be justly matched to each other (33).

[O] *Queen Elizabeth shewed him many marks of her favour.*] As no doubt can be made, but that our author felt the first fruits of her Majesty's kindness in the article of deer-stealing; so, in 1581, there was published under the same name, a treatise, dedicated to her Majesty; in which the author particularly mentions that Queen's clemency to him, in these terms: 'Although this [*the perfection of her Majesty's government*] be of itself so clear and manifest, that it cannot be denied; yet could not I forbear, most renowned sovereigne, being, as it were, enforced by your

(31) Voltaire's
Letters concern-
ing the English
Nation, Letter
18th.

* Thus the
great antique ori-
ginal, Plato, is
observed to in-
troduce the tu-
mour of poetical
compositions into
discourses of Phi-
losophy with suc-
cess. Dionys.
Halicarn. Ep. ad
C. Pomp. p. 205.
edit. Hudf.

† In *All for
Love*, Venice
preserved, and
Jane Shore.

(32) Notes upon
the Art of Poe-
try, Line 408.

(33) Warbur-
ton's Remarks
upon Shake-
speare.

Majestie's

Falstaff [P], in the two parts of *Henry IV.* that she commanded the author to continue it for one play more, and to shew the Knight in love, which he executed inimitably in *The Merry Wives*

(34) A Compendious or Brief Examination of certayne ordinary Compliments of divers of our Countrymen, &c. by way of Dialogue, debated and discussed by Will. Shakespeare, Gentleman. Lond. 1581, 8vo. Reprinted in 1751, 8vo.

Majestie's late and singular clemency, in pardoning certayne my undutifull misdemeanours; but seek to acknowledge your gracious goodness and bounty towards me, &c. (34)* By these two concurring circumstances, this piece might fairly challenge our Poet for it's author, did not his claim appear to be fully confuted, by the date 1581; besides that the offence for which her Majesty's pardon had been obtained, must have been committed, at least, a year or two before; not to mention, that Shakespeare, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, must have been a very wise man, not after the common sort of these clerks, which can talk of nothing but of the faculty which they profess; as if they be Divines of Divinity, Lawyers of the Law, and Physicians of Physic only. This man speaks very naturally of every thing, as a man universally seen; that had joined good learning with good wit. So that this book, if it could be written by our Poet, would be absolutely decisive in the dispute about his learning, since he must have been so by intuition, for he cites Homer, Plato, Cæsar, Cicero, Pomponius Mela, Vegetius, Collumella, and several others; and is suggested expressly to have read them all in the original, though he might have had them in the translations. Moreover, the doctor, who presides in the dialogue, and evidently represents the author himself, has these words: 'I have seen a cap for 14 pence, as good as I can now get for two shillings and six pence. Now a paye of shoes cost twelve pence, that in my time I have bought a better for six pence. Now I can get ne're a horse shod under sixteen pence or twelve pence, whereof I have also seen the common price was six pence *.' That is in Henry the Eighth's reign, long enough before our Poet was born. Who expressed his gratitude to Queen Elizabeth, in his own way; and that (which is a testimony of the devotion of his gratitude) not only in strains above all other Poets, but he even seems, by a peculiar stroke of inspiration, to be raised above himself. In the play of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii. scene 3, the king of the Fairies says to his attendant,

—Thou remember'st,

Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the Mermaid's music.

Puck. I remember too,

At that very time, I saw, but thou could'st not,
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid alarm'd; a certain aim he took,
At a fair vestal throned in the west,
And loos'd his love-shafts smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a Queen of Hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft,
Quench'd in the moist beams of the watry moon,
And the imperial votarefs pass'd on
In maiden meditation; fancy free.

(35) In his edition of our author's plays.

Dr Warburton (35) has changed *alarm'd* for *alarm'd* because it raises the beauty of the thought greatly; for what an addition is this to the compliment made to this virgin Queen's celibacy, that it alarmed the power of love, as if his empire were in danger, when this imperial votress had declared for a single life; so powerful would her great example be in the world: Queen Elizabeth could not but be pleased with our author's address on this occasion. The same critic also observes, that tho' the compliment paid in these last lines to Queen Elizabeth, is obvious enough; yet the character of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the former lines, was too allegorically delineated to be understood. Nothing is truer, than that both a compliment and a satire, on that unfortunate lady, were

here intended, either of which was a sufficient reason to disguise the matter by an allegory. First, the laying of the scene, shews it to be near the British island; for the speaker is represented as hearing the mermaid, at the very time he saw Cupid's attempt upon the vestal. The mermaid on the dolphin's back, plainly designs Queen Mary's marriage with the Dauphin of France. The Poet designs her under the image of a mermaid on two accounts, because she was Queen of one part of the ille, and because of her mischievous allurements:

Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,

This alludes to her great parts of genius and learning, which rendered her the most accomplished woman of her time. The French writers tell us, that while she was in the Court of France, wife to the Dauphin, she pronounced a Latin oration in the great hall of the *Louvre* with so much grace and eloquence, that the whole assembly were in admiration:

That the rude sea grew civil to her song,

By this is meant Scotland, long in arms against her; there is the greater justness and beauty in it, because the common opinion is, that the mermaid sings in storms:

And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music.

This alludes in general to the many matches proposed to her; but more particularly to the Duke of Norfolk's famous negotiation with her, which bringing such destruction on him, and on the Earls of Northampton and Westmoreland, and many other noble families, it was said with the utmost propriety,

That certain stars shot madly from their spheres.

[P] *The character of Sir John Falstaff.* This is Shakespeare's master-piece. In it, Shakespeare expressly figures himself by the deer-stealer; in which, we see the perfection of his genius. It will not be our design to examine into the true composition of this character. 'Tis evident, the excellency of it lies in a just mixture of wit and humour. The ground-work is humour, or the representation and detection of a bragging and vaunting coward in real life. However, this alone would only have exposed the Knight, as a meer Noll Bluff, to the derision of the company, and after they had been once gratified with his chastisement, he would have sunk into infamy and become quite odious. But here the inimitable wit of Sir John comes into his support, and gives a new rise and lustre to his character; for the sake of his wit you forgive his cowardice; or rather, are fond of his cowardice for the occasion it gives to his wit. In short, the humour furnishes a subject and spur to the wit, and the wit again supports and embellishes the humour. At the first entrance of the Knight, your good humour and tendency to mirth are irresistibly excited by his jolly appearance and corpulency. You feel and acknowledge him to be the fittest subject imaginable for yielding diversion and merriment. But, when you see him immediately set up for enterprize and activity, with his evident weight and unweildiness, your attention is called forth, and you are eager to watch him to the end of his adventures. Your imagination points out, with a full scope, his future embarrassments. All the while as you accompany him forwards he heightens your relish for his further disasters, by his happy opinion of his own sufficiency, and the gay vaunts which he makes of his talents and accomplishments; so that at last, when he falls into a scrape, your expectation is exquisitely gratified, and you have the full pleasure of seeing all his trumpeted honour laid in the dust; taken in the midst of his misfortune, instead of being utterly demolished and sunk, he rises again, by the superior force of his wit, and begins

Wives of Windsor [2]. Among his other patrons, the Earl of Southampton is particularly honoured

a new course, with fresh spirit and alacrity. This excites you the more to renew the chace, in full view of his second defeat; out of which, he recovers again, and triumphs with new pretensions and boasting. After this, he immediately starts upon a third race, and so on; continually detected and caught, and constantly extricating himself by his inimitable wit and invention; thus, yielding a perpetual round of sport and diversion. Again, the genteel quality of Sir John is of great use in supporting his character, it prevents his sinking too low, after several of his misfortunes: besides, you allow him, in consequence of his rank and seniority, the privilege to dictate and take the lead, to rebuke others upon many occasions. By this, he is saved from appearing too nauseous and independent. The good sense which he possesses comes also to his aid, and saves him from being despicable, by forcing your esteem for his real abilities. Again, the privilege you allow him, of rebuking and cheating others, when he assumes it with proper firmness and superiority, helps to settle a new and compose his character, after an embarrassment, and reduces, in some measure, the spirit of the company to a proper level, before he sets out again upon a fresh adventure; without this they would be kept continually strained and wound up to the highest pitch, without sufficient relief and diversity. It may also deserve to be remarked of Falstaff, that the figure of his person is admirably suited to the turn of his mind, so that there arises before you a perpetual allusion from one to the other, which forms an incessant series of wit, whether they be in contrast or agreement together; when he pretends to activity, there is wit in the contrast, between his mind and his person; and wit in their agreement, when he triumphs in jollity. To complete the whole, you have, in this character of Falstaff, not only a free course of humour, supported and embellished with admirable wit, but this humour is of a species the most jovial and gay in all nature. Sir John Falstaff possesses generosity, cheerfulness, alacrity, invention, frolic, and fancy, superior to all other men. The figure of his person is the picture of jollity, mirth, and good nature, and banishes at once all other ideas from your breast. He is happy himself and makes you happy. If you examine him further, he has no fierceness, reserve, malice, or peevishness lurking in his heart; his intentions are all pointed at harmless riot and merriment: Nor has the Knight any inveterate design, except against sack; and that too he loves. If, besides this, he desires to pass for a man of activity and valour, you can easily excuse so harmless a foible, which yields you the highest pleasure in its constant detection. If you put all these together, it is impossible to hate honest Jack Falstaff. If you observe them again, it is impossible to avoid loving him: He is the gay, the witty, the frolicsome, happy, and fat Jack Falstaff, the most delightful swaggerer in all nature. You must love him for your own sake; at the same time, you cannot but love him for his own talents, and when you have enjoyed them, you cannot but love him in gratitude. He has nothing to disgust you, and every thing to give you joy. His sense and his foibles are equally directed to advance your pleasure, and it is impossible to be tired or unhappy in his company. This jovial and gay humour, without any thing envious, malicious, mischievous, or despicable, and continually adorned with wit, yields that peculiar delight, without any alloy, which we all feel and acknowledge in Falstaff's company. Ben Jonson has humour in his characters drawn with the most masterly skill and judgment. In accuracy, depth, propriety, and truth, he has no superior, or equal, among the Ancients or Moderns. But the characters he exhibits are of a satirical and deceitful, or else of a peevish or despicable, species; as Volpone, Subtle, Morose, and Abel Drugger; in all of which there is something very justly to be hated or despised, and you feel the same sentiments of dislike for every other character of Jonson's; so that, after you have been gratified with their detection and punishment, you are quite tired and disgusted with their company. Whereas, Shakespeare, besides the peculiar gaiety in the humour of Falstaff, has guarded him from disgusting you with his forced advances, by giving him rank and quality; from being despicable, by his real

good sense and excellent abilities; from being odious, by his harmless plots and designs; and from being tiresome, by his inimitable wit, and his new and incessant sallies of highest fancy and frolic. This discovers the secret of carrying comedy to the highest pitch of delight; which lies in drawing the persons exhibited with such cheerful and amiable oddities and foibles as you would chuse in your own companions in real life; otherwise, though you may be diverted at first with the novelty of a character, and with a proper detection and ridicule of it, yet its peevishness, meanness, or immorality, will begin to disgust you after a little reflection, and become soon tiresome and odious; it being certain, that whoever cannot be endured as an accidental companion in real life, will, for the very same reasons, never become a favourite comic character on the stage. This relish for generous and worthy characters alone, which we all feel upon the theatre, where no bias of envy, malice, or personal resentment, draws us aside, seems to be some evidence of our natural and genuine disposition to probity and virtue; though the minds of most persons, being early and deeply tinged with vicious passions, it is no wonder that stains have been generally mistaken for original colours. All characters that are well drawn justly please, but not all equally; Jonson, in his comic scenes, has exposed and ridiculed folly and vice; Shakespeare has ushered in joy, frolic, and happiness. The Alchymist, Volpone, and Silent Woman of Jonson, are most exquisite satires; the comic entertainments of Shakespeare are the highest compositions of rallery, wit, and humour. Jonson conveys some lesson in every character; Shakespeare, some new species of foible and oddity. The one pointed his satire with masterly skill; the other was inimitable, in touching the strings of delight. With Jonson, you are confined and instructed; with Shakespeare, content and dissolved in joy. It may be further remarked, that Jonson, by pursuing the most useful intention of comedy, is obliged, in justice, to hunt down and demolish his own characters; upon this plan, he must necessarily expose them to your hatred, and of course will never bring out an amiable person. But, Shakespeare, with happier insight, always supports his characters in your favour; His Justice Shallow withdraws before he is tedious; The French doctor and Welsh parson go off in full vigour and spirits. Ancient Pistol, indeed, is scurvily treated; however, he keeps up his spirits, and continues to threaten so well, that you are still desirous of his company: And it is impossible to be tired or dull with the gay, unfading, ever green Falstaff. Abel Drugger bids fairest of any of Jonson's characters for being a favourite of the theatre; he has no hatred, malice, or immorality, nor any assuming arrogance, pertness, or peevishness; and his eager desire of getting and saving money, by methods he thinks lawful, are excusable in a person of his business. He is, therefore, not odious or detestable, but harmless and inoffensive in private life: However, this character, in the whole, is mean and despicable, without any of that free, spirituous, jocund, humour abounding in Shakespeare. It appears, that in imagination, invention, jollity, and gay humour, Jonson had little power; Shakespeare unlimited dominion. The first was cautious and strict, not daring to fall beyond the bounds of regularity; the other bold and impetuous, rejoicing like a giant, to run his course, through all the mountains and wilds of nature and fancy. It requires an almost painful attention, to mark the propriety and accuracy of Jonson; and your satisfaction arises from reflection and comparison; but the fire and invention of Shakespeare are shot instantaneously into your soul, and enlighten and cheer the most indolent mind with their own spirit and lustre (36).

The reader, who examines into this matter, will observe, that the character, here explained, of Sir John Falstaff, is chiefly taken from the first part of Henry the Fourth. For, so far as Sir John, upon any occasion, sinks into a cheat or a scoundrel, he is different from the Falstaff here described, which is entirely an amiable character.

[2] *The Merry Wives of Windsor*] If this story be true, it is evident, the latter part of Henry the Fourth, must have been added afterwards, since there

(36) Essay upon the true Standard of Wit, Humour, &c. by Corbyn Morris.

honoured by him, in the dedications of two poems, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*; in the latter especially he expresses himself in such terms, as gives countenance to what is related of that patron's distinguished generosity to him [R]. In the beginning of King James the First's reign (if not sooner) he was one of the principal managers of the play-house [S], and continued in it several years afterwards [T]; 'till having acquired such a fortune as satisfied his moderate wishes and views in life (d), he quitted the stage, and all other business, and passed the remainder of his time in an honourable ease, among the conversation of his friends, at his native town of Stratford, with the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, to whom his pleasurable and good nature rendered him very agreeable [U].

(d) Shakespeare's chief ambition was to settle himself as a country gentleman; the instrument for his arms was taken out of the Herald's office by his father with this view, and in the same view he called his house New Place.

He

we have an account of Sir John's imprisonment and death, which might perhaps be done by the author, in compliance with decorum, to avoid the imputation of encouraging idleness and riot, by too amiable and happy an example. However that be, 'tis certain, that though Falstaff is here a fardle of low vices, a liar, a coward, and a thief, yet his good humour makes him a pleasant companion, and what not a little shews the genius of our Poet, he has kept up the spirit of his humour, after having wrote two plays before, in this third, though it was put upon him by another. For this reason, if it be true, what Mr Dryden tells us, speaking of Mercutio's character in *Romeo and Juliet*, that Shakespeare said himself, he was forced to kill him in the third act, to prevent being killed by him. It must be his diffidence and modesty that made him say this; for it never could be through barrenness of invention, says Mr Upton, that Mercutio's sprightly wit was ended in the third act, but because there was no need of him or his wit any longer (37).

(37) Upton's Critical Remarks, as before.

[R] *The Earl of Southampton's generosity*] Mr Rowe tells us, upon the authority of Sir William Davenant, that this nobleman, at one time, gave him a thousand pounds, to enable him to go through with a purchase, which he had heard our Poet had a mind to. The dedication of *Lucrece* runs thus:

' The love I dedicate to your Lordship, is without end; whereof, this imperfect poem, without a beginning, is but a spiritless surety. The warrant I have of your honorable disposition, not the worth of my awkward lines, makes the body of it. Hence, what I have done, is your's; what I have to do, is your's; being part in all I have devoted your's. Were my worth greater, my duty would shew greatest; mean time, as it is, it is bound to your Lordship, to whom I wish long life, still lengthened with all happiness.

Your Lordship's, in all duty,

W. Shakespeare.'

It is worth notice, that how much soever he neglected to take due care in printing his plays, yet this poem is printed very elegantly, by the famous Field, in 1694.

[S] *A manager of the play-house in the beginning of King James's reign.*] Soon after his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, he granted the following licence:

' Pro Laurentio Fletcher, & Willielmo Shakespeare, & aliis.

' James, by the Grace of God, &c. To all Justices, Maiors, Sheriffs, Constables, Hedboroughs, and other our Officers and loving Subjects, Greetinge.

' Knowe ye, that wee of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion, have licensed and authorized, and, by these presents, do licence and authorize theise our servants, Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustyne Philipps, John Henings, Henrie Condell, William Sly, Robert Armin, Richard Cowly, and the rest of their associates,

' Freely to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morals, pastoralls, stage plaies, and such others, like as theie have alredie studied, or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our lovinge subjects, as for our solace and pleasure, when wee shall thincke good to see them, duringe our pleasure;

' and the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, morals, pastoralls, stage-playes, and such like, to shewe and exercise publicquely to their best commodity, when the infection of the plague shall decrease, as well within their nowe usuall hoame, called the Globe, within our countie of Surrey, as alsoe within anie towne-halls, or moate-halls, or other convenient place, within the liberties and freedom of anie other citie, universitie, toun, or boroughe whatsoever, within our said realms and dominions.

' Willing and comending you, and everie of you, as you tender our pleasure, not onelie to permit and suffer them herein, without anie your letts, hindrances, or molellations, during our said pleasure, but alsoe to be aiding and assistinge to them, if anie wrong be to them offered, and to allow them such former curtesies as hath been given to men of their place and qualitic; and also, what further favour you shall shewe to theise our servants for our sake we shall take kindlie at your hande.

' In witness whereof, &c.

' Witnesse ourself at Westminster, the nynteenth day of Maye.

' Per breve de privato Sigillo (38).'

(38) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XVI. p. 505.

[T] *He continued in the house several years afterwards.*] The time when Shakespeare came upon the stage is not more uncertain than that of his quitting it. However, the opinion, that Spenser's *Talia*, in the *Tears of the Muses*, where she laments the loss of her Willy, in the comic scene, relates to our author's abandoning the stage, is groundless, since Spenser, 'tis known, died in the year 1598; and five years after this, we find Shakespeare's name among the actors in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*, which made it's first appearance in 1603 (39). If it relates to him at all, it must hint at some occasional recess he made for a time, upon a disgust taken; but it is most likely, that Willy, there mentioned, relates to some other favourite Poet of the same Christian name. 'Tis evident, that Shakespeare did not exhibit his *Macbeth* 'till after the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united under one monarch, nor 'till after King James had begun to touch for the King's evil; for he has complimented his royal master on both those accounts in that tragedy. It is not probable, that he had quitted the stage before 1610; since, in his *Tempest*, he makes mention of the Bermuda islands, which were unknown to the English 'till 1609, when Sir John Summers, in his voyage to North America, discovered them, and invited afterwards some of his countrymen to settle a plantation there (40).

(39) See Ben Jonson's article.

(40) Theolald, ubi supra.

[U] *Very agreeable*] Mr Rowe informs us, that there was a story almost still remembered among them, that he had a particular intimacy with Mr Combe, who is said to be an old gentleman, noted for his wealth and usury. It happened once, in a pleasant conversation among their friends, that this Mr Combe told Shakespeare, in a laughing manner, that he fancied he intended to write his epitaph, if he happened to outlive him; and since he could not know what might be said of him when he was dead, he desired it might be done immediately. Upon which Shakespeare gave him these four verses:

' Ten in the hundred lies here engraved,
' 'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not saved;
' If any man ask who lies in this tomb,
' Oh! Oh! quoth the Devil, 'tis my John a Combe.'

The

He lived in a very handsome house of his own purchasing, to which he gave the name of New Place; and he had the good fortune to save it from the flames, in the dreadful fire that consumed the greatest part of the town, in 1614 [W]. It is very probable, he did not much exercise his talent in poetry, after his retirement [X]. In the beginning of the year 1616 he made his Will [Y], wherein he testified his respect to his quondam partners in

The sharpness of the satire is said to have stung the old gentleman so severely, that he never forgave it. One of this name is mentioned by Dryden to have died in 1614, for whom, at the choir of the guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford, a fair monument is erected, having a statue thereon cut in alabaster, and in a gown, with this epitaph: 'Here lieth interred the body of John Combe, Esq; who died the 10th of July, 1614; who bequeathed several annual charities to the parish of Stratford, and 100 l. to be lent to 15 poor tradesmen, from three years to three years, changing the parties every third year, at the rate of fifty shillings per annum, the increase to be distributed to the alms-poor there (41).' As this is a very well judged charity, it should seem to argue, that Shakespeare indulged too great a severity against this gentleman, unless it be supposed, that his verses gave occasion to the charity; which is not impossible. It seems to have made no breach in his esteem or friendship for that family, since, in his Will, Shakespeare bequeaths his sword to Mr Thomas Combe (42).

[W] He saved his house in the fire, which happened in 1614.] Mr Theobald (43), upon the information of Mr Bishop, tells us, that this house was first built by Sir Hugh Clopton, a younger brother of an ancient family in that neighbourhood, who took their name from the manor of Clopton. Sir Hugh Clopton was Sheriff of London in the reign of Richard the Third, and Lord Mayor in the reign of Henry the Seventh. That the estate had now been fold out of the family for above a century, at the time when Shakespeare became the purchaser; who having repaired and modelled it to his own mind, changed it's former name of Great-House into that of New-Place, which the mansion, since erected upon the same spot, still retains. The house and lands which attended it, continued in Shakespeare's descendants to the time of the Restoration, when they were repurchased by the Clopton family; and the mansion now belongs to Sir Hugh Clopton, Knt. who informed Mr Theobald, that during the civil wars, King Charles the First's Queen, being driven by the necessity of affairs to make a retirement in Warwickshire, she kept her Court for three weeks in New-Place. Whence we may reasonably suppose it to be then the best private house in the town, and her Majesty preferred it to the college, which was in the possession of the Combe family, who did not so strongly favour the King's party.

[X] Whether he employed his poetical talents after his retirement is uncertain.] The author of an answer to Mr Pope's preface to Shakespeare (44), tells us, that two large chests, filled with Shakespeare's loose papers and manuscripts, were in the hands of an ignorant Baker of Warwick, who married one of our Poet's descendants; and that, to the particular knowledge of the late Sir William Bishop, they were carelessly scattered and thrown about, as garret-lumber and litter, till they were all consumed in the general fire and destruction of that town. But this authority is rejected by Mr Theobald (45); who observing, that as Shakespeare's wife survived him seven years, and his favourite daughter Susannah survived her twenty-six years, it is very improbable, that they should suffer such a treasure to be removed and translated into a remoter branch of the family, without a scrutiny first made into the value of it. To this it may be added, that this daughter was his executor, and residuary legatee, which would still prompt and dispose her the more, in point of interest, to search and examine his papers. But, indeed, it must be owned, that the strolling player's account is very consistent with such a prior search; for he expressly declares, the papers were thrown about as garret-litter, of no value.

[Y] In the beginning of 1616 he made his Will.] The following is a copy of it from the register in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury:

Vicesimo quinto die Martii anno regni Domini nostri Jacobi nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. decimo quarto, & Scotiæ quadragesimo nono, anno Domini 1616.

In the name of God, Amen. I William Shakespeare of Stratford upon Avon in the county of Warwick, Gent. in perfect health and memory, God be praised, do make and ordain this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following; that is to say:

First, I commend my soul into the hands of God my creator, hoping, and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting; and my body to the earth whereof that is made.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds of lawful English money, to be paid unto her in manner and form following; that is to say, one hundred pounds in discharge of her marriage portion within one year after my decease, with considerations after the rate of two shillings in the pound for so long time as the same shall be unpaid unto her after my decease; and the fifty pounds residue thereof, upon her surrendering of, or giving of such sufficient security as the overseers of this my Will shall like of, to surrender or grant all her estate and right that shall descend or come unto her after my decease, or that she now hath of, in, or to, one copyhold tenement, with the appurtenances lying and being in Stratford upon Avon aforesaid, in the said county of Warwick, being parcel or holden of the manor of Rowington, unto my daughter Susannah Hall, and her heirs for ever.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my said daughter Judith one hundred and fifty pounds more, if she, or any issue of her body, be living at the end of three years next ensuing the day of the date of this my Will, during which time my executors to pay her consideration from my decease according to the rate aforesaid: and if she die within the said term without issue of her body, then my will is, and I do give and bequeath one hundred pounds thereof to my niece Elizabeth Hall, and the fifty pounds to be set forth by my executors during the life of my sister Joan Hart, and the use and profit thereof coming, shall be paid to my said sister Joan, and after her decease the fifty pounds shall remain amongst the children of my said sister, equally to be divided amongst them; but if my said daughter Judith be living at the end of the said three years, or any issue of her body, then my will is, and so I devise and bequeath the said hundred and fifty pounds to be set out by my executors and overseers for the best benefit of her and her issue, and the stock not to be paid unto her so long as she shall be married and covert baron; but my will is, that she shall have the consideration yearly paid unto her during her life, and after her decease the said stock and consideration to be paid to her children, if she have any, and if not, to her executors and assigns, she living the said term after my decease; provided that if such husband as she shall at the end of the said three years be married unto, or at and after, do sufficiently assure unto her, and the issue of her body, land answerable to the portion by this my Will given unto her, and to be adjudged so by my executors and overseers, then my will is, that the said hundred and fifty pounds shall be paid to such husband as shall make such assurance, to his own use.

Item, I give and bequeath unto my said sister Joan twenty pounds, and all my wearing apparel, to be paid and delivered within one year after my decease; and I do will and devise unto her the house with the appurtenances in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her natural life, under the yearly rent of twelve pence.

Item, I give and bequeath unto her three sons, William Hart, — Hart, and Michael Hart, five pounds apiece, to be paid within one year after my decease.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the said Elizabeth Hall all my plate that I now have, except my broad silver and gilt boxes, at the date of this my Will.

Item, I give and bequeath unto the poor of Stratford aforesaid ten pounds, to Mr Thomas Combe my sword, to Thomas Russell, Esq; five pounds, and to Francis Collins of the borough of Warwick, in the county of Warwick, Gent. thirteen pounds six shillings and

(41) Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire.

(42) See his Will in remark [Y].

(43) Ubi supra.

(44) By a strolling player, p. 45, 46. edit. 1729, 8vo.

(45) Ubi supra.

in the theatre; he appointed his youngest daughter, jointly with her husband, his executors, and bequeathed to them the best part of his estate, which they came into the possession of not long after. He died on the 23d of April following, being the fifty-third year of his age, and was interred among his ancestors, on the north side of the chancel, in the great church of Stratford, where there is a handsome monument erected for him, inscribed with a single elegiac distich in Latin [Z]. In the year 1740, another very noble and most beautiful one was raised to his memory, at the publick expence, in Westminster-abbey; an ample contribution for this purpose being made, upon exhibiting his tragedy of Julius Cæsar, at the theatre-royal in Drury-Lane, April the 28th, 1738 [AA].

Seven

and eight pence, to be paid within one year after my decease.

Item, I give and bequeath to Hamlett Sadler twenty-six shillings, eight pence, to buy him a ring; to William Reynolds, Gent. twenty-six shillings, eight pence, to buy him a ring; to my godson William Walker twenty shillings in gold; to Anthony Nash, Gent. twenty-six shillings, eight pence; and to Mr John Nash, twenty-six shillings, eight pence; and to my fellows, John Hemyng, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell, twenty six shillings, eight pence apiece, to buy them rings

Item, I give, will, bequeath, and devise, unto my daughter Susannah Hall, for the better enabling of her to perform this my Will, and towards the performance thereof, all that capital messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances in Stratford aforesaid, called the New Place, wherein I now dwell, and two messuages or tenements, with the appurtenances, situate, lying, and being, in Henley street within the borough of Stratford aforesaid; and all my barns, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whatsoever, situate, lying, and being, or to be had, reserved, preserved, or taken, within the towns, hamlets, villages, fields, and grounds, of Stratford upon Avon, Old Stratford, Bushaxton, and Welcombe, or in any of them, in the said county of Warwick; and also all that messuage or tenement, with the appurtenances, wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, situate, lying, and being, in the Black Friars in London, near the Wardrobe; and all other my lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever; to have and to hold all and singular the said premises, with their appurtenances, unto the said Susanna Hall, for and during the term of her natural life; and after her decease to the first son of her body lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said first son lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to the second son of her body lawfully issuing, and to the heirs males of the body of the said second son lawfully issuing; and for default of such heirs, to the third son of the body of the said Susanna lawfully issuing, and of the heirs males of the body of the said third son lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, the same to be and remain to the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons of her body, lawfully issuing one after another, and to the heirs males of the bodies of the said fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh sons lawfully issuing, in such manner as it is before limited to be and remain to the first, second, and third sons of her body, and to their heirs males; and for default of such issue, the said premises to be and remain to my said niece Hall, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heirs males of her body lawfully issuing; and for default of such issue, to the right heirs of me the said William Shakespeare for ever.

Item, I give unto my wife my brown best bed, with the furniture.

Item, I give and bequeath to my said daughter Judith, my broad silver gilt bole. All the rest of my goods, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household-stuff, whatsoever, after my debts and legacies paid, and my funeral expences discharged, I give, devise, and bequeath, to my son in-law John Hall, Gent. and my daughter Susanna his wife, who I ordain and make executors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do intreat and appoint the said Thomas Russell, Esq; and Francis Collins, Gent. to be overseers hereof. And do revoke all former Wills, and publish this to be my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand, the day and year first above written, by me

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

VOL. VI. No. CCCIV.

Witness to the publishing hereof,

Fra. Collins,
Julius Shaw,
John Robinson,
Hamlet Sadler,
Robert Whatcott.

Probatum coram Magistro William Byrde, Legum Doctoro Commissario, &c. vicesimo secundo die mensis Junii, anno Domini 1616. Juramento Johannis Hall unius ex et cui, &c. de bene et jurat reservata potestate et Susannæ Hall alt. ex. &c. cu vendit, &c. petitur.

[Z] *His monument and inscription*] He is represented under an arch in a sitting posture, a cushion spread before him, with a pen in his right hand, and his left resting on a scrole of papers; under the cushion is this Latin distich:

Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mæret, Olympus habet.

On the grave-stone, in the pavement, underneath, are these lines:

Good friend, for Jesus' sake, forbear
To dig the dust inclosed here.
Blest be the man that spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves my bones.

[AA] *Contributions at the ading of Julius Cæsar.*] The trustees for the public on this occasion, were the Earl of Burlington, Dr Richard Mead, M. D. Mr Pope, and Charles Fleetwood, Esq; patentee of the playhouse; the monument was finished in 1740, and stands near the south door of the abbey, in what is called Poets-Corner. Shakespeare is represented, in the dress of his time, in white marble, at full length, leaning a little on his right arm, which is supported by a pedestal; at the bottom of this there hangs a scrole, inscribed with the following words, from his play called *The Tempest*, to which his left hand appears pointing:

The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inhabit shall dissolve,
And, like the baseless fabrick of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind.

Above his head behind there is fixt a plate of very curious granate marble, on which is the following inscription, in raised letters of brass, richly gilt.

Gulielmo Shakespeare, anno post mortem cxxiv.
amor publicus posuit.

The inscription was composed by Mr Pope. The whole monument was designed by Kent, and executed by Rysbrack, admirably well. A new prologue and epilogue were spoken on the occasion, which are as follows:

The prologue written by Benjamin Martyn, Esq;

Whilst in the venerable dome we view,
The sculptor's art, Britannia's bards renew;
Behold, their names, on speaking marble, live,
Their forms in animated stone revive.

40 N

Shakespeare,

Seven years after his death, his plays were collected and published in 1623, in folio [BB], by two of his principal friends in the company of comedians, Heninge and Condale; who likewise corrected a second edition in folio, in 1632. Though both these editions were extremely faulty, yet no other was attempted 'till 1714, when a third edition was published in 8vo. by Mr Nicholas Rowe [CC], but with few if any corrections; only he prefixed some account of our author's life and writings, the materials of the first of which were communicated to him by Mr Betterton, the celebrated Comedian, who made a journey to Stratford, purposely to learn something further concerning a man, to whom both he

Shakespeare obscurely lies, his laurel'd bust
Neglected, moulders, like his bones, to dust.
No single hand durst claim to rear this stone,
And fix in Shakespeare's monument his own.
To you 'twas left to dignify the bard,
And grace your Shakespeare with his late reward;
Shakespeare! the Father of the British stage,
Shakespeare, the wonder of each rising age.
Whose glowing fancy and whose various art,
With every passion governs every heart.
Whose genius opens nature to our view,
Whose charms, tho' still repeated, still are new.
Tho' Shakespeare wants no stone to speak his praise,
Your gratitude's the monument you raise.
Think, when you fix a basis for his name,
You fix one likewise for your country's fame.
Rome, by her statues, rais'd the Roman blood,
And form'd new heroes by the old she shew'd.
Let then this chief of our dramatic band,
As first in rank, the first in honours stand.
Let every breast, that feels his sacred fire,
Glow with the virtues which his lines inspire.
While Brutus bleeds for liberty and Rome,
Let Britons crowd to deck his Poet's tomb.
To future times, recorded, let it stand,
This head was laurel'd by the public hand.
To future times, with pride, transmit it down,
Such public merit should the public own.

The epilogue written by The Honourable James
Noel, Esq; and spoken by Mrs Porter.

These smiles bestow'd, these generous honours paid,
To a dead bard, to long lost Shakespeare's shade;
To public worth such public favours shewn,
Confirm this merit and proclaim your own.
Ev'n here a noble monument you raise;
The tomb of glory is a people's praise.
Perhaps, some will.—Perhaps, no none will say,
No dance, no song, to decorate the play.
No; Shakespeare scorns such common arts to use,
Sense gave it birth, let sense preserve the muse.
If comic scenes divert, or tragic move,
With both delighted, you by both improve;
Fir'd by the muse, you raise each passion higher,
And pant to reach the virtues you admire.
When Portia weeps, all gentle breasts must mourn,
When Brutus arms, all generous bosoms burn.
When Rome's firm patriots on the stage were shewn,
With pride we trace the patriots of our own.
From bondage sav'd, when that bold state we see,
We glow to think, that Britain is as free.
We mount, by bright example, glory's throne,
And make the cause of virtue all our own.
Such was the bard, first grac'd the British stage,
First charm'd and still shall charm thro' every age.
Whose verse is music, not at wit's expence,
But joins the charms of harmony with sense.

He wakes the passions, governs and inspires;
Charms while he pleases, while he teaches fires.
But here what humble thanks, what praise is due,
Ow'd to such generous virtue, ow'd to you.
With grief, you saw a bard neglected lie,
Whom tow'ring genius living rais'd so high;
With grief you saw your Shakespeare's slighted state,
And call'd forth merit from the grave of fate.
Let others boast, they smile on living worth,
You give a buried bard a brighter birth.

[BB] *The first edition of his plays*] In the preface to this edition it is declared, that Shakespeare never blotted out a line in all his writings; and Ben Jonson tells us, he had often heard the players mention this as an honour to Shakespeare's memory; my answer, says Ben, was, I would he had blotted out a thousand, which they thought a malevolent speech; I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most failed; and to justify mine own candour (for I loved the man and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any). He was indeed honest and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasia, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped: *Sufflamandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things and could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him: 'Cæsar thou dost me wrong;' he replied, 'Cæsar did never wrong, but with just cause;' and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more to be praised than to be pardoned (46). Mr Pope observes, that there is indeed in that play something like this expression, but not in these words (47). Mr Whalley takes notice also, that this passage is not to be found in that play, and to excuse Jonson, says, 'tis probable, that he quoted here by memory a line, which some foolish player might possibly pronounce upon the stage, in a manner not unlike what is here represented (48). In either case, it cannot be denied, that the censure has more in it to be pardoned than praised. In short, the whole paragraph may justly be turned upon the writer (49). It is one instance, among numberless others, of his promptness to find fault, *Sufflamandus erat*. The whole remark is grounded in a mistake. Mr Pope informs us, 'that however it has prevailed, yet in reality, there never was a more groundless report, than this of Shakespeare's never correcting his first writings, or to the contrary of which there are more undeniable evidences. As the comedy of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which he entirely new writ; *The History of Henry the Sixth*, which was first published under the title of *The Contention of York and Lancaster*; and that of *Henry the Fifth* extremely improved; that of *Hamlet* enlarged to almost as much again as at first, and many others.' After all, the players, who could not be ignorant of these alterations, seem to mean, in what they told Jonson, no more than that Shakespeare's first writing was without a blot, and so given by him to be acted. And how this may justly enough be reckoned as a proof of his genius and inspiration.

[CC] *Edition by Mr Rowe*] Dr Warburton (50), the present Bishop of Gloucester, observes, that though Mr Rowe was a wit, yet he was so utterly unacquainted with the whole business of criticism, that he did not examine or consult the first editions of the work he undertook to publish.

(46) Jonson's Discoveries, p. 91, 92. Vol. VII. edit. 1756.

(47) In the preface to his edition of Shakespeare.

(48) Note (3) to p. 91. of the VIIth volume of his edition in 1756.

(49) Where last cited.

(50) In the preface to his edition of Shakespeare's plays.

he and all the world were so much indebted. But the plays being in the same mangled condition as at first, Mr Pope was prevailed upon to undertake the task of clearing away the rubbish, and reducing them into a better order; and accordingly he printed a new edition of them in 1721, in 4to. Yet neither did this give satisfaction, and the performance only discovered the editor to be a better poet, than he was a critic; at least of Shakespeare's genius. Hereupon Mr Theobald, after many years spent in the same task, published a piece, called *Shakespeare restored*, in 1726, 8vo. which was followed by another new edition of his plays in 1733, by the same author, who therein carried the design of his first piece much farther. In 1744, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. published at Oxford a pompous edition, with emendations, in six volumes, 4to. To these Mr Warburton, now Lord Bishop of Gloucester, added still another new edition, with a great number of corrections, in 1747. And Mr Theobald published his edition a second time, with several alterations, in 1757 [DD]. There has appeared very lately this year, 1760, an historical play, intituled, *The Raigne of Edward the Third, &c. (e)*, which is ascribed to Shakespeare, upon these three concurring circumstances, the date, the stile, and the plan, which is taken, as several of Shakespeares are, from Holingshead, and a book of novels, called *The Palace of Pleasure (f)*. Thus new monuments are continually rising to honour Shakespeare's genius in the learned world; and we must not conclude, without adding another testimony of the veneration paid to his manes by the publick in general; which is, that a mulberry-tree, planted upon his estate by the hands of this revered bard, was cut down not many years ago, and the wood being converted into several domestic uses, these were all eagerly bought at a high price, and each single one treasured up by it's purchaser as a precious memorial of Shakespeare's memory (g).

(e) Viz. As it hath bin fundrie times playd about the Citie of London. London printed for Cuthbert Burby, 1595, 4to. and again in 1599, 4to.

(f) Prolusions, or select pieces of ancient poetry, &c. Lond. 1760, 8vo.

(g) A tea chest of this wood, with the mulberries carved upon it, is now in the possession of Joseph Smith, Esq; Dr of Laws, of Kidlington near Oxford.

[DD] Published an edition in 1757.] Mr Pope, who first entered upon the task of criticism, declares, that of all our English Poets, Shakespeare must be confessed to be the fairest and fittest subject for criticism. The first editions being printed from the prompter's books, or the piece-meal parts written out for the players, and very much disfigured by their blunders and interlineations. Accordingly, after his example, Mr Theobald proceeded in this work, but with so little success, that Mr Pope declared he could find very few, which ought to be retained. On the other hand, Mr Theobald has shewn the greatest part of Pope's corrections not only to be groundless but against the mind of the Poet, and therefore justly

rejected. Dr Warburton has rejected a great number of Mr Theobald's, and Mr Edwards (51) has shewn, that a great number of Dr Warburton's deserve the same fate. Sir Thomas Hammer had made very few of his own worth notice, according to Mr Johnson, who, in 1745, published *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth: with Remarks on Sir T. H.'s edition of Shakespeare*. To which was affixed, *Proposals for a new Edition of Shakespeare's Plays, with a Specimen*. But this design has not yet been executed; so that the last edition, in ten small volumes, by Mr Theobald, in 1757, is generally esteemed the best we have. P

(51) In his *Canons of Criticism*.

SHARP [JAMES], Archbishop of St Andrews, in the last century; whose tragical death is a sorrowful instance of what a furious and misguided zeal is capable of doing. He was the son of Mr William Sharp, Sheriff Clerk of Banffshire [A], and Isabel Lesley, daughter to the Laird of Kinninvy, a woman of great prudence and piety (a). The time of his birth was in May 1618. From the first, he appeared a child of very good parts; and being early sent to school, out-did all his companions in the rudiments of learning. His masterly genius, quick apprehension, and tenacious memory, were early signs of his future greatness; and induced his father to design him for the Ministry. For that purpose, he sent him to the university of Aberdeen, where he arrived to great perfection in the Philosophy then in vogue. Having past his courses in the college with great applause, and being made Master of Arts, he applied himself to the study of Divinity; in which he used the advice and direction of Dr Forbes, and Dr Baron. These two learned men, with the other Doctors of Aberdeen, zealously appearing against the Scottish Covenant, made in 1628, became exposed to many insults and abuses; as well as their friends and acquaintance, amongst whom was Mr Sharp. Whereupon, he retired into England, and contracted an acquaintance with Dr Sanderfon, Dr Hammond, Dr Taylor, and others of our most eminent Divines; and was in a likely way of obtaining preferment here. But the civil wars coming on, and he being taken very ill, determined, both by advice and inclination, to return to his native country. By the way, happening into company with Sir James McGill of Cranston, afterwards Viscount of Oxenford, that generous person liking his conversation, carried him to his own house in the country. During his stay there,

(a) A true and impartial Account of the Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, Dr James Sharp, Arch-Bishop of St Andrews, &c. Printed in 1723, 8vo. p. 25, 26.

[A] He was the son of Mr William Sharp, &c.] Our Prelate's great-grand father was a Gentleman of Perthshire, who had a large family. One of his sons, named David, and grandfather to the Archbishop, went and settled in the town of Aberdeen, where he became a considerable merchant, and by his industry and frugality acquired a handsome fortune. By his wife Magdalen Halburton, nearly descended from the Laird of Peter, an honorable family in the shire of Angus, he had his son—William, the Archbishop's father: who being educated at the schools and university of Aberdeen, was, for his extraordinary natural parts and proficiency, taken notice of by the Marquis of Huntly, and other persons of quality in

that country: But especially James Ogilvy, Earl of Finlater, conceived such great opinion of him, that he took him to his house, and committed to him the management of all his affairs. This Earl had married Elizabeth daughter of Andrew Lesley, Earl of Rothes, who took such a particular liking to Mr William Sharp, that she made up a match between him and Isabel Lesley above mentioned. Not long after, Mr Sharp was made Sheriff Clerk of Banffshire, and lived and dyed in the Castle of Banff, in great esteem and reputation with all that knew him. His wife Isabel was an extraordinary woman, honoured by all for her wisdom and piety, and dyed of a great age after King Charles the Second's Restoration (1).

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 25, 26.

[B] Which

there, he became known to several of the nobility and gentry, particularly to John Lesley, Earl of Rothes; who patronized him, not only out of respect to his ingenuity, but also at the recommendation of some gentlemen of the name of Lesley, of the Earl's family, and Mr Sharp's relations. By that Lord's interest, and on account of his own merit, he was chosen one of the Professors of Philosophy in St Leonard's college in St Andrews, which was his first preferment (b). His abilities having raised his reputation, and introduced him into the familiarity of many great men, particularly of John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay; by that Lord's means, he quitted his Professorship, and was appointed Minister in the town of Carail. Here, as we are told, he in a singular manner exemplified the evangelical precept, as to the wisdom of the serpent, and the innocency of the dove: and here his labours were most acceptable, and gained on the hearts of the people by calmness, condescension, and affability; only some of the more rigid sort professed, They did not believe him sound (c). And indeed he was not so, according to their notions; for, he had the courage to correspond with King Charles II. in his exile, and spared no pains to keep life in the fainting spirit of Loyalty among many of his brethren (d). In the mean time, great disputes having arisen among the Covenanting Presbyterians in Scotland, which occasioned their splitting into two parties, called Publick Resolutioners, and Protestors or Remonstrators [B]; Mr Sharp joined the former, thinking them persons of the greatest moderation, religion, loyalty, and sincerity. And all the endeavours of the Privy-Council established in that country, not being sufficient to keep them from breaking out into violent flames; in consequence of which, they both carried their complaints to Oliver Cromwell, then Lord Protector; Mr Sharp was unanimously chosen by the Resolutioners as their agent, whom they knew to be an active man, of a strong head, quick wit, and equal temper. The Remonstrators, on their side, sent up Mr Guthry, Preacher at Stirling, a furious zealot. The Protector having appointed a time for hearing the two Agents, Mr Guthry spoke first, and so long, that when he had ended, the Protector told Mr Sharp, he would hear him another time, for his hour for other business was approaching. But Mr Sharp begged to be heard, promising to be short: and being permitted to speak, he in a few words turned Mr Guthry's arguments against himself, and his cause; and gave such a rational representation of his constituents and their party, that Oliver was not only satisfied they had justice on their side, but also so much taken with Mr Sharp's genteel management and address, that he told the by-standers, 'That Gentleman, after the Scotch way, ought to, be styled Sharp of that
' ilk

(b) Life, p. 26
—30.

(c) Life, p. 31,
32.

(d) Life, p. 33.

[B] Which occasioned their splitting into two parties, called Publick Resolutioners, and Protestors or Remonstrators.] Bishop Burnet gives the following account of the heats raised in the Kirk by the Publick Resolutions formed there, and the Protestation made against them (2). 'A general Assembly was in course to meet; and sat at St Andrews. So the commission of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Presbyteries, setting forth all the grounds of their resolutions, and complaining of those who had protested against them; upon which they desired that they would chuse none of those who adhered to the protestation, to represent them in the next assembly. This was only an advice, and had been frequently practised in the former years: But now it was highly complained of, as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings: So the Protestors renewed their Protestation against the meeting upon a higher point, disowning that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the highest tribunal in the Church, in which they thought Christ was in his throne. Upon this a great debate followed, and many books were written in a course of several years. The Publickmen said, this was the destroying of Presbytery, if the lesser number did not submit to the greater: It was a sort of Prelacy, if it was pretended that votes ought rather to be weighed than counted: Parity was the essence of their constitution: And in this all people saw they had clearly the better of the argument. The Protestors urged for themselves, that, since all Protestants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the Church might fall into errors, in which case the lesser number could not be bound to submit to them: They complained of the many corrupt Clergymen who were yet among them, who were leavened with the old leaven, and did on all occasions shew what was still at heart notwithstanding all their outward compliance.'——

'As this debate grew hot, and they were ready to break out into censures on both sides, some were sent down from the Commonwealth of England to settle Scotland: Of these Sir Henry Vane was one. He advised, That, instead of Healing the Wound they had given themselves; which weakned both parties, and kept them from uniting in an

opposition against the Government; they should leave them to worry one another, and fight their own quarrels: which would keep them in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both sides were forced to make their appeal to it. 'This advice was followed; and the division went on. Both sides studied, when any Church became vacant to get a man of their own party to be chosen to succeed in the election: And upon these occasions many tumults happened: In some of them stones were thrown, and many were wounded, to the great scandal of religion.——At last they proceeded to deprive men of both sides, as they were the majority in the judicatories: But because the possession of the Church, and the benefice, was to depend on the orders of the temporal courts, both sides made their application to the Privy-Council, that Cromwell had set up in Scotland: And they were by them referred to Cromwell himself. So they sent deputies up to London. The Protestors went in great numbers: They came nearer both to the principles, and to the temper that prevailed in the army: So they were looked on as the better men, on whom, by reason of the first rise of the difference, the government might more certainly depend: Whereas the others were considered as more in the King's interests. The Resolutioners, upon this occasion, sent up Mr Sharp, as is more particularly related in the Text above.——Bishop Burnet observes, that all the methods imaginable were used by the Protestors to raise their credit among the people. They preached often, and very long; and seemed to carry their devotions to a greater sublimity than others did.——They gave the sacrament with a new and unusual solemnity. On the Wednesday before, they held a fast day with prayers and sermons for about eight or ten hours together: On the Saturday they had two or three preparation sermons: And on the Lord's day they had so very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in some places: And all ended with three or four sermons on Monday for Thanksgiving —— The Resolutioners tried to imitate them in these practices: But they were not thought so spiritual, nor so ready at them; So the others had the chief following'

[C] Ar

(2) Hist. of his own Time, as above, Vol. I. p. 83—88.

‘ilk (e).’ What induced Cromwell more particularly to favour him, was, his having an acquaintance and interest with the Presbyterian Ministers at London, whom he [the Protector] was then courting much, by reason of their credit in the city (f). And they greatly approved of Mr Sharp’s character and conduct, as appears by the letter inserted below [C]. Having succeeded in this important affair, he returned to Scotland to the exercise of his function; and always kept a good understanding with the chief of the opposite party of the Protestors, that were the most eminent for worth and learning (g). During his residence in London, having made himself known to all sorts of people (b); his reputation and general esteem gave him access to, and acquaintance with, General Monk, who looked upon him as a man of probity and reach, and always after treated him with singular familiarity (i). Upon his advancing towards London, the General sent him a letter from York, in Jan. 1659-60, wherein he desired him to undertake a winter journey, and come to him at London with all speed. Mean while, the chief of the Kirk had writ to the General, signifying their entire confidence in him as to the affairs of Scotland, and the necessity of one from them to be near his person, to put him in mind of what was necessary, and acquaint them with the state of things; asking at the same time a pass for Mr James Sharp: which the General immediately sent, declaring, the sooner he came to him, the more welcome he should be (k). The instructions sent him, February 6, from the Presbyterian ministers at Edinburgh, were, to use his utmost endeavours, that the Kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and privileges of her established Judicatures, ratified by the laws of the land: and, whereas by the late established *Toleration*, a door was opened to many gross errors and loose practices in their Church; he should therefore use all lawful and prudent means to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness thereof, that it might be timously remedied (l). By the twenty-first of February, he seemed to be weary of his station, and desired to be recalled (m): complaining, he was so much engaged in business, that he was deprived of his rest. For, people observing the great countenance given him by the Lord General, pressed him so, that he was forced to abandon his chamber all the day, and much of the night (n). However he continued at London, and seemed then to be more than ordinary zealous for Presbytery (o): endeavouring, as he said, to guard against Sectaries upon the one hand, and Cavaliers upon the other. And expressing his fear that the King would come in, and that with him moderate Episcopacy at least would take place (p). The 17th of March he desired to be recalled home; but expressed his dislike at being appointed Minister of Edinburgh, a favour intended him (q). In the beginning of April, the Earl of Lauderdale and he had a meeting with ten of the chief Presbyterian Ministers in London; who all agreed upon the necessity of bringing in the King upon Covenant-terms (r) [D]. In May, at the earnest desire of General Monk, and of the leading Presbyterians in Scotland, Mr Sharp went over to King Charles at Breda, to acquaint him with their behaviour; and to desire his Majesty to write a letter to some of them [E], to shew his resolution to own them,

(e) Life, p. 34.

(f) Bishop Burnet’s Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1733, 8vo. Vol. 1. p. 88.

(g) Life, p. 36.

(b) Burnet, as above.

(i) Life, p. 36.

(k) Woodrow’s Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. 1. Intro. p. 6.

(l) Idem, Vol. I. Append. No. 2.

(m) Idem, Vol. I. Intro. p. 7.

(n) Ibid. p. 9.

(o) Burnet, as above, p. 83.

(p) Woodrow, as above, p. 9, 10.

(q) Ibid. p. 13, 14.

(r) Ibid. p. 15, 17.

(3) Life, &c. p. 35.

[C] *As appears by the letter*] It was dated at London December 1657, and expressed in these words: ‘Our Reverend Brother Mr Sharp hath with much prudence, courage, and laboriousness, unweariedly attended, and managed the Trust committed to him; yea (as we believe) he hath secured your cause from sundry aspersions, which otherwise might probably have reproached it, and he hath gained respect in the opinions of some in highest place by his wisdom and meekness, in vindicating it from misrepresentations. And although the great concernment (which he hath faithfully and zealously minded) be not brought to so good a conclusion as was desired and prayed for, yet we see cause to bless God for that which is done, hoping that through your prudent improvement thereof, it will tend to future advantage.’ Subscribed by Mr Calamy and Mr Ashe: and directed to Mr Douglas, Mr Dickson, &c. (3).

[D] *In the beginning of April, the Earl of Lauderdale, and he, had a meeting with ten of the chief Presbyterian Ministers, &c.*] Mr Sharp, immediately after that meeting, namely on the fifth of April, wrote a letter to Mr Robert Douglas, Minister in Edinburgh; wherein, after mentioning that meeting, he goes on thus:—‘There are endeavours for an accommodation between the moderate Episcopalian party and the Presbyterians. But at our meeting, Lauderdale and I obtained of those Ministers, that they should not give a meeting to the Episcopal men, till they first met among themselves, and resolved on the terms they would stick to.—The King is acquainted with all proceedings here, and wants not information of the carriage and affections of Scotland. The Parliament will address him, some say in hard, others upon honorable terms. I see not full ground of hope, that Covenant-terms will be rigidly stuck to’—In another letter of

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April 7, he says thus:—‘The Lord having opened a fair door of hope, we may look for a settlement upon the grounds of the Covenant, and thereby a foundation laid for security against the prelatical and fanatick assaults. But I am dubious if this should be the result of the agitations now on foot.—We intend to publish some letters from the French Protestant Ministers, vindicating the King from Popery, and giving him a large character. The sectaries will not be able to do any thing to prevent the King’s coming in. Our honest Presbyterian Brethren are cordially for him. I have been dealing with some of them to send some testimony of their affection for him, and yesterday five of them promised to send a thousand pieces of gold to him. The Episcopal party are making applications to the Presbyterians for an accommodation, but the Presbyterians resolve to stick to their principles.’—And in a letter of April 12, he hath this passage:—‘To morrow I have promised to meet with Dr Morley who came from the King: The King is at Breda: The Parliament will at its first sitting (as ’tis expected) call him in. Some say, the Sectarian party have made application to him to bring him in without terms.’—Also, in another letter of his, he thus expresses himself:—‘I fear the interest of the Solemn League and Covenant shall be neglected; and I smell that moderate Episcopacy is the fairest Accommodation which moderate Men who wish well to Religion expect (4).’ So he began to open his mind upon the point of Episcopacy.

[E] *And to desire his Majesty to write a letter, &c.*] This we learn from one of Mr Sharp’s to Mr Douglas, dated May 1 P. S. ‘General Monk has been these ten days pressing me to go over to the King, to deal that he may write a letter to Mr Calamy, to be communicated to the Presbyterian Ministers, shewing his

(4) Woodrow, as above, p. 17, 18.

them, who called themselves the godly sober party. He carried with him a long letter to the King, and another to his Prime Minister (s): Bishop Burnet tells us, that one of those letters was from the Earl of Glencairn to Hyde, recommending Mr Sharp as the only person capable to manage the design of setting up Episcopacy in Scotland; upon which he was received into great confidence (t). Instructions were also sent him from the Kirk [F], with some particulars which he was desired to propound to the King at fit opportunities (u). General Monk having ordered a frigate to carry him over to Holland, he arrived at Breda May the 8th, and was led to the Court by Alexander Bruce, where the Marquis of Ormond introduced him to the King, to whom he delivered his letters. The next morning, he staid an hour and a half with the King alone in his bed-chamber; and in the evening his Majesty took him to walk in the garden near an hour (w). He returned to London May the 26th, and the same day wrote to Mr Douglas, acquainting him, that he 'found the sober Presbyterian Party had no reserve but in his Majesty's Clemency, of which they had no cause to doubt. That he found the King very affectionate to Scotland, and resolved not to wrong the settled Government of their Church. But he apprehended, they were mistaken who went about to settle the Presbyterian government (x).' And he directed his conduct accordingly. For when he, with some others of his brethren, saw nothing remaining (to use his own words) but Prayer and waiting on God.—When he saw, that 'no Good would follow from the proposed Accommodation between the Episcopal party and their adversaries; since those who professed the Presbyterian way resolved to admit moderate Episcopacy.'—When he found, 'from any observation he could make, that the Presbyterian cause was wholly given up and lost [G]: and that the Presbyterians were like to be ground betwixt two mill-stones, viz. the Papists and Presbyterians (y).'—In a word, when he plainly found, that King Charles's Ministry were resolved to crush the Covenanters, and to restore Episcopacy in Scotland, he thought it as well to fish in those troubled waters. However, he held out as long as he thought opposition would answer any purpose [H]. But his becoming soon after a zealous Member of the Church of England, and accepting of an Archbishoprick; made those rigid members of the Kyrk who had maintained him as their Agent, and were resolved never to conform; imagine, that he had been unfaithful to his Trust, and all along undermined and betrayed their cause [I]. This notion bred in those fullen and perverse men such a thorough

(s) Ibid. p. 20, 21. That is, to Edw. Hyde, Esq;

(t) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. 8vo. p. 126.

(u) Woodrow, Appendix to Intro. p. 57.

(w) Idem, Intro. p. 21, 25.

(x) Ibid. p. 25.

(y) Ibid. p. 27, 40, 45.

(5) Woodrow, p. 20, 21.

(6) Ibid. p. 21.

(7) Woodrow, Intro. p. 39.

(8) Woodrow, ibid. p. 32.

(9) Ibid. p. 34.

(10) Ibid. p. 36.

'his resolution to own the godly sober Party, and to stand for the true Protestant Religion in the power of it, &c. (5).'

[F] *Instructions were also sent him from the Kirk.* But, notwithstanding them, he signified his intention to one of his constituents in the following words:—'For my part, I shall not be accessory to any thing prejudicial to the Presbyterian Government, but to appear for it in any other way than is within my sphere, is inconvenient, and may do harm, and not good (6).'

[G] *When he found, from any observation he could make, that the Presbyterian cause was wholly given up and lost.* In his letter of June 19, speaking of 'the Neglect of the Covenant; I see no effectual way (says he) to help this.—I see little the Presbyterians can, or intend to do for the promoting that interest (7).'

[H] *However, he held out as long as he thought opposition would answer any purpose.* So we learn from the following extracts of some of his letters.—In that of June 5, 1660.—'The Episcopalians, says he, drive so furiously, that all lovers of Religion are awakened to look about them, and to endeavour the stemming of that feared impetuosity of these men: All that is hoped, is to bring them to some Moderation and Closure with an Episcopacy of a new make. You may easily judge how little any endeavour of mine can signify to the preventing of this evil; and, therefore, how desirous I am to be taken off, and returned to my charge (8).'

In another of June 10, he speaks thus:—'Some leading Presbyterians tell me, they must resolve to close in with what they call moderate Episcopacy, or else open Profanity will upon the one hand overwhelm them, or Erastianism (which may be the design of some Statesmen) on the other. I am often thinking of coming away; for my stay here I see is to little purpose. I clearly see the General will not stand by the Presbyterians (9).'

For my part, says he, in one of June 12, whatever constructions may be put on my way here, I have a testimony that my endeavours have not been wanting for promoting the Presbyterian interest according to the Covenant. I cannot say they have been significant, &c. (10).'

And again, in another of June 15.—'I have a testimony that I have not been

wanting to improve any opportunity I had during these transactions for the interest of our country and the Covenant. They will bear me up under the constructions my employment at such a juncture lays me open to. I trust when I return to make it appear, I have pursued the publick ends of Religion, as far as the condition of affairs would bear; and I have been byassed by no selfish ends.—I profess it still to be my opinion, that I know no considerable number, and no party in England, that will join with you for settling Presbyterian Government, and pursuing the ends of the Covenant.—The present posture of affairs looks like a ship foundered with the waves from all corners, so that 'tis not known what course will be steered. But discerning men see, that the gale is like to blow for the Prelatick party, and those who are sober will yield to a Liturgy and moderate Episcopacy, which they phrase to be effectual Presbytery, and by this salvo they think they guard against breach of the Covenant. I know this purpose is not pleasing to you, neither to me, &c. (11).'

Finally, in another letter of June 23, he gives all up.—'All is wrong here as to Church-affairs. Episcopacy will be settled here to the height, their lands will be all restored. None of the Presbyterian way here oppose this, or do any thing but mourn in secret. We know not the temper of people, to have any thing to do with them (12).'

[I] *And all along undermined and betrayed their cause.* His old friend and acquaintance Robert Douglas, in particular, charged him afterwards severely with Fraud and Prevarication; as appears by the following extract from his *Account of the Introduction of Prelacy* (13).—'I profess I did not suspect Mr Sharp in reference to Prelacy more than I did myself, no more than the Apostles did Judas before his Treachery was discovered: I did not suspect him for that, more than I did suspect him for taking the Tender, after he came out of the Tower so long before us. But since I find that he has been his Truckling; and when he went over to Holland he had a letter from a prime Nobleman to the King, signifying that he was Episcopal in his judgment. This was revealed to me after he was a Bishop. The first thing that gave me a dislike at him was, when he was in Holland he wrote

(11) Ibid. p. 38.

(12) Ibid. p. 40.

(13) See Woodrow's Intro. p. 24.

thorough Hatred and Prejudice, as nothing but Mr Sharp's blood could satisfy and appease. During his absence from Scotland, he was chosen Professor of Divinity in St Mary's-college in St Andrews (z). And, before he quitted London, King Charles, as a mark of his royal favour, made him his Chaplain for Scotland, with a pension of 200 pounds sterling *per annum*, which he enjoyed as long as he lived (a). About the middle of August 1660, he returned to Edinburgh, carrying with him a Letter from his Majesty, directed to Mr Robert Douglas, to be communicated to the Presbytery of that city [K]. He then delivered up to his constituents his commission, with a full answer to the same: and, after this, never had another commission from them, nor was employed by that party (b) [L]. On the first of January 1660 61, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to visit the college of Aberdeen (c). The same year, an act having passed, for rescinding all the Parliaments held in Scotland since 1633; the Earl of Glencairn Chancellor, and the Earl of Rothes President of the Council, were sent up to London, with a Letter dated April 24, to give the King an account of the proceedings and state of affairs of Scotland (d). Mr Sharp attended those Lords; and, in a Council held at Whitehall, was nominated Archbishop of St Andrews, with the approbation of all present except the Earl of Lauderdale (e) [M]. The last day of August, those two Noblemen and he came back to Scotland, bringing with them a letter from the King to the Privy-Council there; for restoring of that Church to its right Government by Bishops (f). Upon that a resolution was formed, to fill up all the rest of the vacant sees; and the nomination of proper persons was left to Mr Sharp, who acted with great moderation (g). He, and three others, were consecrated at London, by virtue of a commission dated December 12, 1661, and directed to Bishop Sheldon of London, and Bishop Morley of Worcester; for the Archbishop

(z) Life, p. 42.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Life, p. 43.

(d) Life, p. 53. and Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 162—166.

(e) Life, p. 53.

(f) Woodrow, Hist. of the Church of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 96. and Burnet, as above, p. 181, &c.

(g) Burnet, p. 183—185.

' wrote to me in commendation of Hyde, an enemy to our Nation and Presbyterial Government. I durst not yet believe myself in this, having no more save his commendation of Hyde, but it appeared afterwards that in Holland he was a great enemy to the Presbyterian interest, and when we wrote a favourable letter for the Earl of Rothes, and with him a letter to the King, he dissuaded the Earl from delivering the letter. When at London, he was enraged that we had written to the Ministers of London. He dealt also treacherously with the Brethren who came from Ireland, in dissuading their Addresses to the King. When he came to Scotland, he dealt earnestly against all Addresses made to the Parliament against Prelacy. He dealt treacherously with the King, making him believe, that there were no considerable Persons against Prelacy; but would have persuaded the King, that all our lives were in his hand, and he might do what he pleased; and the man never rested till he was brought himself to a chair.'—Bishop Burnet, an accuser of his Brethren, speaks in yet severer terms upon that subject (14).

(14) See History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 126, 127, 151.

[K] Carrying with him a letter, &c.] That letter was in these words:

' CHARLES R.

' Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. By the letter you sent to us with the bearer Mr James Sharp, and by the account he gave of the state of our Church there, We have received full information of your sense of our Sufferings, and of your constant affection and loyalty to our Person and Authority. And therefore We will detain him here no longer (of whose good service we are very sensible) nor will we delay to let you know by him our gracious acceptance of your Address, and how We are satisfied with your carriages, and with the generality of the Ministers of Scotland in this time of tryal, whilst some under specious pretences swerved from that duty and allegiance they owed to Us. And because such, who by the countenance of Usurpers have disturbed the peace of that our Church, may also labour to create Jealousies in the minds of well meaning people; We have thought fit by this to assure you, that by the grace of God We resolve to discountenance Prophanity, and all contemnners and opposers of the Ordinances of the Gospel. We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by Law, without violation; and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions, all such Ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men of their calling. We will also take care, that the Authority and Acts of the general Assembly, at St Andrews and Dundee, the year 1651, be owned and stand in force, until we shall

' call another general Assembly, which we purpose to do, as soon as our affairs will permit. And We do intend to send for Mr Robert Douglas and some other Ministers, that we may speak with them in what may further concern the affairs of that Church. And as We are very well satisfied with your resolution, not to meddle without your sphere, so we do expect that Church-Judicatories in Scotland, and Ministers there, will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters Ecclesiastick, and promoting our Authority and Interest with our subjects against all opposers; and that they will take special notice of all such, who by preaching, and private Conventicles, or any other way, transgress the limits of their calling, by endeavouring to corrupt the people, or sow seeds of disaffection to Us or our government. This you shall make known to the several Presbyteries within that our kingdom: And as We do give assurance of our Favour and Encouragement to you, and to all honest deserving Ministers there, so We earnestly recommend it to you all, that you be earnest in your prayers, publick and private, to Almighty God, who is our rock and our deliverer, both for Us and for our government, that We may have fresh and constant supplies of his grace, and the right improvement of all his mercies and deliverances, to the honour of his great name, and the peace, safety, and benefit of all our kingdoms. And so We bid you heartily farewell.

' Given at our Court at Whitehall, the tenth of August 1660, and of our reign the twelfth year.

' By his Majesty's Command,

' Lauderdale (15).' (15) Life, p. 39, &c.

[L] And after this never had another commission from them, nor was employed by that party] The author of our Archbishop's life adds the following observation.—' Which shews that it is a gross calumny, and loading his memory unjustly, to affirm that he betrayed them, seeing he was under no trust (16).—But this observation is ill placed here. For it was not after this that they accused him of having betrayed them, but during his negotiations before the King's Restoration.

(16) Life, p. 42.

[M] With the approbation of all present except the Earl of Lauderdale.] That Lord not only entred his dissent openly in Council; but, coming out, he met Mr Sharp walking with the Earl of Stirling, to whom, with an austere voice and threatening gesture, he spoke these words: ' Mr Sharp, Bishops you are to have in Scotland; you are to be Archbishop of St Andrews; but whoever shall be the man, by G - -, I will finite him and his order below the fifth rib.' And he was as good as his word in many instances (17).

[N] And (17) Life, p. 54.

Archbishop of Canterbury, Juxon, was unable by reason of his great age and infirmities, and Dr Frewen Archbishop of York was absent (*b*). Before consecration, Archbishop Sharp not having Episcopal Orders, was obliged to be re-ordained, though against his inclination (*i*). His first act was the obtaining a Proclamation, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Presbytery, or other judicatory, 'till the Bishops should settle a method of proceeding in them. The occasion of which was, that, upon the consecration of the Bishops, the Presbyteries of Scotland that were still sitting began to declare openly against Episcopacy, and to prepare protestations, or other acts or instruments, against them. But this proceeding created the Archbishop abundance of enemies; John Maitland Earl of Lauderdale, a seeming friend but a private enemy, blowing the coals (*k*). In April 1662, the Archbishop, with the rest of the new-consecrated Prelates, were introduced into the Parliament that met at that time: and an act, framed by our Primate, passed in that session, for restoring Episcopacy, and settling the government of the Church in the hands of the Bishops (*l*) [N]. But, rather than comply with the terms of it, and take presentations to their livings, many Ministers chose to be turned out; and, above 150 were also deprived of their preferments, for not obeying and submitting to the Bishops summons to their Synods. This was transacted without Archbishop Sharp's knowledge, who did not imagine that so rash a thing could have been done; and was glad he had no share in it, as we are informed by Bishop Burnet (*m*). And indeed the writer of his life assures us, that 'Archbishop Sharp's methods were Christian and prudent, and attended with very great success. He entertained his Clergy with much brotherly love and respect, and was a great judge and encourager of learning, wisdom, and piety (*n*).' However, it is certain that from this time the frequenters of Conventicles were too severely punished [O]. The deprived brethren and their adherents not patiently bearing their losses and sufferings, broke out at last into an open rebellion; which, however, was appeased and suppressed by their defeat at Pentland-hill, 28 November, 1666 (*o*). To return to some facts that happened in the mean time: In 1663, Archbishop Sharp came to London, to support the Earl of Middleton and his interest, but finding them both upon the decline, he adhered to the Earl of Lauderdale; who never acted but against his inclination for Episcopacy. In 1664, the Archbishop came again to London, to complain of the Lord Glencairn, and the Privy-Council, for their remissness in putting the laws against the Covenanters in execution. He also made strong application to be Chancellor of Scotland (*p*); but not being able to succeed for himself, he obtained that high place for the Earl of Rothes (*q*). And, upon a difference between him and the Earl of Lauderdale, he endeavoured to supplant him; that Earl being the bitterest enemy he could possibly have (*r*) [P]. During the rebellion in the western parts of Scotland, he was in great distress, being then at the head of the Government in that kingdom; and, after the suppression of it, caused the prisoners to be severely proceeded against (*s*). He was the King's Commissioner in the Convention which met in 1665; but in the beginning of the year 1667, he was ordered to stay within his diocese, and to come no more to Edinburgh. However, before the end of the same year, he was brought again to the Council-board, and behaved for a while with moderation (*t*). But the rigorous proceedings against the Covenanters, of which the blame was chiefly laid upon our Prelate, so filled that fullen, enthusiastic, and ungovernable set of people (*u*), with violent prejudices and a bitter zeal against him, that they never rested 'till they had his life. On the 9th of July, 1668,

[N] *And an Act, framed by our Primate, passed in that session for restoring Episcopacy.*] By this act, the whole government and jurisdiction of the Church in the several dioceses was declared to be lodged in the Bishops, which they were to exercise with the advice and assistance of such of their Clergy, as were of known loyalty and prudence: All men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and submit to the government of the Church, as now by law established. This, as Bishop Burnet observes, 'was plainly the setting Episcopacy on another bottom, than it had been ever on in Scotland before that time (18).—The whole frame of the act, adds he, 'was liable to great censures. It was thought an inexcusable piece of madness, that, when a government was brought in upon a nation so averse to it, the first step should carry their power so high. All the Bishops, except Sharp, disowned their having any share in the penning this act; which indeed was passed in haste, without due consideration. Nor did any of the Bishops, no not Sharp himself, ever carry their authority so high, as by the act they were warranted to do (19).—The act being so disagreeable in its own nature to the majority of the Scottish Nation, no wonder that the execution of it should bring a great dislike to those Persons, who by their office were bound to see it obeyed.

[O] *From this time the frequenters of Conventicles were too severely punished.*] An act of the same nature

against Conventicles, was made in Scotland, as what had passed in England. By which, every person above sixteen, that was present at a conventicle, was to lye three months in prison, or to pay 5 *l.* for the first offence; six months for the second offence, or to pay 20 *l.* fine; and for the third offence, upon conviction by a jury, to be banished to any of the plantations, except New England or Virginia, or to pay 100 *l.* (20).

[P] *That Earl being the bitterest enemy he could possibly have.*] Though he saw that the Archbishop was guilty of some indiscretions, instead of stopping them in a friendly manner, and giving him proper advice; he 'resolved to give him line, even when he was persuaded that he would ruin all. For he said, he had not credit enough to stop him; nor would he oppose any thing that he proposed, unless 'it were very extravagant (21).—The Archbishop complained to the King of Lauderdale's remissness; which occasioned a bitter quarrel between them. And in the end, to compleat the Archbishop's disgrace with the King, Lauderdale got many of his letters, which he had writ to the Presbyterians, after the time in which the King knew that he was negotiating for Episcopacy, in which he had continued to protest, with what zeal he was solliciting their concerns, not without dreadful imprecations on himself, if he was prevaricating with them, and laid these before the King (22).

(20) Idem, p. 286. See also, p. 294, 295.

(21) Burnet, p. 289.

(22) Idem, p. 297, 300.

[2] Shot

(b) Kennett's Register, &c. p. 577.

(i) Burnet, p. 193, 194.

(k) Ibid. p. 196, &c.

(l) Ibid.

(m) Vol. I. p. 215.

(n) Life, p. 58.

(o) Burnet, as above, p. 326—331.

(p) Upon the death of the Earl of Glencairn, the Chancellor, in July 1664.

(q) Burnet, p. 281—294.

(r) Idem, p. 289, 297, 300.

(s) Idem, p. 328, 329, 331, 332.

(t) Idem, p. 335—347.

(u) See an exact Account of their behaviour and disposition, in this Volume of Bishop Burnet, p. 384, &c. 406—416.

(18) Burnet, as above, p. 199.

(19) Idem, p. 200, 201.

1668, one James Mitchel, a field or conventicle Preacher, shot at him, as he was getting into his coach [Q]: for which he was afterwards executed, the eighteenth of January, 1677-8 [R]. But that execution only made way for more desperate undertakings. Conventicles

[Q] Shot at him, as he was getting into his coach, &c.] Of this wicked and desperate attempt, we shall give the exactest account we can, from the most authentic relations published at different times. That given by the author of our Primate's life, is as follows:

—As he came down in the evening from his brother's lodgings, which were over against the Black-frier wynd, and being placed in his coach, was distributing charity to the poor, and blessing them, and receiving their returns, he with Dr Honyman, Bishop of Orkney (who was entering the coach) were assaulted by a wicked ruffian (Mr James Mitchel by name, whose son and heir is present preacher (23) at Dunoter) who shot at them with a pistol charged with three balls, which broke the Bishop of Orkney's left arm, a little above the wrist. In the confusion, occasioned by so unexpected an event, the bloody assassin made his escape; but being afterwards apprehended, he owned the fact, and maintained such principles as are destructive to society, and hateful to all sober men; for which in or about the year 1676 (24) he suffered the punishment due to such execrable crimes (25).

Dr Hickes, in *Ravillac redivivus*, relates the fact in the following manner.—Mr Mitchel joined in the rebellion of the Fanatics, that broke out in 1666. He had the fortune to escape from the field of battle, but was afterwards proclaimed Traytor, with many other principal actors in that Rebellion, and afterwards excepted by name in his Majesty's proclamation of Pardon, that he might receive no benefit thereby. Then he seulked about, during which time, he took up the resolution of Assassinating the Lord-Primate, and languished away for want of an opportunity to put his inhumane design in execution. At last, having observed that the Lord Arch-Bishop used always to go about the town [of Edinburgh] in his coach, he determined to pistol him in it; and accordingly on Saturday the ninth of July, 1668, discharged a pistol loaden with three bullets at him, which were intercepted by the arm of the Lord Bishop of Orkney, who at the same instant was getting into his Grace's coach: As soon as he had shot, he walked fast away, and as he crossed the street, the Primate got a view of his face. He was not immediately pursued, which gave him opportunity to escape into the house of one — Ferguson, an ejected Minister; which being in an obscure place of the town, he had prepared for a retreat, in case he could get safe thither. There having disguised himself, by putting on a periwig, and changing his cloaths, he immediately went into the street again, and made as great a bustle as any in the throng to find out the assassin, who had shot at the Primate, and, as he hoped, had killed him in his coach. He was known by none in the crowd, but by three of his confederates, who had come to town on purpose to assist him in his bloody design; namely, — Barfcob, — Mandroget, and Major Lermonth, who had been ringleaders in the rebellion of Pentland-hills. The assassin joyned himself with these three; and after a consultation what they should do for their further security, they unanimously resolved to retire into the garden of Sir Archibald Primrose. The morning approaching, they thought it safer to quit the town; and the other three conducting Mr James Mitchel, he made a final escape into Holland by their assistance, and was never after seen in Scotland, 'till the latter end of 1673. In that interval, he rambled through Holland, England, and Ireland, from whence he returned, with a resolution (as it seems) to assassinate the Primate again. Not long after his return he married, and repaired with his wife to Edinburgh, presuming that after more than five years absence, he might live *incognito*; at least so long, 'till he could find an opportunity to execute his bloody design. In order to which, he hired a shop within a door or two of the Primate's lodgings, where his wife pretended to sell Tobacco and such like things (26).

Much to the same purpose is Bishop Burnet's story. VOL. VI. No. 304.

—A strange accident happened to Sharp in July, 1668, as he was going into his coach in full day-light, the Bishop of Orkney being with him. A man came up to the coach, and discharged a pistol at him with a brace of bullets in it, as the Bishop of Orkney was going up into the coach. He intended to shoot through his cloak at Sharp, as he was mounting up: but the bullet stuck in the Bishop of Orkney's arm, and shattered it so, that, though he lived some years after that, they were forced to open it every year for an exfoliation. Sharp was so universally hated, that, though this was done in full day-light, and on the high-street, yet no body offered to seize the assassin. So he walked off, and went home, and shifted himself of an odd wig, which he was not accustomed to wear, and came out, and walked on the streets immediately. But Sharp had viewed him so narrowly, that he discovered him afterwards.—Proclamations were issued out with great rewards for discovering the actor; but nothing followed on them. On this occasion it was thought proper, that he should be called to Court, and have some marks of the King's favour put on him. He promised to make many good motions.—The King, as he had a particular talent that way, when he had a mind to it, treated him with special characters of favour and respect. But he made no proposition to the King: only in general terms he approved of the methods of gentleness and moderation then in vogue. When he came back to Scotland, (which was in August 1675) he moved in council, that an Indulgence might be granted to some Ministers, of the denomination of Publick Resolutions, who did not conform, with some rules and restraints (27). But they were rejected by those Ministers.

[R] For which he was afterwards executed the eighteenth of January 1677-8.] We have seen, in the foregoing note, that Mitchel returned to Edinburgh in 1673, where he married, and hired a shop within a door or two of the Archbishop's lodgings. But he had not long been there, before he was discovered and apprehended upon suspicion; and when he was taken (which was in the same place where he stood to commit the fact) there were two pistols found about him, in size and shape like that which the Primate saw him hold in his hand, immediately after he had shot at his Grace; and upon search, they were also found to be charged with three bullets each. Being apprehended by Sir William Sharp, he was immediately brought to his brother the Primate's lodgings; and though a great crowd had pressed in after him, yet his Grace knew him at first sight from all the rest (such a deep impression the transient view he got of him after the shot, had made upon him) and going up to him, without any hesitation he said unto him, *You, Sir, are the man*; upon which the wretch trembled and grew pale. Not long after, he was convened before the Privy-Council, the Duke of Lauderdale, his Majesty's High Commissioner, then sitting in Council; but he would confess nothing before them, which made them depute a Committee for his further examination; before which he freely confessed the fact, and signed his Confession before the King's High-Commissioner sitting in Council; which the Lord Halton, the Treasurer-Deputy; the Earl of Rothes, Lord-Chancellor; and some other of the Council, subscribed as witnesses. After this examination, which was in February 1674, he was put upon his trial. But after his indictment was read, he denied it, and retracted his Confession, which (as our author affirms) he had freely made, without any promise of pardon, before the High-Commissioner and the Council. Upon which, Sir John Nesbit, his Majesty's Advocate, desisted immediately from the prosecution, and would never prosecute the assassin again: so that the Privy Council were forced to send him prisoner to the Bass, where he continued 'till the latter end of December 1677. But then it being rumoured about, that the Fanatics designed to take off our Primate, Archbishop Burnet, some

(23) Namely, when that Life was written.

(24) It was in January 1677-8. See the next note.

(25) Life, p. 63, 24.

(26) *Ravillac Redivivus*, being a Narrative of the Trial of Mr James Mitchel, &c. 2d edit. Lond. 1682, fol.

(27) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 388, 389. Life, p. 69.

(w) Burnet,
Vol. II. p. 23,
25.

(*) So Bishop
Burnet insinuates.
Vol. II. p. 103.
and Woodrow,
Vol. II. p. 28.

ticles grew at length to a very unfeufferable pitch; they having generally with them a troop of armed and desperate men, that drew up, and sent parties out to secure them (w). From some of these, the precaution which the Archbishop had taken to secure his own life, served only to hasten his fatal and most tragical death. For, whether it was a premeditated design [S], or suggested by an accidental opportunity (*), nine ruffians [T] attacked him, May the third, 1679, on Magask-moor about three miles from St Andrews, and murdered him in a cruel and barbarous manner [U]. His body was interred, May 17, in the south end

of

(28) Ravillac/
Redivivus, as
above, p. 6, 7.

of the Bishops, and other eminent persons, by assassination; it was resolved to bring Mr Mitchel to publick justice (28).—Or, as Bishop Burnet expresses it in his invidious way, ‘now Sharp would have his life.—He pretended, he was in great danger of his life, and that the rather because the person that had made the attempt on him was let live still.’—The same historian represents this whole affair in very black colours. And tells us, that ‘Sharp got a friend of his to go to Mitchel, and deal with him to make a full confession: And he made solemn promises, that he would procure his pardon. His friend answered, he hoped he did not intend to make use of him to trepan a man to his ruin. Upon that, with lifted up hands, Sharp promised by the living God, that no hurt should come to him, if he made a full discovery. — And the Duke of Lauderdale, the King’s Commissioner, gave the Council power to promise him his life.’—But, afterwards, upon Mitchel’s refusing to repeat his confession in a court of judicature; the Council past an Act mentioning the promise and his confession, and adding, that since he had *retracted* his confession, they likewise recalled the promise of pardon (29).—Let us hear what our Archbishop said upon that point, at the time of Mitchel’s tryal. He then deposed, ‘that immediately upon the taking of the pannel [i. e. the prisoner] he promised him, that if he would confess, and repent himself of his fault, without further troubling a Court of Judicature, he would intercede for his Pardon; which he *rejeſted then*, and therefore though he still forgave him, yet he did not conceive himself bound to endeavour his preservation after more than *five years Obſtination* (30).’—Bishop Burnet hath given a large and circumstantial Account of this whole affair (31), which we cannot insert, for fear of swelling this note too much. But he owns himself, that he received his information from one who hated Sharp (32). Let therefore the reader coolly judge for himself, between the two extremes. Only we cannot but leave this observation with him, That Archbishop Sharp is by Bishop Burnet painted in as black colours, as Bishop Burnet himself has been by posterity: And that he expresses throughout as bitter a prejudice against our Primate, as even Mitchel himself could do. He had also forgot, that one of the ancientest Laws of the supreme Governor of the universe, is, Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed (33). The obvious meaning of which is, that Murder is to be punished with death, which way soever it comes to be discovered.

(29) Burnet,
Vol. II. p. 18,
19.

(30) Ravillac
Redivivus, p. 14.

(31) History,
Vol. II. p. 17,
&c.

(32) Ibid. p.
19, 23.

(33) Gen. ix. 6.

(34) Life, p. 72.
and Appendix to
the Preface, p.
52.

(35) Appendix to
the Preface, p.
56.

[S] Whether it was a premeditated design.] The author of the Archbishop’s Life gives strong reasons to think that it was a premeditated Design. For, towards the end of April 1679, a paper was dropt in the Burgh of Cowper, full of opprobrious language and insinuations of a Design upon Archbishop Sharp’s person, who was then at Edinburgh, and had resolved to go to London, to give a fair representation to his Majesty of the state of affairs, and what was to be done for remedying these evils. It is believed, that if the Archbishop had gone straight to Court, his enemies had failed in their design, and also, that his wife counsels would have prevented much blood and ensuing confusions (34).—And, in another letter from one of his Grace’s enemies, inserted in the same life (35), and dated third of May 1679, we find this passage.—‘I hope you have heard of the dreadful Death of the old Fox, who was clothed with the Sheep’s skin, and countenanced with the King’s authority. The same was intended for others also; but it seems God hath not altogether forsaken them, and given them over to themselves; but it may be supposed, that they are referred to a greater judgment, which God in

his own appointed time will cause to fall upon them.’ See Preface to the Archbishop’s Life (36).

(36) P. 25—35.

[T] Nine ruffians attacked him.] Their names were, John Balfour of Kinloch, David Haxton of Rathillet, George Balfour in Gillston, James Ruffel in Kettle, Robert Dingwal a tenant’s son in Caddam, Andrew Guillan, webster in Balmerinloch, Alexander and Andrew Henderfons, sons to John Henderfons in Kilbrachmont, and George Fleeming son to George Fleeming in Balboothie (37).

(37) Life, p. 75,
and 156.

[U] And murdered him in a cruel and barbarous manner.] Of this inhuman murder the following account is given by the writer of his Life ‘Upon Friday May the second, he determined to take journey to St Andrews, with a design to return upon Monday to Edinburgh, and thence to begin his journey for Court. On Friday evening, he reached Kennoway, where he lodged that night. — On Saturday, May 3d, he entered his coach with his daughter Isabel, and went on in his journey. — As he passed by the Struthers, he sent his servant with an excuse to the Earl of Crawford, that he could not wait upon him at that occasion. And, as he was going on, the coachman perceiving some armed men making hard after them, who looked not like friends, calls to the postilion to drive on. The Arch-bishop finding the coach run so hard, look’t out to see what the matter was, and perceiving armed men pursuing him, he turned to his daughter, and said *Lord have mercy upon me, my poor child, for I am gone*. In the mean time, the coachman put faster on, and out-run the most part of these ruffians, while at last one of the best mounted of them got before the postilion, and, by wounding him in the face, shooting the horse which he led, in the back, and cutting him in the hams, turned the coach out of the way, and gave time to the rest to come up, who immediately stopt the coach, by cutting the harnessing with their swords. One wounded him with the shot of a pistol, another with a small sword: thereafter they called to him to come out. Upon which he composedly opened the coach-door, and step forth: And while his daughter was crying, and all in tears, he besought them to spare his life, and obtested them not to bring innocent blood upon their own heads. But all in vain. Then he entreated them through the bowels and mercies of Christ, that they would at least suffer him to die patiently, and have some time to recommend his soul unto God. Which being denied him, (but would have been granted by the most barbarous of all Heathens) he fell upon his knees, and while he was holding up his eyes and hands to Heaven, and, pouring out his soul before God, and after the example of his blessed Lord, praying for his murderers, he was first deeply wounded in the wrists, and backs of these up-lifted hands, which they did beat down, and then by these bloody Canibals massacred upon the place, having received in his head, and other parts of his body, twenty two wounds (38).’

(38) Life, p.
73, 74, 75, and
140, &c.

To this, it will not be amiss to subjoin the declaration of the Physician and Surgeons, who visited the Archbishop’s body. ‘We under-subscribers, being called to visit the corps of the late Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, do find, that he had received a wound by a sword over the left eye, extending two inches above, and one below, making a great suffusion of blood upon the cheek, and upper and lower eye-lid. Next, we found many wounds upon the posterior part of his head, insomuch, that the whole occipital bone was shattered all in pieces, and a part of the brain thereby lost upon the place, which certainly being so great, could not but occasion his present death. There were only two wounds to be seen upon the body, the first, two or three inches below the right clavicle, betwixt

the

of the high church of St Andrews; where his son erected a magnificent tomb, with an elegant epitaph, to his memory, composed by Dr Andrew Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld, and afterwards of Orkney (y). By his wife, Helen Moncrief, daughter to William Moncrief, Laird of Randerston, descended from an ancient family, his Grace left one son, and two daughters; viz.—Sir William Sharp, who married Mrs Margaret Erskine, daughter to Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo, Bart. Lyon King at Arms.—Isabel, who was in the coach with her father at the time of his barbarous murder, and was afterwards married to John Cunningham of Barns, Gent. in Fife-shire.—Margaret, who was married to William Lord Saltoun (z). The Archbishop was of a middle stature, strong, and well made. He had a comely forehead, but his eyes appeared to be somewhat sunk, yet full of life. His countenance was cheerful, with a due mixture of gravity; and he was an absolute master of the art of address. For sobriety he was next to a miracle. Neither was his Charity less in all its branches [W]. He was a man of good learning, and a frequent preacher; and thought residence one of the indispensable duties of a Bishop [X]. He was a kind and affectionate husband, a tender and indulgent father, a firm friend, a great encourager of learning and learned men, and a sure patron of societies, particularly of the city and university of St Andrews (a).

(y) Life, p. 82, 83.

(z) Life, p. 81.

(a) Life, p. 76—82.

the second or third rib, which was given by a shot not reaching the capacity of the breast. The next was a small wound upon the region of the kidneys, given by a small sword. Likewise we found three wounds upon his left hand, which might have proved mortal, though he had escaped the former. Also another upon the right hand, as dangerous as the former; as witness our hands at St Andrews, the fifth day of May 1679, George Pitillo, M. D. William Borthwick, Chir. Henry Spence, Chir. James Pringle, Chir. (39).

(39) Appendix to the Preface, as above, p. 57.

[W] Neither was his Charity less in all its branches.] If at any time he made distinction, it was to those of the better rank, upon whom poverty lies heaviest, because they are ashamed to discover their necessities, or to beg supplies from others; and that without any respect to party. 'I have it (adds the author of his life) from a wise, reverend, and aged Presbyter, who had the advantage of knowing him very well, that, to his certain knowledge, he hath caused distribute by his trustees fifty crowns in a morning to the orphans and widows of the Presbyterian brethren, without their being acquainted from what hand it came. And it is now very well known, that a certain Presbyterian lady (whose father was the third and most eminent, except one, that suffered after the Restoration) was entrusted by him in dispensing no small sums of secret charity, to the most needful of that party, which differed so much from him. And his conduct in his family, and on

other occasions to the poor, was suitable to discretion, and the true laws of charity (40).'

(40) Life, p. 79.

[X] And thought residence one of the indispensable duties of a Bishop.] The author of our Primate's life explains more fully these particulars, in the following manner:—'He was no friend to Pluralities in the Church, and he thought residence one of the indispensable duties of a Bishop, and was never absent from St Andrews, except when the affairs of the Church and the publick called him. Frequently he preached every Lord's-day, but at least once in the fourteen days: And when he was necessarily at Edinburgh, he preached on all anniversary days, festivals, and solemn occasions. And for that part of the Evangelical function he was happily qualified: for his sermons were methodical, grave and persuasive, altogether free from Enthusiastick flights and bitter invectives; which were then the admirable talents of those denominated a Gospel-gifted Ministry. That which made all Ecclesiastical performances easy to the Archbishop, was, the great progress he had made, from the days of his youth, in the study of the Greek and Latine Fathers, the ancient Liturgies, Councils, and Canons of the Church. Neither was he a stranger to the learning of the school-men (41).'

is pleased to say, that Sharp had a very small portion of Learning, and was but an indifferent Preacher (42).'

But we must consider, that this comes from a very inveterate Enemy.

(41) Life, p. 79.

(42) Hist. Vol. I. p. 88.

SHARP [JOHN], the late most worthy Archbishop of York, was born at Bradford in Yorkshire, February the 16th, 1644, being the son of Mr Thomas Sharp, an eminent tradesman of that place, descended from the Sharps of Little Norton, a family of great antiquity in Bradford-Dale (a) [A]. On the 26th of April, 1660, he was admitted of Christ's-college in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr Brooksbank [B]. But he attended for some time Lectures in Natural Philosophy, according to the Cartesian method; which were read by Mr Thomas Burnet, then Fellow of Christ's-college, afterwards Doctor in Divinity, and Master of the Charter-house. However, Mr Sharp did not apply himself so much to the Mathematicks, as he did to Botany and Chemistry, which were his favourite studies in his younger years (b). On the 26th of December, 1663, he commenced Bachelor of Arts, having performed his exercise and examination with good reputation; though he had laboured under great infirmities both of body and mind most part of the time, having been afflicted with a quartan ague, which by its long continuance had brought on a hypochondriac melancholy (c). About the year 1664, he made interest for a Fellowship of his college; but, his county being full, he was expressly excluded by the statutes: Dr Cudworth, the Master, offered to bring him in afterwards, in 1669, but he had then better views. The 9th of July, 1667, he commenced Master of Arts; and, the 12th of the month following, by virtue of a faculty from Archbishop Sheldon, was ordained Deacon and Priest both in one day, by Dr Fuller, then Bishop of Limerick, afterwards of Lincoln. The same year, in the month of October, he became domestic Chaplain,

(a) Mr Thoreby's Topography of Leedes, p. 36.

(b) From Memoirs communicated to us by the learned Dr T. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumbreland, one of the Archbishop's sons.

(c) Lives of the Protestant Bishops, &c. by J. Le Neve, edit. 1720, 8vo. Part 2. p. 279.

[A] Was born at Bradford in Yorkshire, February the 16th, 1644, &c.] He was baptized by Mr Blazet, with sponsors, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England. Mr Blazet was episcopally ordained: and Dr Sharp was always thankful to God for this blessing (1).

(1) From Memoirs communicated by the learned Dr T. Sharp, as above.

[B] Under the tuition of Mr Brooksbank.] Dr Sharp procured afterwards for him the living of St Mary's in Reading, out of gratitude for the pains he had taken with him, whilst he was under his tuition (2).

(2) From the same Memoirs.

[C] And

Chaplain, and Tutor to four sons of Sir Heneage Finch [C], then Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Chancellor; by the recommendation of his fellow-collegian, the celebrated Dr Henry More (d). July 13, 1669, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, in company with several other Gentlemen from Cambridge, who went to Oxford, at the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre (e). Having attended, with universal liking, for five years in the family of his excellent patron Sir Heneage Finch, he was by him recommended to King Charles II. for the Archdeaconry of Berkshire, then void by the promotion of Dr Mew to the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells; and accordingly he was collated thereto February 20, 1672 (f). Sir Heneage being advanced, the same year, to the high office of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; and sensible, that the several duties of his great post, would not allow him time and leisure, to make that enquiry which was necessary; to know the characters of such as applied to him for the Crown-preferments in his disposal; he devolved this particular province upon his Chaplain Mr Sharp, of whose learning, integrity, and good judgment, he had now sufficient experience [D]. In 1674, he preached a sermon, the first in the collection of his printed works, which occasioned a controversy, of which an account is given in the note [E]. On the 26th of March, 1675-6, he was installed Prebendary of the third stall in the cathedral of Norwich; and, on the 22d of April following, instituted to the Rectory of St Bartholomew Exchange London. He was married, May 16, 1676, by Dr Tillotson, at Clerkenwell church, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of William Palmer of Winthorp in the county of Lincoln, Esq; And, on the third of January, 1676-7, was instituted to the Rectory of St Giles in the Fields, London, having supplied that place constantly from the death of the last incumbent (g). He now left the Lord Chancellor Finch, and kept house, and his time was taken up, for the ten following years, in close attention to his cure at St Giles's [F]. During that time, he was happy in the intimacy of some, and well acquainted with all, the following eminent Divines then in London: Stillingfleet, Cradock, Whichcot, Calamy, Tillotson [G], Clagett, Williams, Tenison, Beveridge, Scott, Sherlock, Wake, and

(d) Memoirs, &c. and Le Neve, as above, p. 280.

(e) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 177.

(f) Le Neve, p. 280, 281. and Fasti, p. 280.

(g) Memoirs, &c. as above. Le Neve, p. 281. and Newcourt's Repertorium, &c. Vol. I. p. 292, 613.

(3) Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 72, 176.

(4) Life of Dr George Bull, &c. edit. 1713, 8vo. p. 278, 279.

[C] *And Tutor to four sons of Sir Heneage Finch.* Two of them, Henry and Edward, entering afterwards into Orders, he gave them successively the rich Prebend of Wetwang in his own Cathedral at York. Henry was made Dean of York, in 1702 (3).

[D] *Of whose learning, integrity, and good judgment he had now sufficient experience.* This particular we learn from the pious Mr Nelson (4), whose larger account is as follows: 'Among the many very commendable qualities of this great man [Sir Heneage] his zeal for the welfare of the Church of England, was not the least conspicuous; which particularly shewed itself, in the care he took in disposing of those Ecclesiastical Preferments, which were in the Gift of the Seal. He judged rightly, in looking upon that Privilege as a Trust for the good of the Church of God, of which he was to give a strict account; and therefore being sensible that the several duties of his great Post, as first Minister of State, as Lord-Chancellor, and as Speaker of the House of Lords, would not allow his Lordship time and leisure to make that enquiry which was necessary to know the Characters of such as were Candidates for Preferment, he devolved this particular province upon his Chaplain, whose Conscience he charged with an impartial Scrutiny in this matter; adding withal, that he would prefer none but those who came recommended from him, and that if he led him wrong, the blame should fall upon his own soul. It is true, that this was a great testimony of my Lord's intire Confidence, in the Uprightness as well as the Capacity of his Chaplain; but the world will quickly be satisfied with what caution and judgment his Lordship took his measures, when they shall know, that his then Chaplain was Dr Sharp, the present Lord Archbishop of York, who fills one of the Archiepiscopal thrones of the Church of England, with that universal applause, which is due to his Grace's distinguishing merit; whose elevation hath not deprived him of his humility, but he exerciseth the same affability and courtesy towards all men, which he practised in a lower sphere. And that Learning and Piety, that Integrity and Zeal for the Glory of God, which influence his Grace in the government of his Diocess and of his Province, were peculiarly serviceable to the Earl of Nottingham, in the charge his Lordship laid upon him with so much solemnity.'—It was he that procured the learned Mr George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St David's, a Prebend of Gloucester, from the Lord-Chancellor, in which he was installed October 9, 1678.

[E] *Which occasioned a Controversy, of which an account is given in the note.* This Sermon was, soon after, answered by an anonymous writer, supposed to be Wadsworth the dissenter; and that Answer was the occasion of Mr Dodwell's book of *Schism* (5). R. Baxter replied to Mr Dodwell, in his 'True and only way of Concord.' This drew from Mr Dodwell a second piece on *Schism* (6). At length Dr Sharp, in 1683, wrote, but without taking any immediate notice of the Authors aforesaid, his first *Discourse on Conscience*; and in the year following his second *Discourse on the same subject*: Both which Discourses made part of the London Cafes, and were abridged by Dr Bennet in the London Cafes. So this Dispute ended.—But another arose from the same sermon. Some Popish anonymous writer published in 1704, a piece intitled *An Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion*, with arguments artfully taken from this Sermon. This was answered in a piece intitled *Concordia discors*; and again in a pamphlet, recommended publickly by Dr Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, in an advertisement prefixed: But lastly and most fully by Mr N. Spinckes; all in the same year, viz 1705.

[F] *And his time was taken up, for the ten following years, in close attention to his cure at St Giles's.* Except that, in the last five years, being then Dean of Norwich, he removed in the summer months to his charge there.—Richard Baxter lived then in his Parish of St Giles's, and kept a large Conventicle there, which he attended on Sundays in the afternoon, but was a constant hearer of, and communicant with, Dr Sharp, at his own church in the morning. And they lived for many years in good friendship with each other (7).

[G] *Tillotson.* The friendship and acquaintance, between them, was of a long standing, and begun by an accidental meeting, upon this occasion. Mr Joshua Tillotson, the doctor's brother, was a wet and dry Salter, or Oilman, in London, of which trade was Dr Sharp's father, at Bradford in Yorkshire. Mr Sharp returning from thence to London, with a bill drawn on Mr Joshua Tillotson, happened to meet at his house Dr Tillotson, who finding Mr Sharp to be his countryman, and a young clergyman setting out into the world, being above fourteen years younger than himself, with his usual goodness and civility took particular notice of him, and after some conversation gave Mr Sharp leave to come freely to his house, whenever he pleased, and to have recourse to him as often as he thought it might be serviceable to him. Mr Sharp judged this a most fortunate interview, and

(5) See Mr Dodwell's Preface, and Mr Brokesby's Life of Mr Dodwell.

(6) See above the article DODWELL [HENRY].

(7) Memoirs, &c. as above.

and Cave. With Clagett above all others he had a most particular friendship (b) [H]. March 28, 1670, he accepted of the Lecture at St Lawrence-Jewry, London, upon the earnest desire of Dr Benjamin Whichcot, then Vicar of that parish, and held it, according to his promise, as long as the Doctor lived (which was 'till 1683), and no longer. July 8, 1679, he commenced Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge. In 1681, June 17, he was, by the interest of his patron, then Lord High-Chancellor, made Dean of Norwich, into which he was installed June 8 (i). Upon the death of King Charles II. he drew up the Address of the Grand Jury for the city of London. March the 20th, 1684-5, he preached at Whitehall that Sermon which was published at the request of the Bishops who then attended at the King's chapel there (k). Having been Chaplain to King Charles II. and attended as one of the Court Chaplains at the coronation of King James II. (l), he was sworn Chaplain to this last, April 20, 1686, and not in 1688, as Le Neve says by mistake. On the second of May, 1686, he preached in his own church, on 1 Cor. xii. 13. a sermon against Popery (m), which created him some trouble. For, at his coming down from the pulpit, a paper was put into his hand, containing an Argument for the Right of the Church of Rome to the style and title of the only visible Catholick Church. Not knowing where to direct an Answer to that Paper, he answered it the next Sunday, May 9, at the end of his sermon on the same text (n). This being misrepresented at Court, as a design to beget in the minds of the audience an ill opinion of the King and his government, by insinuating fears and jealousies to dispose them to discontent, and to lead them into disobedience and rebellion [I], and consequently as a contempt of his Majesty's order about Preachers; therefore the King resented it extremely (o). But Dr Sharp had no notice of the King's displeasure 'till May the 23d, when he was acquainted with it by the Lord-Chancellor Jefferies. The next day, he took his short-hand sermon to his Lordship, and read it to him [K]. Jefferies pretended to be very angry, and reprimanded him, but advised him to go down to Norwich, and was afterwards a friend to him (p). On the 17th of June following, Dr Henry Compton, then Bishop of London, received a letter from the King [L], commanding him immediately to suspend Dr Sharp from further preaching in any parish church or chapel in his diocese, until he had given his Majesty satisfaction. The Bishop, thereupon, sent for the Doctor, and acquainted him with the King's displeasure, and the occasion of it, by shewing him his Majesty's letter: but he having never been called to answer any such matter, or make his defence, and protesting his innocence, and likewise declaring himself most ready to give his Majesty full satisfaction therein; in order thereto, his Lordship advised him to forbear preaching, 'till he had applied himself to his Majesty. And, at his request, he sent by him, June 18, an answer to the Earl of Sunderland, President of the Council, then at Hampton-court [M]; but no answer could be

(b) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(i) Le Neve, &c. as above, p. 282.

(k) It is the 6th in the first volume of his Sermons.

(l) Le Neve, p. 233.

(m) It is the 5th in the 7th volume of his Works.

(n) Memoirs, &c. It is the 6th sermon in the foregoing volume.

(o) Complete History, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 455.

(p) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(8) Life of Dr Tillotson, by Dr Birch; from Memoirs communicated by Mr Archdeacon Sharp.

Himself extremely happy in so valuable an acquaintance, and ever after spoke of this incident with pleasure. And this was the foundation of a firm and lasting friendship between them, improved by an intimate acquaintance for many years, and cemented by repeated acts of mutual good offices (8).

[H] With Clagett above all others he had a most particular friendship. He was perfectly charmed with Dr Clagett. And if similitude of temper and manners, equality of age, conformity of inclination and studies, &c. can make true friendships, these two persons needed only to be known to each other to become fast friends. They lived in a manner together. Clagett who was not well furnished with Books of his own, made use of Dr Sharp's Library, came into it at pleasure, and prosecuted his enquiries in it as he pleased, without the least ceremony used, or interruption given on either side. Dr W. Clagett dying March 28, 1688, Dr Sharp preached his funeral sermon, and published a volume of his sermons (9). And he took Mrs Clagett, immediately upon her husband's decease, to his own house; but she survived not long (10).

[I] And to lead them into disobedience and rebellion.] It was reported falsely, that he had undertaken, in that sermon, to confute the Paper said to have been found in the late King's strong Box. Which was believed at Court (11).

[K] The next day he took his short-hand sermon to his Lordship, and read it to him.] Bishop Burnet is mistaken, when he says, that 'Sharp went to Court to shew the notes of his sermon, which he was ready to swear were those from which he had read it, by which the falshood of the information would appear. But, since he was not suspended, he was not admitted (12).' For, from the more authentick account sent me, it was to Lord Ch. Jefferies the Doctor carried, and read, the notes of his sermon.

[L] Dr Compton, then Bishop of London, received a letter from the King.] It was dated June the 14th, 1686, and in these words:

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' James R.

' Right Reverend Father in God, We greet you well. Whereas We have been informed, and are fully satisfied, that Dr John Sharp, Rector of the Parish-Church of St Giles in the Fields, in the County of Middlesex, and in your diocese, notwithstanding Our late Letter to the most Reverend Fathers in God the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and Our Directions concerning Preachers, given at Our Court at Whitehall, the 15th of March, 1685, in the second year of our Reign; yet he, the said Dr John Sharp, in contempt of the said Orders, hath in some of the sermons he hath since preached, presumed to make unbecoming Reflections, and to utter such Expressions as were not fit or proper for him; endeavouring thereby to beget in the minds of his Hearers an evil Opinion of Us and Our Government, by insinuating Fears and Jealousies to dispose them to Discontent, and to lead them into Disobedience and Rebellion. These are therefore to require and command you immediately upon receipt hereof, forthwith to suspend him from further preaching in any parish-church or chappel in your diocese, until he has given us satisfaction, and Our further Pleasure be known herein. And for so doing this shall be your warrant: And so we bid you heartily farewell.

' Given at our Court at Windsor, the fourteenth day of June, 1686, in the second year of our reign.

' By his Majesties command,

' Sunderland.'

[M] He sent by him, June 18, an Answer to the Earl of Sunderland, &c.] It was as follows:

(9) See Preface to that volume.

(10) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(11) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(12) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 370.

(g) An exact Account of the whole Proceedings against the Right Rev. Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, &c. Printed in 1688, 4to. p. 7, 8, 9, 22.

(r) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(s) Le Neve, &c. as above, p. 283.

(t) Memoirs, &c. as above.

be obtained to this letter of the Bishop. Therefore, two days after, Dr Sharp carried a petition to the King [N] at Windsor, which however was not admitted to be read (g). After he had voluntarily ceased the exercise of his function, by the advice of the Bishop of London, he removed to Norwich [O]. During this leisure-time, he amused himself with collecting old Coins, chiefly British, Saxon, and English; of which, as well as of Greek and Roman, he picked up, then and afterwards, as many as furnished out a large and choice cabinet. At length, January 9, 1686-7, the Earl of Sunderland wrote to him, that he might return to his function; which he did with great joy. On the 14th and 15th of August, 1688, he agreed with the other Archdeacons (when summoned to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for not obeying the King's orders in respect of the Declaration), not to appear before that Court; and drew up the reasons for their refusal. The 27th of January, 1688-9, he preached before the Prince of Orange, and January the 30th before the Convention. On both occasions he prayed for King James before Sermon (r) [P]. The Deanery of Canterbury becoming vacant by the removal of Dr Tillotson to that of St Paul's, Dr Sharp was declared Dean of Canterbury in his room, September 19, 1689, and instituted by the Vicar-General on the 21st of November (s). About the same time, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for revising the Liturgy: and, November 21, moved in Convocation, that Dr Tillotson should be the Prolocutor; but it was carried for Dr Jane, which was thought one principal reason why the Commission itself failed of success (t) Upon the deprivation of some Bishops, for refusing the oaths to King William and Queen Mary, his Majesty was pleased to mention Dr Sharp, as a proper person to succeed in some of the vacant sees. Two or three were accordingly proposed to him: Norwich in particular was pressed by Dr Tillotson, as the place which he thought would be most acceptable. But Dr Sharp absolutely declined to accept of any of them; not out of any scruple of conscience, for he could not, under such a scruple, have either made

' To the right honourable, the Earl of Sunderland, Lord President, &c.

' My Lord,

' I always have, and shall count it my duty to obey the King in whatever Commands he lays upon me, that I can perform with a safe conscience: But in this, I humbly conceive, I am obliged to proceed according to law; and therefore it is impossible for me to comply; because, though his Majesty commands me only to execute his pleasure, yet in the capacity I am, to do it, I must act as a Judge; and your Lordship knows no Judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cause, and has cited the party. However, I sent to Mr Dean, and acquainted him with his Majesty's displeasure, whom I find so ready to give all reasonable satisfaction, that I have thought fit to make him the Bearer of this Answer, from him that will never be unfaithful to the King, nor otherwise than,

' My Lord,

' Your Lordship's most humble servant,

' H. London.'

[N] Therefore, two days after, Dr Sharp carried a petition to the King.] It was in these words:

' To the King's most Excellent Majesty, The humble Petition of John Sharp, Clerk,

' Sheweth,

' That nothing is so afflictive to Your Majesty, as his unhappiness to have incurred Your Majesty's Displeasure, which he is so sensible of, that ever since your Majesty was pleased to give notice of it, he hath forborn all Publick Exercise of his Function, and still continues so to do. Your petitioner can with great sincerity affirm, that ever since he hath been a Preacher, he hath faithfully endeavoured to do the best service he could in his place and station, as well to the late King, your Royal Brother, as your Majesty, both by preaching and otherwise. And so far he hath always been from venting any thing in the pulpit tending to Schism or Faction, or any way to the disturbance of Your Majesty's Government, that he hath upon all occasions in his Sermons, to the utmost of his power, set himself against all sorts of Doctrines and Principles that look that way: And this he is so well assured of, that he cannot but apprehend that his Sermons have been very much misrepresented to Your Majesty. But

' if in any sermon of his, any words or expressions have unwarily slipped from him, that have been capable of such constructions, as to give Your Majesty cause of offence, as he solemnly professes he had no ill intention in those words or expressions, so he is very sorry for them, and resolves for the future to be so careful in the discharge of his duty, that Your Majesty shall have reason to believe him to be Your most faithful subject. And therefore he earnestly prayeth, that Your Majesty out of Your royal grace and clemency, would be pleased to lay aside the Displeasure You have conceived against Your humble Petitioner, and restore him to that Favour which the rest of the Clergy enjoy under Your Majesty's gracious Government.

' So shall your Petitioner ever pray, &c. (13).'

[O] He removed to Norwich.] After he had been some time there, notice was given him, that if he would return and petition the King, he should be restored. Mr Henry Guy, Secretary of the Treasury, directed the manner of the Petition; and the Earl of Rochester undertook to befriend him in it (14) Mr Pepys was also very helpful to him, as we learn from Bishop Kennet, whose account is thus (15): ' I have heard Archbishop Tenison say, That He, as Vicar of St Martin's, used several endeavours with some of the Nobility in vain, to obtain a liberty of preaching for his neighbour Dr Sharp; 'till at last representing his case to Mr Pepys, as a good-natured man with wife and children, Mr Pepys went freely to the King, and prevailed with his Majesty to restore him to the exercise of his office; 'till which time, he had a guard or centinel to attend his lodgings.'

[P] On both occasions he prayed for King James before Sermon.] The first time it gave no visible offence, because then neither of the Houses of Parliament had declared the King's Desertion of the government and kingdom to be properly an Abdication. But on Monday the twenty-eighth the Commons had passed their Vote, That the King had abdicated, and the Throne was vacant. And therefore Dr Sharp's praying for the King, gave great offence; as well as some passages in the sermon itself, less agreeable to mens tempers at that juncture than to the subject of the 30th of January; so that a long debate ensued about giving him thanks as usual, and the House broke up without doing it. Yet, on the first of February they passed a Vote of thanks, with a request that he should print the sermon: but this he declined. This was a pretty remarkable proof, of his steadiness in doing what in his own judgment appeared to him

(13) Proceedings against the Bishop of London, &c. p. 7, 8, 9.

(14) Memoirs, &c. as above.

(15) Complete History of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 483. note (b).

(16) Memoirs, &c. as above.

[Q] Dr

made a return to the Congé d'eslire for the election of Dr Tillotson to Canterbury, which he did as Dean thereof; nor could he have suffered himself to have been consecrated by Dr Tillotson, as he was soon after; but out of a particular friendship and esteem, which he had for the persons deprived. This however displeased the King, and Dr Sharp seemed no longer to be thought of. While he was in this situation, Dr Tillotson came to his house on the 24th of April, 1691, the day after his own nomination to the Archbishopric, and told him, that since he had so obstinately refused taking any of the vacant Bishoprics, he had thought of a method to bring him off with the King; which was, that he should promise to accept the Archbishopric of York, in his own country, when it fell, as Dr Tenison should take Lincoln. He told him at the same time, how all the vacant bishoprics were designed to be disposed of; observing, that he had thought of this scheme, as he came from Whitehall to his house; and directing him to go and acquaint the Earl of Nottingham with it; and if his Lordship approved of it, he would himself propose it to the King on the Monday following. Accordingly on that day he acquainted his Majesty with what had passed between Dr Sharp and himself, and fixed the affair: which his Majesty declared in Council, the middle of the same week. And Dr Lamplugh dying on the 5th of May following, Dr Sharp was promoted to the see of York [Q], and consecrated July the 5th, 1691 (u). In that high station he behaved in the most laudable and exemplary manner [R]. Upon Queen Anne's accession to the Crown, he was sworn (March 20, 1701-2) of her Majesty's Privy-Council. The 23d of April following he preached the Sermon at her coronation, on Isaiah xlix. 23. And, some time in the same year, was made Lord Almoner to her Majesty, which office he held to his death (w). In 1706, he was one of the Commissioners for treating of the Union between England and Scotland (x). In 1709, while Dr Sacheverell's affair was depending, our excellent Prelate, imagining that through this imprudent attack both Church and State were in danger; he heartily

(u) *Memors*, as above.
Life of Archbishop Tillotson, by Dr Birch, p. 276, 277. and *Le Neve*, ut supra, p. 283, 284.

(w) *Le Neve*, as above, p. 284.

(x) *Boyer's Life of Queen Anne*, vol. p. 231.

[Q] *Dr Sharp was promoted to the See of York.* The Earl of Nottingham brought him his Mandate, May the 8th. He was confirmed July 2. Consecrated the 5th. Did homage the 6th. Was introned at York by proxy the 16th. And October 5th was introduced into the House of Lords (17).

[R] *In that high station, he behaved in the most laudable and exemplary manner.* In his *Family*, every thing was managed with such admirable regularity, as if all his care and wisdom had been confined to that sphere only. His retirements were divided between study and devotion. At his table there was that decent freedom and alacrity, that hospitable abundance and plenty, which became the dignity of his station and character, and the liberality of his disposition. Had Wolfey been to dictate splendor to him, still his conversation must have been the best part of the entertainment. He redoubled the esteem and veneration of others for him, by aiming only at their love; and lost nothing of the Archbishop, in the very good neighbour and obliging friend. The charity which flowed from his table to his gate, was extremely magnified, by the manner of bestowing it: It reached to the souls, as well as bodies of the poor; and naturally led them to a grateful remembrance of their Maker, when they saw so lively an image of him, in one of his most faithful stewards. His delight in private charities could not be well concealed; but the measures of his bounty in that way, are a secret only known to Him, who shall one day reward them openly. In his chapel and devotions, he was so intent, and abstracted from the world, that the duty looked more like pleasure and enjoyment: And such an unaffected humility and holy ardor accompanied his daily offering of our most excellent Liturgy, that it sensibly diffused itself through all, who had the advantage of praying with him. In his *Province and Diocese*, he acted with all that wholesome, but gentle authority, which became the spiritual father of the clergy and laity. He so far united those two orders in affection and love for each other, which their first institution plainly tended to promote, that they often joined together, to give publick marks of their high esteem and veneration for him; and of the irresistible force and influence which his example had upon them, to compel them to love and unity. He was constant in his Residence, regular in his Visitations; and by his steady and uniform adherence to the rules and ordinances of the Church, accompanied with a true Christian humility and gentleness, he regained all that authority and regard for the Episcopal function, which is one of the distinguishing marks of the primitive purity of Religion. No man had

a more tender concern for the Reformed Interest abroad, nor more careful to preserve the beauty and order of the Church of England; that it might be a standing pattern for all other Protestants. That Discipline, whose decay he often lamented, and tried in some measure to restore, appeared truly reforming and medicinal under his government; and wherever the Canon was invalid, the ends of it were answered by the force of his Example. In the *Senate*, his opinion and judgment were of the greatest weight, and his Veracity and Sincerity have never been called in question. He spake with all imaginable clearness and solidity upon the most important subjects; and very seldom or never entred into any debates, which turned altogether upon private pique or interest: But he saw at once through the merits and tendency of every cause, which any ways affected the constitution in Church and State; of which he was a consummate judge, and an-unalterable friend to both.—He had the advantageous misfortune of presiding in the Church, for many years of trouble and disorder; in which time, he had frequent opportunities of giving proofs of his unshaken zeal and integrity, whenever any Innovations were attempted against Religion in general, or the Church of England and his own order in particular. His conduct before the Revolution, shewed him to be a strenuous opposer of the Idolatry and Corruptions of the Church of Rome; and his behaviour, both at, and after the Revolution, made it apparent, how just a sense he had of that deliverance, when he promoted every thing, which tended to the restoration and establishment of the Constitution, that had before been lessened and invaded; and as bravely opposed every thing which tended to a further change and alteration in our *Laws and Religion* (18).—To which must be added, in his further commendation, That he was a most excellent Governour, brought the Prebendaries in his Cathedral of York, and Colleges of Southwell and Rippon, to strict residence; and that they might be the better disposed thereto, he made it his unalterable practice always to elect them out of such as lived in his Diocese, and had recommended themselves by doing their duties in their respective Parochial Cures: By which means no Cathedral in England was better attended by Clergy, and the service more regularly performed than at York; or the Ministers of small livings, in any diocese, more encouraged to attend their charge; because this good Bishop would reward their diligence by such compensations, more especially those in York city, on whose conduct the world had a more especial eye.—He likewise very much repaired the Collegiate Church at Southwell (19).

(17) *Le Neve*, p. 284. and *Memors*, &c. as above.

(18) *Annual List*, &c. at the end of *Boyer's Hist. of Queen Anne*, fol. Lond. 1735, p. 64. and the *Examiner* of Feb. 12, 1713.

(19) *Survey of the Cathedral of York*, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; p. 60, 61.

(y) Idem, Annual List, &c. p. 64.

(z) Memoirs, &c.

heartily joined those many well-meaning persons, who zealously endeavoured to secure both (y): being sensible, at the same time, how much the great Council of the Nation exposed themselves, by taking notice of what was really below their notice. About the year 1712, he began to decline in his health, and going for the recovery of it to the Bath, he dyed there February the 2d, 1713-14, in the 69th year of his age: after having enjoyed the Archbishopric of York above two and twenty years, with the utmost honour and reputation (z). On the 16th of February he was interred in his own cathedral. His character is given below [S]. He was an excellent Preacher, and published several occasional Sermons; besides which, five new volumes of his Sermons have been printed since his decease [T].

[S] *His Character, &c.*] His general Character is thus given, by the same Author from whom we have borrowed the account already given of him in the last note.—‘ Archbishop Sharp had all the treasures of antient and modern Learning, which were necessary to render him a perfect master of Divinity, in its own main branches, Preaching and Controversy. He thought, and spoke, and wrote with inimitable clearness. In his person and behaviour, in the Church and the Senate, at his table and in his retirements, he gave all the natural and unaffected proofs of primitive uprightness and integrity: But to the honest plainness and simplicity of the Cypriatick age, he added all those refined graces and improvements of modern Erudition; which others assume to gain applause to themselves, and which He wholly employed in the propagation of truth, and the service of Religion. Nothing mean or trifling, sour or ill-natured, ever came from him; scarce from any body else in his presence. He was far from being of a retired Monastick temper; but had all that well grounded cheerfulness, that decent affability and humanity, which struck a lustre upon all his other Virtues, and made the imitation of him infinitely desirable and pleasing. As his Grace was the delight of all mankind; so all Mankind were his delight. His charity and bounty were large and extensive; and reached not only to whatever objects came in his way, but to all that he could find, by an industry free from ostentation. He had a publick spirit, immensely large and perfectly sincere; and a greatness of soul, sufficient to adorn the highest birth, and to proclaim the advantageous difference between the Roman and Christian honour and nobility. His generosity extended even to the relicts and descendents of good and worthy men; and became the happy instrument of Providence, in rewarding the posterity of religious and loyal ancestors. His continual exercise of this virtue vastly exceeded the intentional devotion of a thousand posthumous charities. He was accessible, complaisant, and courteous to a surprizing degree; and his good-nature made no difference in habits, fortunes, stations, and degrees. Pity and compassion seemed to be a part of his nature, and flowed directly from his heart. He might rather be said not to know what resentment was, than to stifle and suppress it. No man of a more forgiving temper, less acquainted with injuries, or better able to bear them. He perfectly understood the meaning and measures of Moderation; and left the world without excuse for quarrelling about the word, when they saw it so fully explained in his Grace’s life and conversation. He was just, equitable, and impartially good. His temperance was so great and exemplary, that his senses and bodily appetites bore no proportion to those of his mind; to that spiritual sensation, which was perpetually searching after the purest objects. His Understanding and Conscience were two great luminaries, moving together by unalterable concert; as remarkable for their purity and lustre, as for the order and steadiness of their courses. He loved truth, not with the vain curiosity and uncertain distrust of one who searches after it, but with all the delight and complacency of the wise happy man, who has found, and long enjoyed it. His word and promise were esteemed equivalent to the firmest securities (zo).’

(zo) Annual List at the end of Boyer’s History of Queen Anne, p. 63, 64.

We shall subjoin to this, the character given of our excellent Prelate, in his Epitaph, drawn by the elegant pen of Dr George Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol.

‘ Erat in sermone apertus, comis, affabilis,
In concionibus profluens, ardens, nervosus,
In explicandis Theologiæ casuisticæ nodis
Dilucidus, argutus, promptus:
In eximendis dubitantium scrupulis
Utcunque naturæ bonitate ad leniores partes aliquanto
propensior,
Æqui tamen rectique custos semper fidissimus:
Primæva morum simplicitate,
Inculpabili vitæ tenore,
Propensa in calamitosos benignitate,
Diffusa in universos benevolentia,
Studio in amicos perpetuo ac singulari,
Inter deterioris sæculi tenebras emicuit,
Purioris Ævi lumina æquavit.
Tam acri rerum cœlestium desiderio flagrabat,
Ut his folis inhians, harum unice avarus,
Terrenas omnes neglexerit, spreverit, conculcarit.
Eo erat erga Deum pietatis ardore,
Ut illum totus adamaverit, spiraverit,
Illum ubique præsentem,
Illum semper intuentem,
Animo suo ac ipsis fere oculis observaverit.
Publicas hæc virtutes domesticis uberrime cumulavit,
Maritus & Pater amantissimus;
Et a conjuge liberisque impense dilectus, &c.

[T] *And published several occasional sermons; besides which, Five new Volumes of his sermons have been printed since his decease.*] His Sermons are comprized in Seven Volumes. The 1st Volume is a collection of such Sermons as his Grace had printed upon several occasions before the year 1698, being fifteen in number. The 2d Volume was published by his Bookseller after his death, and takes in the Remainder of his Sermons which were printed in his life-time; and his *Two Discourses upon Conscience*, which were formerly published without a name, and make part of the Collection of the *London Cafes*. These two Volumes contain all that he himself had suffered at any time to go abroad into the world.— In 1716, his executors published two Volumes more, consisting of Sermons never before printed. Of these, Vol. III. contains sixteen Casuistical Sermons preached on several occasions. And Vol. IV. eighteen sermons preached on several occasions.— In 1734, the Vth Volume was published, being Eight Discourses on several Subjects; with Four Sermons on the Imitation of Christ. The same year, came out the VIth Volume, being Nineteen Sermons on several Subjects. The VIIth and last Volume was printed in 1735, Containing his Grace’s Sermons against Popery: preached in the reign of King James II and other Papers wrote in the Popish Controversy.— ‘ So true and lively a spirit of Religion runs through all those Discourses, that they seem to be as much the dictates of the Author’s practice as of his understanding. And they will be ever admired, as the standard of good Preaching, so long as the English Tongue and the Protestant Religion remain in any degree of purity and perfection (21).’

C (21) Ibid.

SHEFFIELD [JOHN], Duke of Buckinghamshire, a nobleman of distinguished abilities both natural and acquired, was born in 1649 (a). After the death of his father, Edmund Earl of Mulgrave, which happened in 1658, the care of educating his son, then nine years of age (b), was committed to a governor. In the then distracted state of the publick affairs at home, that gentleman travelled into France with his pupil, who was so little satisfied with his tutor's conduct, as to dismiss him in a few years [A]; when the young Earl, finding himself deficient in several branches of learning, took up a noble resolution to supply that defect by his own industry [B]. And the sequel of these memoirs will in some measure shew, to what a degree of perfection he finished his design. However, intent as he was to compleat that task, his ardent thirst after military glory drew him early into action. In 1666, at the age of seventeen (c), he went a volunteer in the first Dutch war to sea [C]. A conduct so devoted to the service of his country, procured him the command of one of those independent troops of horse, which were raised the following year, to defend our coasts from the insults of that enemy. He remained in his quarters at Dover 'till the conclusion of the peace (d), when those troops were disbanded. Soon after which, at the next meeting of the Parliament in October, though so much under the age prefixed for voting in the House of Peers, he received a writ to sit there; which being rejected by the House on that account, he acquiesced not unwillingly, the heat of youth then inclining him more to the affairs of love and gallantry, which, by his own confession (e), he engaged in with too much eagerness, and even without interruption. However, he did not suffer his pleasures to depress or sink his genius, though he employed his Muse to heighten their relish [D], which in that view was far from being strictly chaste (f). These merits set him in high favour at Court; by which means he was very serviceable in procuring the Laureat's place, in 1668, for Mr Dryden [E], whom, as a brother poet, he

(a) In the Peerage of England. It is printed in 1636, the last figure being inverted by an error of the press.

(b) Character of the Duke of Bucks, p. 323. in the second volume of his Works, edit. 1740.

(c) Memoirs of himself, p. 4. in Vol. II. of his Works, in 2 vols 4to. 1723.

(d) The ratifications were exchanged Aug. 14. Salmon's Chron. Hist. p. 139.

(e) Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 8.

(f) His Ode on Love seems to be wrote in this interval.

[A] His Governor behaved in such a manner as to be *amissid*] We are told, that upon their arrival in France, the Governor, with great earnestness, cautioned his ward against kneeling, whenever he met the host in procession, exhorting him to avoid that compliance with the custom of the country, as an act of idolatry; that our young nobleman listened with attention to the charge, resolving to observe it. It was not long before they met such a procession, which happening to be in the dusk of the evening at the corner of a street, to avoid kneeling, he made his utmost efforts to slip into a shop, so suddenly, as to stumble over his governor, who had fallen on his knees, the moment that the host appeared. It would be idle to look any further for the cause of his losing all his governing authority. However, it is probable the pupil's uncommon share of good sense, would have prevailed so far, as to retain him for the advantage of his literary instructions, if he had not found him very faultily reminds in that part of his charge likewise (1).

[B] He supplied that defect by his own industry.] This was a rare instance of a manly strength of mind, and noble disposition, at his years, and with the additional lure of an ample fortune. It is said, he kept his tutor only two or three years (2); if so, he could not be above twelve years of age, when he took this resolution. 'Tis true, his rank and fortune gave him the advantage of conversing with the first geniuses of the age, which must set his own deficiency in literature in full glare before his eyes; and to this his resolution is ascribed. He could not but feel himself not their inferior in natural wit, and his spirit would not suffer him to be their inferior in acquired learning. It must not still be denied, that he had the further allurements of heightening his pleasures, by that result of his undertaking; and, both from the general dissolute turn of the wits at that time, and from the use our wit made of it afterwards, it is evident that this motive had no small share in determining him to shut himself up, as we are told he did, for several hours every day, not only from his acquaintance, but from his pleasures too.

[C] He went a volunteer in the first Dutch war to sea.] He informs us himself, that he was particularly incited to take this course, by hearing the Earl of Oxford every where commended for being a volunteer in a hot engagement at sea (3). Besides the general spur of glory, that Earl was his relation (4), and perhaps the most deserving young nobleman of the age. Fired by this example, he went directly on board that ship, which Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle jointly commanded in the fleet against the Dutch; and as a storm prevented our volunteer from seeing any action, he entertains us with the following story of the Duke of Albemarle's behaviour. After setting up the bloody flag, Mr Henry Saville and himself being on the

quarter deck, spied the old man charging a very little pistol, and put it into his pocket. It seems, he had often said he would answer for nothing, but that they should never be carried into Holland. This being remembered, our two volunteers presently imagined, he had made a resolution to go down into the powder-room, and blow up the ship, in case at any time it should be in danger of being taken. In this opinion, they both in a laughing way most mutinously resolved to throw him over board, in case they should ever catch him going down to the powder-room (5). Our author regretted his own disappointment in the separation of the fleets, which hindering any engagement, he complains very gallantly, that he lost six weeks time at sea, at an age when it might be a great deal more pleasantly spent. He calls this the last year of the Dutch war (6), because a treaty of peace was agreed upon before the expiration of it, and the two fleets never engaged afterwards, though the Dutch burnt some of our best ships at Chatham, in June 1667, and were driven in July from a second attempt by Sir Edward Sprag (7).

[D] He employed his Muse to heighten the relish of his pleasures.] Several of his poetical pieces were written in this interval, between the first and second Dutch wars, as may be gathered from the following quotation from Tully, applied with proper alterations to his Lordship by Mr Dryden, in the dedication to his tragedy of Aurengzebe, written in 1676. *De ipsis rebus autem sæpenumero Brute vercor, ne reprehendar, cum hæc ad te scribam, qui tum in Poësi tum in optimo genere Poëseos tantum profeceris; nec ut ea cognoscas quæ tibi notissima sunt ad te mitto, sed quia te habeo æquissimum eorum studiorum quæ mihi tibi communia sunt, æstimatorem & judicem.*

[E] He was very serviceable in procuring the Laureat's place for Mr Dryden.] This Laureat had probably been among those early acquaintance of wits, who had fired the Earl's emulation, beforementioned. We find the former, in 1676, mentioning his friendship with the latter, in terms which import it was then of a long standing. 'After which,' continues Dryden, in acknowledging his favour for the Laureat's place, 'I am sure you will more easily permit me to be silent in the care you have taken of my fortune, which you have rescued, not only from the power of others, but from my worst of enemies, my own modesty and laziness (8).' It ought to be remembered, to the Earl's honour, that he kept his friendship to the last; and the words which the Laureat here puts into the mouth of King Charles, as justly spoken of the Earl,

Ille meos primus qui me sibi junxit amores
Abtulit. Ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro,

(1) Character of the Duke of Bucks, p. 324. in his Works, Vol. II. edit. 1740, 8vo.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Memoirs, p. 4.

(4) See his Pedigree, in his Works, p. 349.

(5) Memoirs, p. 6.

(6) Ibid, p. 7.

(7) General Histories of England.

(8) Dedication of Aurengzebe.

he had taken into his particular friendship. In this interval, too nice a sensibility in the point of honour, engaged him in a very singular quarrel with Wilmot the witty Earl of Rochester [F]. At the breaking out of the second Dutch war, in 1672, he went again to sea, a volunteer under the Duke of York [G], and behaved so gallantly [H], at the famous battle of Solebay, that immediately upon his return to London, the King gave him the command of the Royal Katharine [I], the best second rate ship then in the Navy, a favour

the praise of which, he declares, there needed no inspiration to foresee how well his Lordship would deserve, may be justly put into his Lordship's mouth with regard to the Laureat himself; for whom he testified his entire respect, by erecting a handsome monument in Westminster-abbey, at his own expence, in memory of this friend, not long before his own death.

[F] *He had a quarrel with Wilmot Earl of Rochester*] Being informed that the Earl of Rochester had said something maliciously of him, he immediately sent a mettled friend of his, Colonel Aston, with a challenge. Wilmot denied the words; and though our challenger was soon convinced his suspicion was false, yet he foolishly thought the meer report obliged him to go on with the quarrel. Since it could not be avoided, Wilmot chose to fight on horseback, and accordingly met our hero next morning at the place appointed; but instead of one Mr Porter, whom he assured Aston he would make his second, he brought an errant life-guard-man, whom no body knew. Mr Aston taking exception to this, especially on account of his being so much better mounted than they, they all agreed to fight on foot. 'But, continues our author, as Lord Rochester and I were riding into the next field, in order to it, he told me, that he had at first chosen to fight on horseback, because he was so weak with a certain distemper, that he found himself unfit to fight at all, much less on foot.' At this, which was deemed a plain confessing himself a coward, his antagonist, whose anger was appeased by the discovery of the falseness of the charge which had kindled it, pushed him upon the consideration of the necessity there would be, in case they should not fight, of clearing his own character, by telling the truth of the matter. Wilmot submitted to the condition, hoping his challenger would not desire the advantage of having to do with any man in so weak a condition. 'I replied, continues our author, that by such an argument, he had sufficiently tied my hands, upon condition I might call our seconds to be witnesses of the whole business; which he consented to, and so we parted.' Mr Aston, on their return to London, wrote down every word and circumstance of the whole that had passed, and dispersed it abroad; which being never in the least either contradicted or refuted by Lord Rochester, entirely ruined his reputation as to courage*. So says our author; and the several challenges which were sent to that Lord afterwards, together with his behaviour on those occasions, are a full proof of the truth of the fact in general. However, it cannot escape the reader's notice, that the Earl of Mulgrave condemns himself, at least equally with his antagonist, in this affair in particular (9).

[G] *A volunteer under the Duke of York.*] The Earl never omitted an opportunity of shewing his regard to the Duke of York, and takes particular satisfaction in mentioning that Duke's kindness to him; yet he confesses, he went not now with half so good a will as before, his heart being engaged violently at this time, so that he could never forget the tenderness of the parting from his love (10). This last expression shews it was at this time that he wrote his *Letter from Sea* †, which concludes thus:

Remember all those vows between us past,
When I from all I value parted last;
May you alike with kind impatience burn,
And something miss 'till I with joy return.
And soon may pitying heaven that blessing give,
As in the hopes of that alone I live.

After reading these lines, we shall easily believe him, when he tells us, he made all the haste imaginable to return to London, for reasons not hard to guess (11).

[H] *He behaved gallantly*] It is entertaining enough to observe the several passages in his memoirs, where this behaviour is insinuated. First, he acquaints

us with his accepting Lord Ossory's invitation to be aboard his ship, and afterwards, says he, 'I found I could not have been any where else so well, on several accounts, since no man ever did more bravely than he on all occasions (12).' Thus animated by the example of both a kinsman and a friend, he suggests the effect it had, as follows. After taking notice, that, upon retiring from the fight, the whole French-squadron sailed close by the Lord Ossory's ship, 'I well remember, says he, there did not appear so many shot in them all, as in his Lordship's single ship, whose condition therefore was judged too bad to keep the sea any longer (13).' Here he is only included among the ship's company, but what follows relates to his own particular share of the work. 'I found then by experience how much there is of custom in the matter of courage, which makes old troops so formidable; for in the morning, when the enemy's shot came on both sides of us, I thought it impossible to escape, without losing a limb at least, and was accordingly pretty uneasy; but about the afternoon, when the broad-sides came only one way, though without interruption, I began to grow a little less sensible of the danger, which yet I was very glad to see ended at night. By that time I was very sufficiently tired, but had much ado to sleep, by reason of the noise still sounding in my ears, which remained so for some hours, just as if the shooting had still continued.' This last period is very express, but yet in such terms, as put not the exactest modesty to the blush. The image of the noise still sounding in his ears, unavoidably calls to our minds the contrast to it, in the much admired lines of the eighth book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

The Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he a while
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixt to hear.

We shall here take notice of a mistake in Milton's *Life* prefixed to his prose works, where the author tells us, that the Duke of Bucks, in his *Essay on Poetry*, prefers both Tasso and Spenser to Milton (14). The lines referred to are in the conclusion of that *Essay*, where, in describing the arduous task of writing an heroic poem, he observes, the Muse who makes such an attempt,

Must above Tasso's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where Spenser and ev'n Milton fail.

Where this last is distinguishly preferred to both the former, contrary to what the abovementioned author remarks.

[I] *He had the command of the Royal Katharine.*] The Earl we find was not wanting to himself in the point of his promotion in the Navy. On the contrary, he tells us, 'That he had made a request to that purpose, before the engagement at Solebay, to the Duke of York, and that he thought it a little hard to be denied. His request was, that if in the next engagement, his Highness perceived any ship to fail of doing it's duty, by reason of the Captain's being killed, which was but too usual, he would then send the Earl an order to go on board, and command her immediately; whereby, continues he, instead of being an insignificant Captain-volunteer, I might have an opportunity of doing the fleet some service, and gaining some honour.' However, he does not forget to turn this denial into a theme of founding the Duke of York's praises, observing, that though the Duke knew the fact, he had mentioned, well, and allowed the reason of his request, as the only way of making the volunteers useful, yet he counted it too great an alteration of the settled orders, which gave the Lieutenant, in such a case, that command his Captain before had, though seldom found to make a good use of it (15). He informs us afterwards, 'That during the engagement of Solebay, the Royal Katharine was once taken by the Dutch,

* Our author observes, he had a very good reputation for courage before.

(9) *Memoirs*, p. 8, 9, 10.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 12.

† In the first volume of his Works.

(11) *Ibid.* p. 17.

(12) *Ibid.* p. 12.

(13) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(14) *Life of Milton*, p. lix. edit. 1753, 4to.

(15) *Memoirs*, p. 13.

favour which was in the highest degree acceptable to him [K]. But, notwithstanding that, we find him, though at sea, the ensuing year, yet acting in the post, and with the commission, of a Colonel, having himself raised a regiment of foot to serve in the land forces, sent (with the fleet) under the command of Monsieur de Schomberg, with whom he now lived in a good degree of familiarity and friendship (g). These forces being set on shore in the summer, by the command of the Admiral, Prince Rupert [L]; while they lay encamped there, our Colonel, to the great mortification of [Schomberg] his General, was favoured by his Majesty with the promise of a blue ribband, and, upon his arrival at Court, was appointed Colonel of the old Holland regiment, joined to that of his own raising. By this means, he continued in commission after the peace, which was concluded before the expiration of the year (b), when all the other new Colonels were disbanded (i). Soon after his instalment into the order of the Garter, May the 29th, 1674, he was made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to his Majesty; but being still desirous to exercise and improve his military character, notwithstanding nature had formed him particularly for shining in a Court, he went into the French service, having obtained leave of King Charles to make a campaign under the celebrated Marshal de Turenne (k). About this time, he had some expectations of having the first regiment of foot guards; he depended upon the joint interest of the two Dukes of York and Monmouth [M], but

(g) Memoirs of King Charles II. p. 7 and 14. This General had been invited into England the year before. Ibid. p. 5.

(h) It was signed Feb. 9, and proclaimed 23, 1673-4. Salmon's Chron. Hist. p. 149.

(i) Memoirs of King Charles II. p. 15.

(k) The Marshal died shortly after in 1675. See Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 678. col. 1.

was

Dutch, who had sent her Captain and most of her men on board other ships, a few only remaining there, whom they stowed under the hatches, with a guard over them: but the boatswain happening to be among these, with his whistle encouraged the rest to knock down all the centinels first, and then to fall on the Dutch above deck, by which brisk action they redeemed that considerable ship. The reader would scarce guess what sort of man he really was. His name was Small, whom, continues his Lordship, I had an opportunity of knowing well afterwards, when I had the command of the ship. He was a nonconformist, always sober, meek, and quiet, even too mild for that bustling sort of employment, and very often gave me an image of those enthusiastic people, who did such brave things in our late civil war. For he seemed rather a shepherd than a soldier, and was a kind of hero in the shape of a saint (16).'

(16) Ibid. p. 14, 15.

(17) P. 325. Where the same author tells us, the Duke often said, he was never so much delighted by any favour afterwards received from the Court, as he was at that early mark of distinction.

(18) Memoirs, p. 17, 18.

[K] Was very acceptable to him.] The writer of his character tells us he owed this step to the Duke of York (17). The Earl himself takes no notice of that favour, (which sure he would have scarce omitted if it were so) but attributes it wholly to my Lord Ossory, whose kind and partial letters had arrived at Court before him, when the King making some particular compliments, offered him his choice of commanding either the Henry or the Royal Katharine, he chose the latter, and declares he was extremely pleased with the command of a royal ship, better in all respects than my Lord Ossory's, and, continues he, of a rate above what I could have expected; for even he who was so much more considerable on all accounts, had only a third rate ship granted him at first; whereas the Katharine was then the best of all the second rates (18).

[L] By order of Prince Rupert.] The whole forces both sea and land were commanded in chief by that Prince with the title of Generalissimo. We have the following account of the quarrel betwixt the land and sea commanders, which occasioned this order of the latter, whereby the land forces lay idle at Yarmouth, without doing any thing the whole summer. It seems Monsieur Schomberg, by the advice of our volunteer, and the consent of the Captain of the ship where he was, had hung up in the shrouds one of the colours of our Colonel's regiment, as a signal for the land officers to know the ship where their General was, chusing this as more proper for him than any of those which belonged to the sea. But it had not been set up half an hour, when sitting with the Colonel on the quarter-deck, a bullet was heard whizzing over their heads, which was presently followed by another. Upon this they began to think cannon bullets that came so near a little worth the minding, and were surprized to perceive they came from the Admiral. All agreeing this was done to express his dislike of the signal, Clement, Captain of the ship, was dispatched to explain the reason of it. The prince had sent his Lieutenant Whitley with his positive command to pull down the flag. But he arriving on board the Greyhound just after Captain Clement had left it, Whitley was desired to return with this answer, that if his Highness continued in the same mind, after hearing the occasion from Clement, the flag should be taken down immediately. The Prince seeing Whitley's boat come from the Greyhound, and

the flag not taken down, and Captain Clement just arrived on board him, in great anger ordered him to be clapt into the bilboes, without so much as hearing either him or his message, and commanded the gunner to sink the Greyhound immediately, if the flag was not taken down. In this extremity, the volunteers of quality * on board the Prince having asked leave, were connived at by him in going to the Greyhound, where they found it easy to persuade them to pull down their flag, rather than be sunk; but all together were not able to pacify the General, who interpreted all this proceeding to come from an old pique in Prince Rupert, who he said was otherwise too well bred to use an old acquaintance and a foreigner in such a brutal manner, as he called it (19).

[M] Joint interest of the Dukes of York and Monmouth.] The scheme was, to persuade the King to buy Russel the Colonel out of it, for this purpose, having before prevailed with Lord Craven, who commanded the second regiment to let our Earl come over his head. But all was quashed by the Earl's unluckily discovering, in the interim, some amour of the Duke of Monmouth, who by way of revenge privately obtained a promise of the King to have that command himself, and that his own should be given to the Earl of Ossory. Accordingly upon the Duke of York's application for the Earl of Mulgrave to his Majesty, he told his brother he had already promised it to the Duke of Monmouth. Our author having his pretensions thus blown up by the sly management of that Duke, his pretended friend, scrupled not to return him the like good office by undermining him with the Duke of York; to whom he represented, that as the Duke of Monmouth's own command of the horse life-guards was better than Colonel Russel's regiment of foot both for honour and profit, he would hardly change it thus without some ill design, to which twenty-four companies of foot might be more useful than a single troop of horse; that disappointing of the Earl of Mulgrave was not his only aim, since he might have had that satisfaction entirely by getting the Earl of Ossory into that regiment. In fine, when no other method would do to satisfy his revenge in keeping the Duke of Monmouth out of this regiment, the Duke of York by his advice persuaded Colonel Russel not to sell †.

Our author makes it a great merit in him to have given occasion to the animosity between these two Princes, and infusing a jealousy of his nephew aspiring to the crown into the Duke of York, which he thinks probable might be the ground of his aiming to get this regiment of guards, which, says he, consisting of 2400 men was a great part of our little army, and was always kept together and quartered in London, when the other few regiments were separated into all the garrisons of England. This he thinks appeared sufficiently at the death of King Charles, when it had not been impossible for the Duke of Monmouth to succeed him, if he had then flourished in court at the head of so considerable a regiment, which by our author's management he never got possession of, being in disfavour at the time of the Popish plot, when Russel renewed his desire to sell, the King then giving that command to his other natural son the Duke of Grafton (20). How far, and in what manner, the Earl of Mulgrave carried

* Among these volunteers was the Earl of Carlisle, a Privy-Counsellor, and a great friend of the Prince's.

(19) Memoirs of Charles II. p. 25, 26, 28. in the second vol. of our author's Works, edit. 1740.

† As Russel was covered, this was effected probably by the charm of money.

(20) Memoirs of Charles II. p. 33 to p. 39.

(1) He likewise kept the old Holland regiment, which made him easy. *Memoirs*, p. 28.

was disappointed by the latter; upon whose disgrace, however, in 1679, the Earl was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the county of York, and Governor of Hull, in his room (1). The same year, he wrote his piece, intituled, *The Character of a Tory* [N]. And the next year, he gave a signal proof of his loyalty, in commanding the forces (m) ordered for the relief of Tangier; having voluntarily offered his service for that command, his honour would not suffer him to recede, notwithstanding he apprehended a design against his life [O], by the appointment of a ship to convey him, which the Captain often declared to be in a condition not able to endure the voyage. But he survived the danger [P], and returning

(m) A detachment of 2500 of our best troops. *Jacob's Lives of the Poets*, Vol. II. p. 180. It was besieged by the Moors. *Rapin*, Vol. II. p. 716. fol. edit.

carried his resentment to his Majesty on this disappointment, is represented in the dedication of *Aurengzebe*, where Mr Dryden takes notice of 'his Lordship's great and manly contempt of popular applause, and his retired virtue then shining only to a few, with whom, continues he, you live so easily and freely, that you make it evident you have a soul which is capable of all the tendernefs of friendship, and that you only retire from those who are not capable of returning it. — From this constancy to your friends, I might reasonably assume, that your resentments would be as strong and lasting, if they were not restrained by a nobler principle of good-nature and generosity; for certainly it is the same composition of mind, the same resolution and courage, which makes the greatest friendships and the greatest enmities *.'

* Mr Dryden is generally said to have lent a helping hand in this piece.

It was during this little ill humour that his *Essay on Satire* was written, in which he has inserted the following remarkable lines.

Nor should the royal mistresses be nam'd,
Too ugly or too easy to be blam'd,
With whom each rhyming fool keeps such a pother,
They are as common that way as the other.
While sauntering Charles betwixt so mean a brace,
Meets with dissembling still in either place,
Affected humour or a painted face. }
In loyal libels we have often told him,
How one has jostled him, the other fold him.
How that affects to laugh, and this to weep,
But who so long can rail as he can keep?
Was ever Prince by two at once misled,
Foolish and false, ill-natur'd and ill bred.

[N] *The character of a Tory.* The whole title is, *The character of a Tory, in answer to that of a Trimmer*, written at the same time, but never printed. This piece presents us with a full and distinct view of his Lordship's state-principles. We see here how little credit he gave to the Popish-plot, which he expressly calls a pretended one. He appears in defence of a standing-army, and even of the King's dispensing power; yet he is not so absurd as to vindicate an absolute passive obedience, or a slavish non-resistance; but asserts the legality of resisting, when the public welfare risques less in attempting the change, than it suffers from the abuse of the sovereign power. Upon the whole I suppose it will not be denied, that if he had the worst side of the argument, yet he supports it with a much genteeler spirit than his adversary can pretend to, whose affected quaintness and incessantly flashing witty conceits are turned against himself, being first set to a much finer and more delicate edge. We shall give one instance. 'Another fallacy, says he, is endeavoured to be put upon us, by shewing the great limitation a King lies under, and the extraordinary lessening of his authority, when once he engages for one part of his people towards the destruction of another, which our Trimmer calls sinking from a great monarch into the head of a faction, and therefore he is extremely troubled for such a diminution of his prince's power. Now I confess this appears to me, just as if a highway-man overtaken by a hue and cry should stand at bay, and thus pretend to wheedle the pursuing constable. What! will you reverend magistrates (for it is time to give good words), who are intrusted by the nation with the public peace and tranquillity, and therefore are not only strengthened with ample power, but adorned with staves of authority. What? will you be thus partial to these witnesses, to these shabby fellows who pretend to be robbed, as to follow us who never saw your faces before? This is making yourself the head of a pursuing rabble, who one day

'perhaps may be indicted of a riot for so abusing us. — I need not apply the comparison because the thing speaks itself.' What follows not only gives us the best idea, and conveyed in the most easy and engaging image, not only of this, but in general of all party disputes whatever, in which 'tis manifest each man means chiefly if not solely himself, and the furthering of his own interest. 'Whereas, continues he, our Trimmer * blames people for so monopolizing a Prince's favour, that a poor Trimmer can get none of it, I confess 'tis true, but methinks not very strange. I allow his simile to hold good, that not only these gentlemen [the ministry] but any other men in the world, even Trimmers themselves, would engross the sunshine with the hazard of being burnt, in case there were not enough of it for every body. And for my part, though 'tis a great fault in mankind, I cannot but charitably forgive it, because I am one of that race myself, and bad is the best of us, Whig, Tory, and Trimmer (21).'

[O] *He apprehended a design against his life.* We are told, that some of the Earl's enemies at court took an opportunity to put King Charles out of humour, by malicious stories of him, relating to some ladies in whom his Majesty was not unconcern'd. That by this and other contrivances all the good ships were otherwise employed, and that when his Lordship represented the unsafe condition of the ship appointed for him, both the Admiralty and the King assured him the ship was safe enough, and that no other could be got ready time enough for his expedition; so that the point being reduced to a struggle between his honour and his life, he preferred the former, and resolved, contrary to the advice of his friends, to venture his life; but at the same time advised several volunteers of distinction to wave the voyage, their honour not being equally concerned. That two days after they set sail, the ship leaked in so many places, that notwithstanding the carpenters on board, they owed their safety to the pumps all the remainder of the voyage, which by the advantage of very fine weather they finished in three weeks. That arriving at Tangier, they met Admiral Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, who lifted his hands and eyes in amazement of their having performed such a voyage in a ship which he had sent home as unfit for service (22). While he was at sea, we find he wrote a poem called *The Vision*, where though the tender passion is touch'd with his usual delicacy, yet 'tis cast in such a gloomy form as is not common to his Lordship's muse, and therefore may well be thought to be inspired by the sensibility of his present danger, very different from that to the same lady from sea already mentioned. The following lines, with which this piece concludes, are an exact specimen of the temper of the whole, and will both explain and evince the truth of our remark.

The Spirit then reply'd to all I said,
She may be kind, but not 'till thou art dead.
Bewail thy memory, bemoan thy fate,
Then she will love, when 'tis alas too late.
Of all thy pains she will no pity have,
'Till sad despair has sent thee to the grave (23)

[P] *He returned with triumph.* The Earl it seems obtained this success cheap enough, for the Moors retired at the first approach of the English army. However, as the enemy had been long very troublesome, and had occasioned great sums to be expended in fortifying the place (24), which was part of Queen Katharine's portion; our general examined the works, attended with proper officers and engineers, who all agreed the place could not be put into a good condition of defence without a vast charge, especially considering how much the Moors had been improved in cannon of late.

He

* Savile, afterwards Marquis, then Earl, of Halifax, was the author of *The Trimmer*, and the greatest stickler against the Exclusion-bill. See some account of him in *Sherburne's* article, remark [D].

(21) *Character of a Tory*, p. 65 to 67.

(22) *Character of the Duke of Bucks*, p. 326 to 328.

(23) The second volume of his Works.

(24) The mole cost 500,000 l. *Jacob's Lives of the Poets*, Vol. II. p. 181.

returning from the expedition, crowned with success, and his Majesty, not long after, returned likewise to his usual good-nature. This melting away all the Earl's resentment [Q] and chagrin, immediately revived that hearty respect which had continually glowed in the breast of this subject, who remained ever after in high favour with that Prince (n), 'till by his death the Crown devolved upon the head of his brother. By this change, what had before been the Earl of Mulgrave's dutiful allegiance, became now his ardent affection. He had never known King Charles any other than his sovereign, a circumstance that naturally creates somewhat of a distant awe to the most gracious princes; but he had long before lived in a state of familiar friendship [R] with the Duke of York, which therefore as naturally grew into the most affectionate attachment to King James the Second; upon whose accession to the throne, he was immediately sworn of the Privy-Council, and the 20th of October following, was appointed Lord-Chamberlain of the Household. His sincere zeal for his master carried him even so far, as to take a seat in the Ecclesiastical Commission [S]. It was this personal regard likewise, that urged him to oppose all such imprudent

(n) Character of the Duke, p. 9.

He staid a sufficient time to be assured, there could be no other attempt made that year, after which he returned home with this account, and in 1683 Lord Dartmouth was sent with a fleet to blow up all the works, and choak up the mole (25)

[25] *All the Earl's resentment*] We have a remarkable instance to what a height he carried it during the passage to Tangier. Among the volunteers who had a design of accompanying him, some desisted by his persuasion, but others having spoken their intention to go with him, thought their honour concerned in keeping their word. Among these was the Earl of Plymouth, a natural son of King Charles (26), who 'tis said likewise entered heartily into his General's cause. They had been a fortnight at sea, when one of the company observing his Majesty's health had never once been proposed at the General's table, took the liberty of hinting it to him as an omission occasioned through forgetfulness, especially considering a son of his Majesty sat there every day. The General answered he knew it very well, but must first get out of his rotten ship, before he could make that health go merrily round (27).

[R] *He had lived in great familiarity with the Duke of York.*] Both his memoirs and his account of the Revolution are so full of expressions of that kind, that one is apt even to think that the pleasure of that part was the principal motive to the writing of them. But there is one passage more conspicuous than the rest, which is related by him as follows. In speaking of the several causes which concurred with the Duke of Monmouth's ambition, he says, 'There was yet one thing more that much contributed to that young man's advancement, I mean the great friendship which the Duke of York had openly professed to his wife, a Lady of wit and reputation, who had both the ambition of making her husband considerable, and the address to succeed in it by using her interest in so friendly an uncle, whose design I believe was only to convert her. Whether this familiarity of theirs was contrived or only connived at by the Duke of Monmouth himself, is hard to determine. But I well remember that after these princes had become declared enemies, the Duke of York told me with some emotion, as conceiving it a new mark of his nephew's insolence, that he had forbidden his wife to receive any more visits from him. To which I could not forbear frankly replying, That I, who was not used to excuse him, yet could not hold from doing it in that case, wishing his Highness might have no juster cause to complain of him (28).' We have already observed, that our author makes himself the cause of the breach between these two Dukes, which he tells us was of the highest importance to King James's safe succession to the crown; this breach taking it's rise from an intrigue of our Earl with one of the Duke of Monmouth's mistresses (29).

[S] *A seat in the Ecclesiastical commission.*] As this was one of the illegal steps taken by his master, he was in some danger of smarting for it after the Revolution; in which juncture he had the good fortune to find a friend, where perhaps he least expected it, in Dr Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, who most generously interceding in his behalf, procured his pardon. In return for so noble an act of goodness, he thought himself obliged to write and print the following letter to that Dean.

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' Sir,

' Nothing in this world is or ought to be so dear to any man of honour as his reputation, and consequently the defence of it is the greatest obligation that one man can lay upon another. There are also some circumstances that render this obligation more acceptable and valuable, as when it is conferred generously, without any self-interest, or the least desire or invitation from the person so defended. All this happens to be my case at this time, and therefore I hope you will not be surprized to find, I am not the most ungrateful and insensible man living; which certainly I should be, if I did not acknowledge all your industrious concern for me about the business of the ecclesiastical commission, which now makes so much noise in the world. You have, as I am told, so cordially pleaded my cause, that it is almost become your own. And therefore unwilling as I am to speak of myself, especially in a business which I cannot wholly excuse; yet I think myself now a little obliged to shew, that my part in this matter, though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of so just, and so considerable an advocate.

' The less a man says for himself the better, and it is so well known already, with what great care I was sometimes excluded from knowing the most important designs of the Court, that I need not justify myself or trouble you as to those matters, only I appeal to the unquestionable testimony of the Spanish Ambassador, if I did not zealously and constantly take all occasions to oppose the French interest, because I knew it directly opposite both to the King's and kingdom's good, which are indeed things inseparable, and ought to be so accounted, as a fundamental maxim in all councils of princes.

' This, I hope, will prepare the way a little for what I have to say concerning my being one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, of which error I am now as sensible as I was at first ignorant, being so unhappily conversant in the midst of a perpetual court flattery, as never to have heard the least word of any illegality in that Commission, before I was unfortunately engaged in it.

' For though my Lord of Canterbury had very prudently refused to be of it, yet it was told us at court, by the King himself, that his refusal proceeded only from his unwillingness to act at that time, and not from any illegality he suspected in the Commission, having excused himself from it in the most respectful way, only upon the account of his age, and the infirmities he lay under. Being thus ignorant of the laws, and in such a station at Court and Council, I need not desire a man of your judgment and candour, to consider the hardness of my case, when I was commanded to serve in a commission with a Lord Chancellor, a Lord Chief Justice, and two Bishops, who had all of them acted some time already, without shewing the least diffidence of their power, or any hesitation in the execution of it. And perhaps a man of more discretion than I can pretend to, might have been easily persuaded to act in such a conjunction, and to think he might do it safely, both in law and conscience; but I need not say much to shew my desire of avoiding, if possible, a troublesome commission, that had not the least temptation of honour or profit to recommend it, and in which therefore, you know, I continued on no account in the world,

(25) See the Life of Admiral Leake, p. 54. edit. 1751. The Admiral's father was chief engineer on this occasion.

(26) Besides him, the two Lords, Mordaunt and Lumley, went also volunteers. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1683.

(27) Character, p. 328. He returned in a strong man of war, which was ordered by Admiral Herbert.

(28) Memoirs of Charles II. p. 12. 4to. edition.

(29) Ibid. p. 14.

imprudent steps, which it was foreseen must unavoidably lead to the ruin of that unfortunate Prince (o) [T]; and the same personal regard kept him at a great distance, from having any share in those counsels, where the measures were concerted for bringing about the Revolution [U]. In establishing the new settlement of the Crown, he yielded to the exigency

(o) See his letter to Dr Tillotson, in the preceding remark [S]. He was one of the twenty seven Peers, selected from the rest by Chancellor Jefferies, then Lord High-Steward, to try the Lord Delamere for high-treason, on January 14, 1685, when that Lord was unanimously acquitted. Peerage, Vol. II. p. 518. edit. 1741.

‘ world, but to serve both the King and Clergy with the little ability I had; in moderating those counsels, which we thought might grow higher, if I left my place to be filled by those who greedily waited for them, in order to their foolish designs. And since I have been forced to mention my good will at least, if not my service, to such learned men of the Clergy who I thought deserved it, it may be allowed me to give this one instance of it, that although in preferring men to all other places of the household, I ever used to ask permission first, (and accordingly was often refused for the sake of Roman Catholics and others, who were recommended by persons more in favour than myself) yet I was so careful of keeping that considerable part of the family unmixed with mean or unworthy chaplains, (whom others I feared would have imposed on his Majesty against his intention) that I constantly filled up those places, without giving him the least notice or trouble about it, and supplied them with the ablest approved Divines I could possibly find, most commonly recommended to me by those Bishops who were not of the Court. This I conceived to be the most proper course in a matter concerning Clergymen with a King of a different persuasion from theirs, and I intended it for his real service, believing it had been better for that unhappy Prince, as well as the kingdom, if the greater Ecclesiastical dignities had been disposed of by others with as much caution. And thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to confirm you in your favourable opinion of me, which must be acknowledged by every body to be an approbation of such weight, that as I hope it may be an example of authority to many, so it is sufficient of itself to ballance the censoriousness of others.

‘ I am,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your obliged humble Servant,

‘ MULGRAVE (30).’

(30) The Duke's Works, Vol. II. p. 123 to 128.

[T] He opposed the measures that led to the ruin of that Prince.] He declares that dislike of the King's measures in following the advice of the Roman Catholics, though at the same time to shew his reluctance to the dislike, he says it spread like an infection. This, says he, reached some of his Majesty's ministers themselves. The Earls of Mulgrave and Middleton never the least tainted with being either false or factious. Yet the first of them not only in execution of his office [Lord Chamberlain] assisted openly all the Protestant Clergy, but absented himself from all the councils, and both of them in their own justification took all occasions of deriding the ill advice of the Papists (31).’

(31) Account of the Revolution, Vol. II. p. 92.

[U] At a great distance from having any share in the Revolution.] Though his Lordship was vexed at the diminution of his salary, and utterly excluded from all power and favour by a few, and those the foolishlest of the Roman party; yet he was far from thinking these, or any other reasons, sufficient to excuse a desertion of his Majesty, of which he expresses the warmest abhorrence, and particularly that of his daughters; and because, says he, this extraordinary desertion of one daughter, as well as the other's sitting on the father's throne afterwards, must needs seem wonderful in two such Princesses, both of strict devotion, and many great virtues, posterity will be glad, perhaps, to have some further account of such unprecedented proceedings, in persons of so unblameable and of so illustrious a character. 'Tis very remarkable, that this Prince was so thoroughly unfortunate, as to be undone by his own children, and the more by their being bred up most carefully and religiously, and their being endued with all virtuous inclinations. These being

first deceived by the indefatigable industry of some people, drew in a great part of the nation to be deceived, by the goodness of their disposition, and the nearness of their relation to the person accused: for who could suspect such daughters of wronging their father. It was infused into them severally, by the properest instruments that could be found, that their father was not only resolved to persecute the Protestant religion, but would stick at nothing in order to it; and therefore at once to prevent his eldest daughter's succeeding him, and to secure the throne after him to one of his own religion, he had contrived a supposititious son, who was to succeed, and settle that which his supposed father might not live long enough to fix sufficiently. And though the justice of his mind, and the tenderness of his nature were enough to disperse all such apprehensions, yet the zeal of the Popish religion was brought in to overballance all other considerations. All this was joined with the Prince of Orange's conjugal impositions on the most complying wife in the world, who was at last drawn into the dismal necessity of giving up either her husband, or a father resolved and ready (as she thought) to disinherit her. So that two worthy religious ladies, even because they were so, consented to dethrone a most indulgent father, and to succeed him boldly in their several turns, before an innocent brother then a child.

‘Tantum religio, &c.’

Our author excuses, after this, King James's general distrust of every body, intimates his own dissatisfaction, and even endeavoured afterwards to hinder him from going away. ‘Just as he was stepping into bed, continues the Earl, the night before his going away, the Earl of Mulgrave happened to come into the bed-chamber, which being at so late an hour, might possibly give the King some apprehensions of the world's suspecting his design, with which he was resolved not to trust him, nor any other Protestant whatsoever, he therefore stopt short, and turned about to whisper him in the ear, that his commissioners [the Earl of Halifax, &c.] newly sent him a very hopeful account of some good accommodation with the Prince of Orange; to which that Lord only replied with a question, asking if the Prince's army halted, or approached nearer London. The King owned they still marched on, at which the other shook his head and said no more, only made him a low bow with a dejected countenance, humbly to make him understand, that he gave no credit to what the King's hard circumstances at that time obliged him to dissemble.’ After the King's departure from London, when he was insulted and seized by the populace at Feverham in Kent, and had sent a poor country fellow with a letter to inform the Council of it, in order to procure his rescue, which was likely to come too late; the messenger having waited long at the council door; without any body's being willing to take notice of him; the Earl of Mulgrave happening to be privately advertised of it: The sad account moved him with great compassion, insomuch that no cautions of offending the prevailing party, were able to restrain him from shewing a little indignation at so mean a proceeding in the Council. Upon this their new President, the Marquis of Halifax, hastily adjourned it in order to prevent him. But my Lord Mulgrave earnestly conjured them all to sit down again presently, that he might acquaint them with a matter which admitted of no delay, and which he said was of the highest importance imaginable. Accordingly the Lords did so, when he represented to them what barbarity it would be in such an assembly to connive at the rabble's tearing in pieces any private gentleman, much more a great Prince, who with all his Popery, he asserted, was still their Sovereign. The messenger being called in, after giving them a moving account of the King's distress, delivered the letter (*). Whereupon the Council were prevailed with to send

* It had no superscription, and was to this effect. To acquaint the reader of it, that he had been discovered in his retreat by some fishermen of Kent, and secured at first there by the gentry, who were yet afterwards forced to resign him into the hands of an insulgent rabble.

exigency of the occasion [*W*], being fully persuaded, that the welfare of his country required such a conduct. In this view it was, that in the Convention Parliament, he both spoke and voted for the conjunctive sovereignty [*X*]. However, by that step he greatly obliged the Prince of Orange [*Y*], who had it much at heart to obtain this advantage over the Princess. The Earl had no employ under the new government for some years. May the 10th, 1694, he was created Marquis of Normanby in the county of Lincoln (*p*). But neither this testimony of King William's kindness, nor even a personal application, with very advantageous offers from his Majesty [*Z*], could prevail upon him to desist from exerting his utmost vigour, to procure and carry through both the Treason-bill, and that for establishing triennial Parliaments. He also opposed, with great zeal,

(*p*) Salmon's Chron. Hist. p. 210. col. 2. On the 31st of August, having made Mr Wafely his Chaplain, he sent Col. Fitzgerald to Dr Tillotson, to propose him for a Bishoprick in Ireland, which was refused by Queen Mary. Life of Tillotson, p. 335. edit. 1752.

200 of the Life guards, under their Captain, the Earl of Feverham, first to rescue the King from all danger of the common people, and afterwards to attend him towards the sea side, if he continued his resolution of retiring, which they thought it more decent to connive at than to detain him here by force. Upon the King's return to London, though he blamed all the Council, and among them the Earl of Mulgrave, for assuming what he called an illegal power of acting as they did. Yet he does not forget to mention two things very favourable to the King's private character. When the stout Earl of Craven, says he, resolved to be cut in pieces rather than resign his post at Whitehall to the Prince of Orange's guards; the King prevented that unnecessary bloodshed with a great deal of care and kindness: And amidst all that just apprehension of violence to his person, at the sudden entrance into his chamber, of the three Lords, [Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere] who ordered him from the Prince of Orange to retire, which he chose to do to Rochester; he disguised it so well as to discourse of the setting of the tyde, and other things relating to his removal, as coolly and unconcernedly, as if it had been only a common journey (32).

(32) *Ibid.* *passim*.

Some years after the Revolution, when King William told him on a particular occasion, 'That upon hearing his Lordship was not satisfied for some time before his predecessor left England with the measures then taken, a person, whom he had employed to consult and treat with those Lords who invited him to come over, proposed at one of their meetings to bring over Lord Mulgrave, and to communicate their design to him. Upon which the Earl of Shrewsbury said, *If you do you will spoil all, he will never join with us.* The King asking him with a smile, *Pray, my Lord, what would you have done, if my agent had acquainted you with the whole business?* Sir, said my Lord Mulgrave, *I should have discovered it to the Master I served.* The King replied, *I cannot blame you?* (33).

(33) Character, p. 331.

[*W*] *He yielded to the exigency of the occasion.*] No doubt but he included himself among those few persons, who, without intending any good to the Prince of Orange, thought it imprudent to stem a tide to no other purpose except their own ruin, and therefore rather resented that interest, which by their compliance they obtained both with the Prince and people, to secure the public good as much as possible, in a season when almost every body seemed to abandon it. After the King's first absconding, when the rabble had pulled down the house of the Spanish Ambassador, the Earl of Mulgrave, though his master was gone, and his staff laid aside, thought the honour of the nation so much concerned, that he presumed to take upon himself to order an apartment in Whitehall immediately, and a great table to be kept for him twice a day, with Yeomen of the Guard to attend at his outward room, (which they never do but on the King only) for which strain of authority, he tells us, he had the good fortune to be thanked, both by King James and the Prince of Orange.

After the King's last retirement, which our author calls a fatal step that lost him the crown, and was some lessening to the reputation he had before, when the reading of the King's last letter, (wherein he appealed to God and man against that flight forced upon him by so near a relation) was refused by the Council, looking on this as the clearest proof of the Lords intentions to exclude their King, he joined with all the rest, in agreeing that a Convention should be summoned, by circular letters in the Prince of Orange's name; and secondly, that the Prince should be desired to manage all public affairs, as well

as the public moneys in the mean time. This was the first step which he took in favour of the Prince of Orange, and his motive for it, if we believe himself, was, that he might, by this compliance, have the greater influence and power in opposing the foolish designs of some of the old Whigs, who having long despaired of Court favour, were now, he says, transported with it, not only out of their old principles, but even out of their very senses also. What he remarks afterwards, has been confirmed since, 'that such a good opportunity was lost, of resetting our old constitution, as perhaps England is like never to have again; which, continues he, I do not observe with any regard to either of the two Princes in competition; but I only mean, that whichever Prince that Convention should set up, our liberties might have been secured, and the government fixed on the best and steadiest foundation, the united interest of King and people (34).' From this last period it appears, that he thought the throne was become vacant by the desertion of King James, and that the Convention had power to set either of the two competitors upon it, as they thought best.

[*X*] *He voted for the conjunctive Sovereignty.*] We are told, that some of his friends had heard him declare, he had the following motive for this step; that he thought the title of either person was equal, and since the Parliament was to decide the matter, he judged it would much better please the Prince, who was now become their Protector, and was also in itself a thing more becoming so good a Princess as Queen Mary, to partake with her husband a crown so obtained, than to possess it intirely as her own (35).

(34) Account of the Revolution.

[*Y*] *He obliged the Prince of Orange.*] In this step he left the church party, who were inclined to set up the Princess above her husband, and not only from his motives as declared to his friends, mentioned in the preceding remark, but what is related in remark [*U*] concerning the behaviour of the Princess of Orange, as only suffering the impositions of her husband, one can't help thinking that this vote was owing to his contempt and resentment of her conduct, and we may know from his own words, how much he paid his court to King William by it, who, he tells us, on this account grew jealous of his most intimate confidants among the English, because they had so much regard to his wife. However, the Earl was far from thinking this Prince in earnest, when he gravely endeavoured to make his friends believe, that he would leave them all in the lurch, by returning with his army into Holland, rather than yield the title to his own wife. He tells us the Princess was kept in Holland 'till he had mastered that dispute, which vexed him more than any other (36). If so, this reason of her staying in Holland was luckily favoured by the frost, and contrary winds after the thaw, which Bishop Burnet gives for the causes of that detention (37).

(35) Character, p. 330.

(36) Account of the Revolution, p. 118.

(37) History of his own Times, Vol. 1. p. 820. folio edition.

[*Z*] *A personal application from King William.*] We have the following account of this application from the penman of his character. King William sent one day for the Earl, and after some little discourse, offered to give him an additional title, with an annual pension of 3000*l.* and to make him of the Cabinet-Council. The Earl gave him many thanks for his intended favours, and asked, with humblest submission, what his Majesty expected from him in return; adding, that he could not deny but that he was engaged in assisting those bills, which his Majesty did not at present approve of; he was sorry his Majesty did not, but whether he had the honour or not of serving him, he could not give them up, but must assist their success to his utmost ability (38).

(38) Character, as before.

[*A A*] *He*

the act which took away Sir John Fenwick's life. Yet so high was his reputation at Court, that the King took him into the Cabinet-Council, and gave him a pension of three thousand pounds a year (q). He received with pleasure all these marks of esteem that were paid to his distinguished abilities, though he never had any good liking for that Prince [AA]. But, as soon as Queen Anne came into the possession of the Throne, he entered into her service, with all the warmth of the most affectionate duty, which was accepted on her part with the truest sincerity. She gave him the Privy-Seal, April 21, 1702, just before her coronation, and presently after it, made him Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the north-riding of Yorkshire. In October following, he was also appointed one of the Commissioners to treat of an Union between England and Scotland; and, before the expiration of the year, was first created Duke of Normanby, March 9th, and then Duke of Buckinghamshire, the twenty-third of the same month (r). He was made too one of the Governors of the Charter-house this year. Yet he did not sit long easy in his present advantageous situation. He grew by degrees jealous of his rival the Duke of Marlborough, and not brooking the superior power of that favourite with his mistress, he threw up the Privy-Seal (s), entirely against her mind; so that, to remove his discontentment, and procure a reconciliation, she made him an offer of the Lord Chancellor's place, which was also refused by him (t). During this ill-humour, he suffered party-prejudice to transport him beyond the bounds both of his honour and good sense [BB]. Yet, in 1705, March 21 (u), the Queen readily admitted him to kiss her hand,

(q) Character of the Duke, p. 13.

(r) Salmon, ubi supra, under the year 1702.

(s) When he brought it, the Queen desired him to take two or three days to consider; he took it, but the Queen sent for him the next day, and made him the offer of Chancellor.

(t) He was succeeded by the Duke of Newcastle, March 27, 1705. Salmon, for that year.

(u) Note (2), by Tindal, to p. 795. Vol. II. of Rapin's History of England.

[AA] He had no good liking for King William.] In his Feast of the Gods, the character of this Prince, bad enough in itself, is yet rendered more conspicuous, by contrasting it with the very amiable one of his predecessor, the Earl's favourite, King James, as follows. Another Prince [King James] lately deceased in exile, was censured also, yet with great compassion amidst all their [the Gods] mirth; because though he not only meant to govern well, but had talents capable of it, yet notwithstanding all that, he lost three kingdoms, merely for want of being wisely principled in his youth, and instructed that kings should indeed reverence the Gods, and appear decently devout, but never violently zealous for any thing, besides justice and the publick good; which virtue alone, without any other religion, is sufficient to make them heroes on earth, and advance them afterwards to be Demigods in Heaven. Then follows King William: All the Gods admired that odd mixture of which his successor was composed, so very lazy, heavy, and easily imposed on by Favourites, and yet so very ambitious and enterprising; which they attributed to the very different characters of his ancestors, who, on his mother's side, were only Sovereigns, (Henry the 4th of France excepted), but on his father's side such as deserved to be so.

Yet Jupiter himself shewed great esteem of him, but was suspected a little of some partiality on the account of his own proceedings with old father Saturn. He was observed also to kiss Ganymede all the while they were talking of this Prince, which made the Gods whisper to one another a little maliciously (39).

[BB] He acted against his honour and good sense.] He threw up the seals in March, and at the meeting of the new Parliament in November following, Lord Haverham moved the House of Peers, that the Princess Sophia might be sent for into England, as necessary to secure the succession in the House of Hanover. This motion was seconded by the Duke of Bucks and the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesea (40). A late author makes the following remark upon this extraordinary turn of affairs. 'The Tories, says he, very probably looked upon their cause as a party to be in a manner desperate, shut out of power both by a Prince and by Ministers, whom they had always looked upon as of their own principles. Their present situation was bad, the prospect was worse. The very measures they had taken to secure themselves in the good graces of the Queen, had given their opponents an opportunity to represent them as very cool towards the Protestant succession, if this opinion prevailed under the great disappointment of present expectations, they had the misfortune of seeing their hopes blasted as far as human foresight could reach. This it was, continues this author, which, in my poor opinion, determined them to act in the manner related. In which, like all exasperated parties, they forgot that the person against whom their rage was pointed, was their Mistress and their Queen: Some of them forgot more; they forgot the returns of gratitude, and the ties of nature. The Duke of Bucks, who made her the first compliment after her accession,

in replying, when her Majesty said that the 8th of March, on which King William died, was a dull cloudy day; for all that, Madam, it is the finest I ever saw in my life, now lost all decency, and said in her hearing, that the Queen might become childish, do nothing of her own head, but be intirely passive under those in whose hands she was or might be (41). The writer of the Duke's character insinuates (42), tho' unwillingly, that he had opposed the Duke of Marlborough's settlement of 5000*l. per Annum* from the Post-Office, and 'tis certain that settlement was not carried 'till this very session, when the just-related motion in the House of Peers was seconded by the Duke of Bucks. 'Tis remarkable, that upon the dis-appointment he met with in the refusal of the first regiment of the foot-guards from the Queen's uncle Charles II. he passed the following censure: The King, says he, though of more wit than most of those who influenced him, had that foible of his family to be easily imposed on (43). He seems to have exercised his satirical genius at this time, as he had done when in a like fit of ill humour in 1675. The production was his last mentioned piece, *The Feast of the Gods*, in which he has the following severe and unmanly censure of Prince George of Denmark, the Queen's husband: 'They [the Gods] perceived another king hard by, much concerned for the loss of a brother, whom many years ago he had disposed of extremely well, yet nobody since ever heard one word of him. Momus laughing, said the good Prince was not quite dead, though forced to breathe hard to prevent being buried, because nobody perceived any other signs of life in him. Some of the Gods smiled, and said it would be well for the quiet of the world, if all Princes were as dull and insignificant (44). If what is related in a subsequent remark [EE] may pass for truth, that the Duke once aspired to marry the Princess Anne, it furnishes an additional incitement for this malevolent stroke against the Prince of Denmark, who must in that case be treated as (what is scarcely ever felt without rancour) a successful rival. Yet, after all, it may be placed to our author's account, by way of ballance to these enormous effects of pique and resentment, that it was at this same juncture that he penned his excellent Observations on the Statute of Treasons, where he has given such a proof of his judgment and penetration in a most difficult and important point of the Law, as will be a standing monument to justify her Majesty's offer made to him of the Chancellor's place. I can't help thinking but the consideration, as it served his own honour and reputation, was one motive for this exercise, as he calls it, of his thoughts. This conjecture seems to be confirmed (if we remember his Lordship's artful genius) by the concluding words of those Observations. 'I would not have communicated these rambling thoughts to any but a friend, nor to yourself neither, if among the several misrepresentations upon my resigning one great employment, and refusing a greater, you had not suspected me of a little laziness, from which I hope this way of employing my leisure may be some vindication, and I wish it does not prove a much greater, by shewing I needed

(41) Bolingbroke's Memoirs, p. 111, 112.

(42) P. 334.

(43) Memoirs, p. 34.

(44) Feast of the Gods, p. 193, 194.

(39) Feast of the Gods, p. 191, 192.

(40) General Histories of England.

hand, upon the marriage of his third wife, who was a natural daughter to King James the Second [CC]. During this recess from publick business, he finished his house in St James's park [DD], having before obtained a grant of the site of it from the Crown. The Duke continued out of employ 'till the general change of the ministry in 1710; in effecting which he had some share (w), and was presently made Lord Steward of the Household; whence he was advanced the following year to be Lord President of the Council (x). He joined in all the measures of that remarkable ministry [EE] (of which himself was a considerable part), excepting in the affair of the Catalans only, whose lives and liberties he thought too much exposed by that part of the plan of the peace of Utrecht; and he laboured heartily, though without success, to obtain a better security for that ill-fortuned people [FF], who had entirely relied on England for protection. Notwithstanding his disagreement with the Earl of Oxford in this particular, yet he continued his friendship to that minister after his disgrace; and though the Duke, in virtue of his post, became, on the death of the Queen, one of the Lords Justices for governing the kingdom (y) 'till the arrival of her successor in England; yet he never afterwards entered into any of the concerns at Court, and constantly opposed the steps pursued by the administration, spending some of his leisure hours in the most elegant manner with his Muse [GG]. In 1716, his lady brought him a son [HH], whom he left a child of nine years old (z) at his death, which happened February 24, 1720-21, at the age of seventy-one. His

corpse

(w) Mr Harley communicated this project to him among others, as soon as he had brought it to a proper degree of maturation. Character of the Duke of Bucks, p. 17.

(x) Boyer's Hist. of Queen Anne, p. 476 and 514. edit. 1735, fol.

(y) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History, Vol. XIII. in this year, 1714.

(z) He was born January 11. Pedrage of England, Vol. I. p. 143.

(45) Observations on the State of Treasurers, p. 184.

(46) See his article.

(47) Account of the Duke's pedigree, p. 352.

(48) Character, p. 340.

(49) His Will, p. 364.

needed no other reason besides my disability, for not accepting the highest post in a profession I was never bred to, an honour too much to think any man fit for except a Lawyer (45.)

[CC] *His third wife was a daughter of King James II*] Her mother was Katharine Sedley, daughter to the ingenious Sir Charles Sedley (46). King James, by a warrant dated December 1683. dignified his daughter by her with the name of Lady Katharine Darnley, gave her the place of a Duke's daughter, and empowered her to bear the royal arms within a border Compose, Ermin and Azure, the Azure charged with Flower-de-lis of France, and for supporters, on the Dexter side, an Unicorn Ermine, his Horn, main, and hoofs, Or, accolloed with a Chaplet of Red Roses, barbed and seeded proper, and on the Sinister, a Goat Ermine, horned and hooped Azure, with a like Chaplet about his neck as has the dexter. She was left very young a widow by James Earl of Anglesey, from whom she was parted at her own suit, though the Earl long opposed it, by the unanimous consent of both Houses of Parliament, for the Earl's cruelty, and causeless ill usage of her. It was thought by some that his Lordship had a tincture of distraction, as was they said plain from his conduct to her. They lived together only one year (47).

His Grace was first married to Ursula, daughter of Colonel Stavel, and widow of Earl Conway. His second wife was Lady Catharine, eldest daughter to Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke, widow of Baptist Noel, Earl of Gainsborough, she died in 1703 4. His Grace had no issue by either of these ladies, to whom, we are told by several, he shewed but little deference (48), and indeed the natural children he had during these marriages, give but too much room to believe the truth of that censure. However his Grace makes a kind mention in his will of all his wives, declaring that 'he had had the most extraordinary blessing of three kind and excellent wives' He also desired to be buried near his second lady in Westminster-Abbey, and intimates, that he would have removed the corps of his first wife to the same grave, had she not lain near her own mother in the country (49).

[DD] *He built his house in St James's Park.*] In the description of this elegant edifice, he has given his brother Duke incidentally some account how he passed his time, which he declares was spent so for the most, as to be very conjugally at home, confessing himself to be changed enough as to his former delights, as to make his wife's company agreeable: so far he is explicit, no checks of infamy restrained him. He was now at least 59 years old. But in the preceding passage, where he says, that after dinner he drove again to Marybone for air and exercise, observing truly enough, that agitation of the body and diversion of the mind is a composition for health, above all the skill of Hippocrates, he could not be explicit; the diversion he chose for his mind would not bear shewing. However it is too well known to be concealed, and shall be admitted into these memoirs in the view of standing as a sea-mark to others, against that scandalous and penurious vice of gaming. It has been said,

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and never contradicted that I know of, that by this infamous conveyance, a good part of that garden which he speaks of as his chief delight in this letter, came into the hands of a person, who insultingly grazed his sheep and oxen close under his Grace's window. And, which is still more infamous, he even did not escape the censure of being a false gamester.

[EE] *He entered into the Queen's service with all warmth of the most affectionate duty.*] 'Tis said he had made his addresses to her in the way of love before her marriage with the Prince of Denmark. This is hinted by Mrs Manley, in the stile and manner of her Memoirs of the English Court (50). Mr Boyer also takes notice of it in his history of this Queen. Some years, says he, before the Queen was married to Prince George, the Marquis of Normanby, then Earl of Mulgrave, a nobleman of singular accomplishments both of mind and person, and of a plentiful fortune, aspired so high as to [attempt to] marry the Lady Anne. But though his addresses to her were checked as soon as discovered, yet the Princess had ever an esteem for him (51).

[FF] *He laboured to obtain a better security for the Catalans.*] He procured two Councils, in order to debate that matter before them, when it had been in a manner determined the other way, and when he saw his arguments over ruled, he was never observed to be so much troubled at the ill success of any business of his own (52).

[GG] *He passed his leisure hours with his Muse.*] Witness his Session of the Poets upon the choice of a Laureat in 1719, and those excellent lines on Mr Pope. 'Twas at this time also that he wrote his two Tragedies of Julius Cæsar, and the Death of Brutus; for the latter of which the just-mentioned Poet composed two Chorusses, which were set to Music by Signor Bononcini, and performed at Buckingham-House. Mr (now Bishop) Warburton, observes, that the two Chorusses were made at the request of the Duke, to adorn a very poor performance of his, and that they have the usual effect of all ill-adjusted ornaments, they make the meanness of the piece more conspicuous (53).

[HH] *She brought him a son.*] She had brought the Duke several children before this, as first a daughter, christned Sophia, who died very young, and two sons, to the first of which Queen Anne, as a God-mother, gave the name of John, who lived but three weeks; and the year after another son, called Robert, and stiled Marquis of Normanby, born December 11, 1711. On his death his father wrote a tender poem, which ends thus:

But why so much digression,
This fatal loss to shew,
Alas there's no expression
Can tell a Parent's woe.

After this there was another daughter, christened Sophia Catharina Henrietta, who lived 'till she was four Years of age.

(50) P. 85, 86. Vol. I. edit. 1709. Where she ascribes the Duke under the name of Count Orgueil.

(51) Boyer's History of Queen Anne, p. 14. note (a), edit. 1735, folio.

(52) Character p. 338. where this writer tells us, he differed from the Earl of Oxford and the rest of the ministers, except Lord Bolingbroke, who he believes was of the Duke's opinion in this affair.

(53) Notes to the first chorus in Vol. I. of Pope's Works, edit. Warburton.

(54) Account of the Duke's Pedigree, p. 352, 353.

corpse lay magnificently in state for a considerable time at Buckingham-house, whence it was conveyed with the greatest funeral pomp to Westminster-abbey; where being interred according to his own request, a sumptuous monument was erected afterwards to his memory in Henry the Seventh's chapel; for which purpose, he left 500 pounds by his Will, and directed an epitaph written by himself to be put upon it. But one expression was omitted by order of Dr Atterbury [II], then Dean of that church, who would not suffer it to stand there; and indeed the whole, after many declarations of his religious sentiments, which are found interspersed up and down in his writings, too plainly speaks him a Theist [KK], yet not without some mixture of a superstition cast in his composition

[II] *An expression omitted by order of the Dean.* The expression was, *Christum advenor*, which, he thought, intended by the Duke in derogation of the Divine Nature of the Son of God; and the next remark will shew he had ground for that opinion, notwithstanding another worthy clergyman (55) has likewise shewn the words otherwise fairly capable of a higher meaning, being used by Varro, to signify even the highest act of religious worship, who says, *Venerem & Minervam advenorari*. The original epitaph is

Dubius sed non improbus vixi.
Incertus morior sed inturbatus.
Humanum est nescire et errare.
Christum advenor, Deo confido
Omnipotenti, Benevolentissimo.
Ens Entium miserere mihi.

[KK] *The epitaph compared with his other works speaks him a Theist.* Among these passages we shall produce only that in his Ode on Brutus, the rather because it seems to have been written about the same time with the Epitaph.

'Tis said that favourite mankind,
Was made the Lord of all below.
But yet the doubtful (a) are concern'd (b) to find
'Tis only one man (c) tells another so.
And for this great dominion here,
Which over other beasts we claim,
Reason our best credential does appear,
By which indeed we domineer;
But how absurdly we may see with shame:
Reason that solemn trisler light as air,
Driven up and down by censure or applause,
By partial love away 'tis blown,
Or the least prejudice can weigh it down
Thus our high privilege becomes our snare.
In any nice and weighty cause,
How weak at best is reason, yet the grave
Impose on that small judgment which we have.

Note (a) The doubtful.] In which number are comprehended all the Sceptics of both sorts, viz. they who with much consideration are got to slight the Holy Bible, and all religion depending on it, because they have neither the patience nor the parts to examine any thing thoroughly; and others more modest, who on several accounts would accept those doctrines there taught us, if their judgments, informed by a well-meaning and industrious inquiry, which is all that God has given us for our guide, did not perceive, in some of them at least, a manifest absurdity; apprehending also a kind of impiety in believing things inconsistent not only with common sense, but with that received notion we ought to have of the Deity. They conceive it to be one of these absurdities, that a poor animal, called a man, should be invested by God with a despotic dominion over all the rest of the creation, when all the while we are but too plainly sensible of being unable to comprehend the minutest part of it. Should we not say they undervalue and laugh at any of ourselves, for giving a large patrimony to a booby son, without instructing or breeding him up to understand or enjoy it. But when no other answer is to be well made, the reply to all is, that as odd as it appears, yet God has done it, and therefore we ought to believe it well done, and highly prudent, which most

certainly is a true consequence if the premises were right, but that will be examined impartially in the following notes.

(b) Concerned.] That is, says he, both interested in it as they claim the dominion, and so are reasonably inquisitive about it, and troubled to find their title to it so very weak, after so much wealth and blood spent in the controversy. 'Tis well too if we are not one day called to account, and made to pay with costs for so contentious a cruelty.

(c) Only one man.] Here now comes properly an examination of the grounds they go upon, who pretend that God has done us this favour, and therefore we ought to believe it well and wisely done, whatever incongruities may appear in it, which is a consequence just enough, if the premises can be as well made out. But alas (say our Sceptics) when we come to that, instead of a proof there is nothing produced, but one poor text in Genesis, whether written by Moses or some other man (for that is now disputed among Divines themselves) is of no importance, since as a man he is still one of our own imperfect, unknowing kind, and if he is to be credited on his single word, against all all our sense and reason, in a thing also which seems so much to derogate from the infinite wisdom of Divine Providence, sure there is need first of proving him infallible, whereas all the proof of that is only derived by tradition from other men, who therefore cannot certify for one another. 'Tis said also by these Sceptics, that 'tis worth our observing, how the author of this text of man's dominion over all other creatures, has written another very extraordinary one, viz. That God walked in the garden of Eden in the cool of the evening, which if excused on the account of being only a figurative expression, yet much invalidates a narration of such vast importance, that tropes and figures seem improper in it. Divines are unwilling to save it's credit by the difficulty of our understanding the Hebrew tongue (though no ill excuse since 'tis allowed to be sometimes unintelligible) for fear of their adversaries making the same objection to other texts as extraordinary, and perhaps to all the Old Testament. Upon the whole matter 'tis probable, the wise author of Genesis, for reasons which might be given, and many more which we now cannot guess at, had found it fit and necessary to infuse this opinion of man's sovereignty into the Jews; and who knows but it was as needful to encourage them against the beasts of a wilderness in which they wandered so long, as against the kings of Canaan, whom Moses, like a wise leader assured them beforehand, the Lord would deliver into their hands (56).

Having thus derided the authority of the Old Testament, and consequently the Jewish religion, we find him in the conclusion of his letter concerning his house, seriously denying that of the New, and consequently of Christianity. Having declared to his brother Peer, that he was often missing a pretty gallery in the old house he pulled down, more than pleased with a salon which he had built in it's stead, though a thousand times better in all manner of respects, he proceeds thus: *Pour faire bonne bouche*, with a grave reflection. It were well for us, if this incapacity of being intirely contented was as sure a proof of our being reserved for happiness in another world, as it is of our frailty and imperfection in this. I confess the Divines tell us so. But though I believe a future state more firmly than a great many of them seem to do, by their inordinate desires of the good things in this, yet I own my faith is founded not on those fallacious arguments of preachers, but on that adorable conjunction of unbounded power and goodness, which certainly must some way recompence hereafter so many thousands of innocent wretches created to be so miserable here (57). 'Tis true his Lordship calls the former notes a rambling sort of rhapsody; and it must be owned,

(55) Fiddes, in his Defence of the Duke's Epitaph. Lond. 1721, 8vo.

(56) H's Works, Vol. I. p. 146, & seqq. edit. 1739, 8vo.

(57) H's Works, Vol. II. p. 310.

* One of his Works (for so it may fitly be called, though not mentioned hitherto) was, correcting the press for an edition of the Works of G. Villiers Duke of Buckingham, printed in 1712, of which he revised every sheet, and made several corrections and emendations in them. Commended by the person who carried the proofs to him, and stood by while he performed this task, to which he offered himself unasked.

tion [LL]. Mr Pope having declined to write his character [MM], there came out, in 1723, his Works *, pompously printed, with his picture prefixed, curiously engraved from an original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller, as also a draught of his monument, with the epitaph, and the following inscription: *To the memory of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, these his more lasting remains, the monument of his mind and more perfect image of himself, are here collected by the direction of Katharine his Duchess; desiring that his ashes may be honoured, and his fame and merit committed to the test of time, truth, and posterity.* The whole impression being seized at the press by his Majesty's messengers, some pieces in it, which gave offence to the Government, were suppressed (aa) in the publication. However, in 1729, a second edition was published in 8vo. wherein the castrated sheets were inserted, and there was also prefixed, *A Short Character of the Duke of Buckinghamshire, together with an Account of the Pedigree of the Sheffield Family, and his Grace's last Will and Testament, written with his own hand, without any assistance.* With regard to his character, it is observed, that in his person his Grace was tall; and though not perhaps the most exactly shaped, being thought a little too long waisted, and rather too narrow in his chest and shoulders, yet all together he looked more like a man of quality than most of his rank who were his contemporaries. He was allowed to be handsome, his face being a regular oval, and all the features of it well proportioned. His countenance had an extraordinary sweetness, joined with a lively and penetrating look, which at first sight struck you with an idea of that great understanding of which he gave the world such various proofs. He had one thing very particular, that laughing heartily, which is seldom advantageous to any body, was in him uncommonly agreeable. And as it was generally allowed, that no body exceeded him in person when young, so few if any were ever so agreeable when old. As

(aa) These are, the Account of the Revolution, and the Feast of the G. d. See Life of Alderman Barber, p. 10.

to

owned, the censure is just enough. We see him rambling to overturn revelation by the superior strength of reason, and yet decrying this reason as a narrow, misleading, uncertain, guide, and so unworthy to give us a title of dominion over our fellow-creatures, who are also endowed with it *. So then, man is little or nothing better than a brute. But his Lordship's drift is more soberly delivered elsewhere, in the following distich:

The wise and good morality will guide,
And superstition all the world beside (58).

[LL] *Though not without some mixture of superstition.* I have ventured to assert this from several passages in his works, some of the most remarkable of which shall be laid before the reader for his judgment. In the poem already mentioned, written in his voyage to Tangier, the plan of which is a Vision, he concludes thus:

Amaz'd I wak'd in haste,
All trembling at my doom;
Dreams oft repeat adventures past,
And tell the ills to come (59).

Again, in his memoirs of himself, speaking of the death of the Earl of Sandwich, he makes the following remark. He dined in Mr. Digby's ship the day before the battle, when no body dreamt of fighting, and shewed a gloomy discontent, so contrary to his usual cheerful humour, that we even then all took notice of it, but much more afterwards (60). The next instance is more full to our purpose. It is in the same memoirs where he relates several passages in his first adventure at sea. Our fleet, says he, happening to go near the shore to take in fresh water, Prince Rupert dined with a gentleman who lived thereabouts, and returning on board in a little boat, with only Lord Blaney and myself, there happened so sudden and violent a storm that we did not like it, and Prince Rupert began to talk of Prince Maurice being cast away by a like accident. Upon which, continues our author, I could not but reflect on my family also, since my grandfather and three of his brothers had been drowned. The Lord Blaney hearing all this, made us all laugh in the midst of our danger, by swearing, that though he liked our company, he wished himself out of it, and in any other boat whatsoever, since he feared the ill fortune of our two families would sink him (61). The story of his grandfather and three brothers is in the Peerage of England by Mr Collins, who tells us there were in all five brothers, one of whom was drowned in France, three others lost their lives in the passage of Whitgift ferry, over the river Humber, and the youngest broke his neck in a new riding house, which his father had made out of an old consecrated chapel,

according to Sir William Dugdale. This father was the first Earl of Mulgrave in the family, being created by Queen Elizabeth, by whose express command he, among other English Lords, attended the Duke of Anjou to Antwerp. And being in the famous sea fight against the Spaniards in 1558, who had threatened an invasion, was knighted by the Lord Admiral for his gallant deportment and memorable service in that engagement. He was afterwards appointed Governour of the Briel, in Zealand, and made a Knight of the Garter. The title of Lord Sheffield of Butterwick was first given in the 1st of Edward VI. to Edmund Sheffield, our Duke's great-great-grandfather, who was killed in an insurrection of the common people of Norfolk the next year, he being one of the nobles who accompanied the Marquis of Northampton to suppress them, when his horse fell into a ditch near Norwich, whereupon pulling off his helmet to shew the rebels who he was, a butcher slew him with his club. The manor of Butterwick came into the family by the marriage of Sir Robert Sheffield, knighted by Edward I. with Janet, daughter and coheirefs to Alexander Laird of Butterwick. This Robert's father, who was himself also Sir Robert Sheffield, lived in the time of Henry III, and was the first ancestor of this family mentioned in history (62).

[MM] *Mr Pope having declined to write his character.* In a letter of that celebrated Poet to Dr Atterbury, dated July 1722, he writes thus. 'The Duke's letter concerns me nearly, I must keep clear of flattery, I will, and as it is an honest resolution, I hope your Lordship will assist me in so doing. I beg therefore you would represent thus much to her Grace, that as to the fear she seems touched with, that the Duke's memory would have no advantage, but what he must give it himself, without being beholden to any one friend, your Lordship may certainly, and agreeably to your character both of rigid honour and Christian plainness, tell her, that no man can have any other advantage, and that all offerings of friends in such a case pass for nothing. Be but so good as to confirm what I have represented to her, that an inscription in the ancient way, plain and pompous, yet modest, will be the most uncommon, and therefore the most distinguished manner of doing it, and so I hope she will be satisfied, the Duke's honour preserved, and my integrity also, which is too sacred a thing to be forfeited in consideration of any little (though what people of quality may call great) honour or distinction whatsoever, which those of their rank can bestow on one of mine, and which indeed they are apt to over-rate, but never so much as when they imagine us under any obligation to say an untrue word in their favour.' It appears by the Bishop's answer, that he had wrote to the Duchess just as Mr. Pope desired, but questioned whether she would be satisfied with it. And that she was not, will be seen presently.

(62) Peerage of England, Vol. 11. p. 143, & seqq.

[NN] He

* Note (d).

(58) On Mr Hobbes and his Writings, Vol. I. p. 180. edit. 1740, 8vo.

(59) Vol. I. p. 83. 4to. edit.

(60) P. 13. Vol. 11. 4to. edit.

(61) P. 6, 7, ibid.

to his manners, he was reported not to be good-natured, and to be very haughty and proud; whereas he was really good-natured, and so tender, that upon seeing in the streets any real object of compassion, he has several times been touched to a degree of bringing tears into his eyes. He was affected in the same manner, upon reading a melancholy story or hearing of any friendly and generous behaviour. He was a little passionate, and sometimes quick upon people that had given him no occasion; which was the case sometimes of his most familiar friends, or gentlemen who came freely to visit him. But then he was never easy 'till he had made them some amends. When he was disoblige'd by his equals, or even by his King, to his thinking, not well treated, he carried it pretty high, 'till he had got the better of the first, and prevailed on the other to change his proceedings more to his satisfaction. But except upon such occasions, no man on earth could carry himself with more good breeding and humanity. And in all his conversations with his inferiors, you could not think he judg'd there was any difference betwixt him and them. He would talk as familiarly to his servants as if he was not their master, and often said, I was angry with you a little time ago, but I don't mean half the things I say in a passion. He was by many thought not to have made a very good husband to his first and second wives; yet this second had by a former husband two daughters, whom he always treated with the greatest respect and kindness, as themselves always acknowledged; and after her death, he contributed to marry one of her daughters to one of the best matches in the kingdom. The liberties which he allowed himself in relation to the ladies are well known. Yet this ought to be remarked as a proof of his good sense, that none of his mistresses could ever prevail upon him to marry foolishly, or ever gained too great an ascendant over him. And some years before his death, a good deal of concern for that kind of libertinism, into which an impetuosity of temper, too much neglected in his education, together with the prevailing fashion of that Court in which he lived, had too often hurried him. He was by his worst enemies allowed to have lived always very kindly with his last wife. Whenever she was very ill, or in danger (which generally happened when she was with child, or at her lying-inn), he shew'd all possible marks of concern: and when there was more than ordinary danger, his servants often found him on his knees at prayers; and on those occasions he has made vows, in case she recovered, to give in charities, sometimes two hundred, sometimes three hundred pounds at a time, which he performed punctually. He was thought to be too saving in money matters; but that opinion was occasioned by little trifling accidents, or rather an humour, which indiscreet people knew not how to manage; for in reality he was not to be called covetous. It is certain his affection to his last Duchess over-balanced his disposition that way; for he always paid her pin-money to a day: and notwithstanding some ill accidents in his fortune might have justified an omission or delay, when her pension from the Crown of 1200*l.* a year, part of the provision made for her by King James the Second (the payment of which, by the ill offices of a favourite at Court had been for some time discontinued). And when by a just representation to Queen Anne, by Lord-Treasurer Oxford, that pension began to be repaid, he always brought the money to her, desiring her to take what part of it she pleas'd for her own use; of which she always took one third. But there is a strong indication of his neglecting money matters too much. He lost a great part of his fortune merely through an indolence and unwillingness to take the pains to visit his estates at some distance from London, in the space of forty years. In a word, he was a good husband, a just and tender father, a constant zealous friend, and, one may add, the most agreeable of companions. As to religion, Bishop Burnet tells us (*bb*), he was looked on as indifferent to all particular professions, and that he was apt to comply in every thing that might be acceptable to King James, going with his Majesty to mass, and kneeling at it; so that, when that Court thought of making converts to Popery, the priests made an attack upon him; he told them, he was willing to receive instructions; that he had taken much pains to bring himself to believe in God, who made the world and all men in it; but it must not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him believe that man was quits with God, and made God.

(*bb*) History of his own Time, p. 683, Vol. I. folio edition.

* Communicated by the Rev. Mr Allen, Viceprincipal of Magdalen Hall, from the information of Dr Browne, now Provost of Queen's-college, who was tutor to his Grace.

His Grace's only surviving child, Edmond, was a youth of the greatest hopes. He was left solely to the care of his mother, and being of a weakly constitution, was carried by her, who constantly attended him, soon after his father's death, into foreign parts, on account of his health, which oblig'd him to reside a great part of his time out of his native country. He was admitted, on the 26th of July, 1732, of Queen's-college in Oxford, and resided there about a year and a half, only during the publick Act, in 1733, he retired from the college, his modesty not permitting him to assist at that solemnity, in which it is usual for the academical nobles to pronounce exercises in publick*. Tender as he was, yet, fired with the example of his ancestors, many of whom had signalized themselves in the wars, in 1734 he went a volunteer into the French army, then under the command of his uncle the Duke of Berwick [*NN*], in Germany, whom he served as

Aid

[*NN*] He served a campaign with the Duke of Berwick.] This is mentioned by Lord Orrery, now Earl of Cork, a relation and particular acquaintance of this young nobleman, as well as an executor of his father's will, and who after his death published a poem sacred to his memory, where he speaks thus of him:

An

Aid de Camp at the sieges of Fort Kehl and Philipsburgh, 'till the Marshal lost his head by a cannon ball from the walls of the latter. This catastrophe put an end to the nephew's campaign. The next year, intending to try the air of Naples, he advanced in his way thither as far as Rome, where he found his strength so much wasted, that he was not able to pursue the journey any farther. He remained in this city 'till the very last shock of his distemper, which he sustained with admirable fortitude and resignation, saying, *he would ride out the storm in the chair where he sat.* He died October 30, 1735, at Rome (cc); but his body was brought into England, and after lying in state at Buckingham-house, was conveyed to Westminster abbey, with a like funeral solemnity to that of his father, by whose side he was interred. His effigy, curiously done in wax, lies over his tomb in Henry the VIIIth's chapel. Mr Pope wrote an epitaph for him [OO]. By his death, the Sheffield family became extinct, and the whole estate came into the hands of the old Duke's natural son, Charles Herbert [PP]; who taking the name of Sheffield, in pursuance of his father's Will, entered also, after the death of the Duchefs [QQ] in 1742, into possession of the house in St James's Park, which he enjoys with a fair character.

(cc) Of a hectic consumption. Peerage of England Vol. II. p. 148.

An early wit by justest precepts taught,
By arts improv'd, by solid judgment wrought;
That knew no folly and detested ill,
Whose thoughts were great, whose reason was his will.
To highest titles, honours, fortunes born,
He only look'd on fordid vice with scorn;
Steady in youth, resolv'd, yet not austere;
Humane to failings, but to crimes severe.
Valiant in arms France saw his martial fire
Kindling, where Berwick's did in blood expire.

[OO] Mr Pope wrote an epitaph for him.] In these words:

' If modest youth with clear reflection crown'd,
' And every opening virtue flowing round,
' Could save a parent's justest pride from fate,
' Or add one patriot to a sinking state,
' This weeping marble had not ask'd thy tear,
' Or sadly told how many hopes lie here.
' The living virtue now had shone approv'd,
' The Senate heard him and his country lov'd.
' Yet softer honours and less noisy fame,
' Attend the shade of gentle Buckingham,
' In whom a race for courage fam'd and art,
' Ends in the milder merit of the heart;
' And chiefs or sages long to Britain giv'n,
' Pays the last tribute to a Saint in Heaven.'

This last thought is finely expressed by Lord Orrery, who ends his excellent Poem in an address to the mother thus:

' But thou to whose distinguish'd worth 'twas giv'n,
' To form a son an offering fit for heav'n,
' By whose unwearied toil and boundless care,
' Maternal love and never ceasing pray'r,
' Life's rugged path he learn'd with ease to tread,
' To bear death's mighty shock, yet not to dread:
' Whose wisdom urg'd him like the lark to rise,
' And though with callous wings to reach the skies.
' Bid him to Fame's eternal temple climb;
' Daring in action as in sense sublime:
' Let this console thee, tho' but short the race,
' 'Twas run with ardour and obtain'd with grace.
' And now far hence remov'd from mortal eyes,
' He sits with seraphs and enjoys the prize.'

[PP] His natural son.] The Duke had taken care of his education, and bred him under a Governour, who was with him at Utrecht, and appointed William Bromley, Esq; a gentleman well known and esteemed for his great worth and abilities, to be this son's guardian to the age of twenty-one years. If he, the Duke, happened to die before him, he left him 5000 l. and in case he should survive his heir, who should die without issue, the whole estate, except the house in the

Park, which likewise he was to succeed to upon the death of the Duchefs. His Grace also left 1000 l. to Mr Herbert's mother, Mrs Lambert. Besides this son, the Duke had also two natural daughters, Sophia and Charlotte to whom he left 1000 l. each, to be raised to 5000 l. in case Mr Herbert should succeed to the estate (63): But what is more unaccountable, the daughters were to be put into his own house, by the request of his wife, and were carefully educated by her, 'till they were sent also by her direction to a boarding school at Chelsey. One of them was afterwards married to Dr Walker, Dean of Buriem, and afterwards to Jeremiah Griffith, Esq; a Counsellor at Law; and the other to Dr Joseph Hunt, D. D. and Master of Baliol-college in Oxford, and after his death, first to Cole an Apothecary at Oxford, and then to Cox, Esq; of Kent, whose widow she now is, and very lately went to Oxford to discharge all the debts of her first husband, Dr Hunt, who happened to die insolvent (64). A rare instance of generosity and conjugal affection.

(63) See his Will, at the end of the second volume of his Works.

[QQ] At the death of the Duchefs.] This Lady did not only procure to be written a character of her husband, but also wrote her own character, which was published after her death, and is as follows: ' She was daughter of King James II, and of the Countess of Dorchester, who inherited the integrity and virtue of her father with happier fortune. She was married first to James Earl of Anglesea, and secondly to John Sheffield Duke of Bucks and Normanby. With the former she exercised the virtues of patience and suffering, as long as there was any hopes of doing good by either; with the latter, all other conjugal virtues. The man of finest sense and sharpest discernment she had the happiness to please, and in that found her only pleasure. When he died it seemed as if his spirit was only breathed into her; to fulfil what he had begun to perform, what he had concerted, and to preserve and watch over what he had left his only son; in the care of whose health, the forming of whose mind, and the improvement of whose fortune, she acted with the conduct and sense of the father, softened, but not overcome, with the tenderness of the mother. Her understanding was such as must have made a figure had it been in a man, but the modesty of her sex threw a veil over it's lustre, which nevertheless suppressed only the expression, not the exertion of it; for her sense was not superior to her resolution, which when once she was in the right, preserved her from making it only a transition to the wrong, the frequent weakness even of the best women. She often followed wife counsel, but sometimes went before it, always with success. She was possessed of a spirit, which assisted her to get the better of those accidents which admitted of any redress, and enabled her to support outwardly with decency and dignity those which admitted of none, yet melted inwardly, through almost her whole life, at a succession of melancholy and affecting objects, the loss of all her children, the misfortunes of relations and friends public and private, and the death of those who were dearest to her. Her heart was as compassionate as it was great; her affections warm even to solicitude; her friendship not violent or jealous, but rational and persevering. Her gratitude equal and constant to the living, to the dead, boundless and heroic. What person soever she found worthy of her esteem, she would not give up for any power on earth, and

(64) From private information, this year, 1760.

the greatest on earth whom she could not esteem, obtained from her no farther tribute than decency. Her good will was wholly directed by merit, not by accident, not measured by the regard they professed for her own deserts, but by her idea of theirs; and as there was no merit which she was not able to imitate, there was none which she could envy. Therefore her conversation was as far from detraction, as her opinion was from prejudice or prepossession. As her thoughts were her own, so were her words, and she was as sincere in uttering her judgment as she was impartial in forming it. She was a safe companion, many were served, none ever suffered by her acquaintance? inoffensive when provoked, when unprovoked not stupid, but the moment her enemy ceased to be hurtful, she could cease to act as an enemy, and indeed when forced to be so, the more a finished one for having been long a making, and her proceeding with ill people was more in a calm and steady course like justice, than in quick and passionate onsets, like revenge. As for those of whom she only thought ill, she considered them not so much as once to wish them ill; of such her contempt was great enough to put a stop to all other passions that could hurt them. Her love and aversion, her gratitude and resentment, her esteem and neglect were equally open and strong, and alterable only from the alteration of the persons who created them. Her mind was too noble to be insincere, and her heart too honest to stand in need of it. So that she never found cause to repent her conduct either to a friend or an enemy.—There remains only to speak of her person, which was most amiably majestic. The nicest eye could find no fault in the outward lineaments of her face, or proportion of her body. It was such as pleased wherever she had a desire it should, yet she never envied that of any other, which might better please in general. In the same manner as being content that her merits were esteemed where she desired they should, she never depreciated those of any other that were esteemed or preferred elsewhere. For she aimed not at a general esteem, or a general love, where she was not known, it was enough to be possessed of both where she was. Having lived to the age of sixty-two years, not courting regard, but receiving it from all who knew her, not loving business, but discharging it wholly where soever duty or friendship engaged her in it; not following greatness, but not declining to pay respect as far as was due from independence and disinterest. Having honourably absolved all the parts of life, she forsook this world, where she had left no act of duty or virtue undone, for that alone where such acts are rewarded, on the 13th day of March 1742 3.

To this extraordinary performance there was subjoined the following memorandum. The above character was written by Mr Pope some years before her Grace's death. This coming out soon after Mr Pope's death, gave occasion to Mr Warburton to publish it in his edition of that poet's works, with the following note. We find by letter xix. of Pope's letters (65), that the Duchess of Bucks would have had Mr Pope draw her husband's character, but though he refused this office, yet having in his Epistle on the Characters of Women inserted these lines,

To heirs unknown descends the unguarded store,
Or wanders Heaven directed to the poor.

Which are supposed to mark her out in such a manner as

SHELDON [GILBERT] Archbishop of Canterbury in the XVIIth century, a most generous and munificent prelate, was born July 19. 1598. at Stanton in Staffordshire. He received the name of Gilbert from his godfather Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury; to whom his father Roger Sheldon was then a menial servant (a), but descended from the ancient family of the Sheldons of Staffordshire (b). In the latter end of the year 1613 he was admitted into Trinity-college in Oxford (c): and November 27. 1617. took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and that of Master May 28. 1620 (d). He was elected Fellow of All-souls college in 1622. And about the same time taking holy orders, he became afterwards domestic Chaplain to Thomas Lord Coventry Keeper of the Great Seal, who gave him a Prebend of Gloucester [A]: and finding him to be a man of parts, recommended

not to be mistaken for another; and having said of himself, that he held a lie in prose or verse to be the same, all this together gave a handle to his enemies since his death, to publish the following paper, intitled, The Character of Katharine, Duchess of Buckingham and Normanby, as written by him; to which, in vindication of the deceased Poet, we have subjoined a letter to a friend, that will let the reader fully into the history of the writing and publishing of this extraordinary character. That part of the letter which relates to this affair is as follows:

To James Moyser, of Beverly, Esq;

Bath, July 11, 1743.

I come now to answer your friend's question; the whole of what he has heard of my writing a character of the old Duke of Bucks, is untrue, I don't remember even to have seen it in MS. nor ever to have seen the pedigree, otherwise than after the Duchess had printed it with the Will, and sent one to me, as I suppose she did to all her acquaintance. I don't wonder it should be reported I writ that character, after a story which I will tell you in your ear, and to yourself. There was another character written of her Grace by herself (with what help I know not) but she shewed it to me in her blots, and pressed me by all the adjurations of friendship to give her my sincere opinion of it. I acted honourably and did so. She seemed to take it patiently, and upon many exceptions which I made, engaged me to take the whole, and to select out of it just as much as I judged might stand, and return her the copy. I did so. Immediately she picked a quarrel with me, and we never saw each other in five or six years. In the mean time she shewed this character (as much as was extracted of it in my hand-writing) as a composition of my own in her praise; and very probably it is now in the hands of Lord Hervey (66). By this last passage, compared with what Mr Warburton observes, that the character was published by Mr Pope's enemies, we are led to fix the writing of it upon his Lordship, who, it is well known, was one of the chief of Mr Pope's enemies. The Duchess was interred by her own particular direction, with at least equal funeral pomp to that of her husband and son; and by the same direction, her effigies in wax-work, adorned with jewels, stands in Henry VIIIth's chapel, in a case, which includes that also of her daughter, Sophia Katharina Henrietta Sheffield standing by her side. In the description of his house, the Duke takes notice of the particular care that was taken in contriving it, so as to prevent all noise over his wife's head during the mysteries of Lucina. It has been said, that he retained an eminent Physician, particularly skilled in that part of the art, at a large annual stipend, and at his death erected a most sumptuous monument (67) to his memory in Westminster-Abbey, with an inscription written by himself. 'Tis of his own conduct to this gentleman he speaks in his Essay on Vulgar Errors, where he recommends a salary for life as a better method than fees. I almost doubt whether the whole profession is generally here accused both of want of honesty and skill, only to render the exception more conspicuous. This, says he, is only the case in general, for I doubt not but some Physicians are abler and honestier than the rest; and I have myself had the experience of one, whose skill, honesty, and friendship, has recovered the most valuable part of my family out of dangers in which we have almost despaired of success, and restored her to perfect health.

(66) Pope's Works, by Warburton, Vol. VIII.

(67) It yields to none there, either for invention or execution.

(65) See remark [M M].

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1162. and Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire, p. 273.

(b) From the Archbishop's Epitaph.

(1) Dr Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 741.

[A] Who gave him a Prebend of Gloucester.] He was install'd into it February 26. 1632. (1)—The Lord Keeper exceedingly esteemed him, and used his service not only in all matters relating to the Church, but

(c) Wood, ibid. (d) Idem Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 203, 216.

(e) Wood, Ath. col. 1163.

(f) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. 1. p. 620.

(g) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Protestant Bishops, Lond. 1720, 8vo. Part 1. p. 177.

(h) Wood, Fasti, Vol. 1. col. 243 and 260.

(i) Wood, Hist. & Antiq Univ. Oxon. l. ii. p. 176.

(k) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753, 8vo. Vol. 1. p. 247.

recommended him to King Charles I. as a person well vers'd in political affairs (e). On the 2d of May 1633, he was presented by his Majesty to the Vicarage of Hackney in Middlesex, void by the promotion of David Dolben to the bishoprick of Bangor (f). He was also Rector of Ickford in Buckinghamshire; and Archbishop Laud gave him the Rectory of Newington in Oxfordshire (g). Having proceeded Bachelor of Divinity November 11. 1628. he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity June 25, 1634, as a compounder (h). In March 1635, he was elected Warden of All-souls-college (i). And being esteemed a learned man (k), was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to the King; became afterwards Clerk of his Closet; and was designed by him to be made Master of the Savoy Hospital, and Dean of Westminster: but his settlement in them was prevented by the civil wars (l). During these, he firmly adhered to the King, and was one of the Chaplains whom his Majesty sent for, to attend his Commissioners, at the Treaty of Uxbridge, in February 1644, for their devotions, and for the other service of the Church, as the management of the treaty requir'd; which could not be foreseen (m). He argued there so earnestly in favour of the Church of England, as drew upon him the envy and resentment of the Parliamentarians, which they made him afterwards sufficiently feel (n). In April 1646, he was attending the King at Oxford, and witness to a remarkable vow made by his Majesty [B], of which an account is given in the note. He also attended in 1647, as one of his Majesty's Chaplains, at Newmarket, and other places (o). The 30th of March, he was ejected from his Wardenship of All souls college, by the Parliamentary visitors; who forcibly took possession of his lodgings, April 13 and imprison'd him (p), with Dr Hammond, in Oxford, and elsewhere; to the end that their eminency in the university might not hinder the intruders and rebels proceedings, and to keep them from attending on the King at the treaty in the isle of Wight (q). He remained confin'd above six months, and then the Reforming Committee set him at liberty, October 24. 1648, upon condition that he should never come within five miles of Oxford; that he should not go to the King in the isle of Wight; and that he should give security to appear before them, at fourteen days warning whenever cited (r). Upon his release, he retir'd to Saelston in Derbyshire, and among the rest of his friends in Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire; whence, from his own purse, and from collections made by him amongst the Royalists, he sent constant supplies of money to King Charles II. abroad, and follow'd his studies and devotions 'till matters tended to a happy Restoration. J Palmer, the intruder into his Wardenship, dying March 4. 1659 60; he became of course Warden again, without however taking repossession, and continued so 'till the January following (s). He became then also possess'd of the Mastership of the Savoy [C], which he kept 'till 1663. On King Charles the Second's return, he met his Majesty at Canterbury, and was soon after made Dean of the Chapel royal; as also, upon bishop Juxon's translation to Canterbury, advanced in his room to the Bishopric of London, and consecrated October 28 1660 (t) [D]. But in effect he governed the whole Province of Canterbury, by reason of Archbishop Juxon's great age and infirmities (u). He was likewise sworn a privy Counsellor (w). In 1661, the famous Conference between some of the Episcopal Clergy and Presbyterian Divines, concerning alterations to be made in the Liturgy, was held at his lodgings in the Savoy [E]. His conduct there and afterwards, is blamed by the Presbyterians [F]. While he

(l) Wood, Ath. ut supras.

(m) Lord Clarendon's Hist. edit. 1731, 8vo. Vol. IV. p. 583.

(n) Cl. G. Richardson's Contin. Gotwini Commentariorum de Præfultibus, edit. 1741, p. 163.

(o) Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. V. p. 20. and Parliamentary History, Vol. XVI p. 34, 40, 42, 49, 50, 65.

(p) Wood, Hist. & Antiq Univ. Oxon. l. i. p. 397, 402, 403.

(q) Wood, Ath. col. 1163.

(r) Wood, Hist. & Antiq. L. i. p. 413.

(s) Wood, Ath. col. 1163. and Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. col. 176. and Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 221.

(t) Le Neve, as above, p. 180.

(u) Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719, p. 207.

(w) Wood, Ath. col. 1163.

was

but in many other businesses of importance, in which that Lord was nearly concerned. The Earl of Clarendon, from whom we have this particular, adds †, that when Dr Sheldon was afterwards Warden of All-Souls college in Oxford, he then was looked upon, as very equal to any preferment the Church could yield, or hath since yielded unto him; and Sir Francis Wenman would often say, when the Doctor resorted to the conversation at the Lord Falkland's house, as he frequently did, that 'Dr Sheldon was born, and bred to be Archbishop of Canterbury.'

[B] *And witness to a remarkable vow made by his Majesty.* It was first made public by Mr Echard (2), who gives this account of the occasion of making it,

— 'In the midst of these uncommon difficulties, the pious King, as it were reflecting upon his concessions relating to the Churches of Scotland and England, and being extremely tender in case of sacrilegious encroachments, wrote and signed this extraordinary vow, which was never yet published. I do here promise and solemnly vow, in the presence and for the service of almighty God, that if it shall please the divine Majesty, of his infinite Goodness to restore me to my just kingly rights, and to re-establish me in my throne, I will wholly give back to his Church all those Impropriations which are now held by the Crown; and what lands soever I do now, or should enjoy, which have been taken away either from any Episcopal see, or any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, from any Abby, or other religious house. I likewise promise for hereafter to hold them from the Church, under such reason-

able Fines and Rents as shall be set down by some conscientious persons, whom I propose to chuse with all uprightness of heart, to direct me in this particular. And I most humbly beseech God to accept of this my Vow, and to blefs me in the design I have now in hand, through Jesus Christ our Lord Amen.

CHARLES R.

Oxford, April 13. 1646.'

This is a true Copy of the King's Vow, which was preserv'd thirteen years under ground, by me

1660. Aug. 21.

Gilb. Sheldon.

[C] *He became then also possess'd of the Mastership of the Savoy.* The famous Conference, between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Divines, in 1661, was holden in his lodgings there; and thence came to be distinguish'd by the Name of the *Savoy-Conference*. See below note [E].

[D] *And consecrated October 28. 1660.* His *Congé d'essire* bears date Sepremb. 28. And he was elected October the 9th, confirm'd the 23d and install'd by proxy November 3d (3).

[E] *In 1661, the famous Conference—concerning alterations to be made in the Liturgy, was held at his lodgings in the Savoy.* At the first meeting of the Commissioners, Bishop Sheldon told the Presbyterian Divines, 'That not the Bishops, but *They*, had been seekers of the Conference, and desir'd Alterations in the Liturgy; Therefore, there was nothing to be done

(2) Le Neve, &c. as above, p. 180. from the Bishop's Register, and Burnet's Register and Chronicle, p. 393.

† Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, edit. 1759, Vol. 1. 8vo. p. 49 and of the folio edit. p. 25.

(3) In the Appendix to his History of England, p. 5.

(*) *Idem*, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* L. ii. p. 284.

(y) Wood, *Ath. col.* 1163, 1164, and Le Neve, as above, p. 182, 195.

(z) Le Neve, p. 87, 194.

(a) Echard's *Hist. of England*, edit. 1707, fol. Vol. III. p. 142.

was Bishop of London, he gave fifty pounds to Christ's-church in Oxford, towards repairing several damages which it had sustained during the civil wars (x). In 1663 he was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury [G], vacant by the death of Archbishop Juxon. As he had spent large sums upon his episcopal houses whilst he was bishop of London [H], so did he now upon his archiepiscopal; particularly upon his palace at Lambeth, where he rebuilt the Library (y), after having recovered the books belonging thereto from the university of Cambridge. He also made an addition to it of several Books (z). But his most sumptuous and considerable work, was the magnificent Theatre at Oxford [I], erected at his sole expence; which was opened with great solemnity July 9. 1669. In 1665, during the time of the great Plague, he firmly continued at Lambeth, notwithstanding the extremity of the danger, and with his diffusive charity preserved great numbers alive that would otherwise have perished. Also by his affecting letters to all the Bishops, he procured great sums to be return'd out of all parts of his province (a). The same year, he was one of those who promoted the Corporation, or Five-mile-act (b). He is said to have advised, among others, the removal of Lord Chancellor Clarendon (c) [K]: And, in his room, he was elected, December 20. 1667, Chancellor of the university

(b) Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 315.

(c) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 354.

'done 'till they had brought in all that they had to say against it in writing, and all the additional Forms and Alterations which they desir'd.' The Ministers moved for an Amicable Conference, according to the Commission, as thinking it more likely to contribute to dispatch, and to the answering the great end: Whereas, writing would be a tedious endless business, and prevent that familiarity and acquaintance with each others minds, which might facilitate concord. But Bishop Sheldon absolutely insisted upon it, 'That no thing should be done 'till all Exceptions, Alterations and Additions, were brought in at once.' And after some debate, it was agreed, 'That they should bring in all their Exceptions at one time, and all their Additions at another time (4).' — During the course of that Conference the Bishop did not appear often, and engag'd not in all the disputation, and yet was well known to have a principal hand in disposing of all such affairs (5).

[F] *His conduct there, and afterwards, is blamed by the Presbyterians.* They accuse him of too much rigidness; and tell the following stories of him. — 'In the convocation holden in 1661. Dr Allen of Huntingdonshire, clerk in that convocation, laboured with Him, to have the Liturgy so reformed, as that no sober man might make exception. But Bishop Sheldon desir'd him to forbear; "for, what should be, was concluded on, or resolv'd." (6) — Likewise, That when the Lord Chamberlain Manchester told the King, while the Act of Uniformity was under debate, 'He was afraid the terms of it were so rigid, that many of the Ministers would not comply with it;' The Bishop, then present, replied, 'I am afraid, they will.' — Moreover, that he should say, 'Now we know their minds, we'll make them all Knaves if they conform (7).'

Upon its being debated in Council, in August 1662, Whether the Act of Uniformity should be punctually executed on the 24th of that month, or suspended for a while: Our Bishop pressed the execution of it. 'England, said he, was accustomed to obey laws: So while they stood on that ground, they were safe, and needed fear none of the dangers that seemed to be threatened: He also undertook to fill all the vacant pulpits, that should be forsaken in London, better and more to the satisfaction of the people, than they had been before: And he seemed to apprehend, that a very small number would fall under the deprivation, and that the gross of the party would conform. On the other hand, those who led the party took great pains to have them all stick together (8).' — Bishop Parker relates this matter somewhat more fully (9). — 'The Council, faith he, being held, Bishop Sheldon came of his own accord (for he was not yet called to the Privy-Council) and pleaded for the Law, with that sharpness of wit, that copious eloquence, and that weight of reason, that he did not so much persuade, as command, the assent of the King, the Duke, the Council, and all that were present, and almost even the petitioners themselves to his opinion. He told them, that the suspension of the law came almost too late, that by the command of that law he had ejected all who had not obey'd it in his diocese the Sunday before, by which he had so provok'd their anger and hatred, that if they were again restor'd, he should not live

henceforward in a society of Clergy, but in the jaws of his enemies; neither could he dare to contradict a law that was passed with so great approbation of all good men, so general a consent of Parliament, and with so much deliberation. And further, that if at that time so sacred a Law should be repealed, it would expose the lawgivers to the sport and scorn of the faction. And lastly, that the State and Church would never be free from disorders and disturbances, if factious men could extort whatever they desir'd by their impudence and importunity.'

Our Prelate is also blamed by the Presbyterians, for a circular Letter sent by him to his suffragans, in 1670, for promoting the execution of the Conventicle-act (10).

But a person highly provok'd, and very much injur'd, as he certainly had been, could not act with that coolness about matters which he thought of the utmost Importance, as his natural temper would have prompted him to. And, after all, are his sufferings to be absolutely forgotten?

[G] *In 1663. he was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.* The *congé d'elire* was granted July 14. and he was elected August 11. and confirm'd the 31st of that month.

[H] *As he had spent large sums upon his episcopal houses whilst he was bishop of London, &c.* He paid to the Lord Petre, for the purchase of London-house in Aldersgate-street, 5200 l. to serve as a Town-house to himself and successors, in the room of his palace at the North-west corner of St Paul's church-yard, which had been destroyed by the great Fire. — And he laid out on the repairs of his houses at Fulham, Lambeth, and Croydon, 4500 l. (11).

[I] *But his most sumptuous and considerable work was the magnificent Theatre at Oxford.* The learned and ingenious Dr Lowth, justly celebrates his Munificence displayed in that noble edifice, in these elegant words. — 'Quid denique hoc ipsum *Theatrum*, Viri gravissimi atque sanctissimi Gilberti Sheldoni Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi singulari constructum Munificentia? munus dignum auctore, — quod cum intueor et circumspicio, videor mihi in ipsa Roma, vel in mediis Athenis, antiquis illis et cum maxime florentibus, versari; nisi quod, fidenter hoc dico, neque Roma neque Athenæ tale tantumque Gymnasium Musis et Apollini suo consecratum unquam habuerunt — (12).

[K] *He is said to have advised, among others, the removal of Lord Chancellor Clarendon:* Our author for this particular, is Bishop Burnet (13); though indeed his words are not very clear, but rather ambiguous. After saying, that King Charles II. had resolved to take the Seals from Lord Clarendon; he goes on thus. — 'The King said to the Lord Lauderdale, that he had talked of the matter with Sheldon; and that he (14) convinced him, that it was necessary to remove Lord Clarendon from his post. And, as soon as it was done, the King sent for Sheldon, and told him what he had done. But he answered nothing. When the King insisted to oblige him to declare himself, he said, "Sir, I wish you would put away this woman that you keep." The King upon that replied sharply, why had he never talked to him of that sooner, but took this occasion now to speak of it. Lauderdale told me, he

(10) See *Complete History*, Vol. III. p. 281. and Calamy's *Abridgment*, Vol. I. p. 328.

(11) Le Neve, as above, p. 193.

(12) Lowth *Oration* *Crewiana*, inter *Prælectiones Academicas*, p. 362.

(13) *History of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 354.

(14) Q. Who, the King, or Archbishop Sheldon?

(4) Calamy's *Abridgment of R. Baxter's Life*, edit. 1713, Vol. I. p. 153, 154.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 171. See also Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 251.

(6) Calamy, *ubi supra*, p. 159.

(7) Calamy, p. 171.

(8) Burnet's *Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I. p. 268.

(9) *Hist. of his own Time*, p. 29.

(d) Wood, Ath. col. 1163, and Hist. & Ant. q. Univ. Oxon. L. ii. p. 1144.

(e) Burnet, ubi supra, p. 355.

(f) Le Neve, as above, p. 185.

versity of Oxford (d). The same year, he lost the King's confidence for advising him to put away his mistress Barbara Villiers, and could never recover it again (e). On the 31st of July 1669, he resigned the place of Chancellor of the university of Oxford, and retired from public business; with the inward satisfaction of having served the university with as much affection, and a munificence almost equal to any of his predecessors (f). For the last years of his life, he resided chiefly at his palace of Croydon (g). Having filled the see of Canterbury with great honour and reputation for above fourteen years, he dyed at Lambeth, November 9. 1677, in the eightieth year of his age; and, according to his own direction, was buried in Croydon-church in Surrey (b): where a stately monument was soon after erected to his memory [L], by his nephew and heir Sir Joseph Sheldon, then lately Lord Mayor of London, son of his elder brother Ralph Sheldon of Stanton (i). His works of piety and charity were many [M]. And the rest of his character is given below [N]. He never published any thing but 'A Sermon preached be-

(g) Compleat History, as above, Vol. III. p. 318.

(b) Le Neve, p. 190.

(i) Wood Ath. as above, col. 1163.

' fore

' he had all this from the King: And that the King and Sheldon had gone into such expostulations upon it, that from that day forward Sheldon could never recover the King's confidence.'

[L] *Where a stately monument was soon after erected to his memory.*] The inscription upon it begins thus.

' Fortiter & Suaviter.
' Hic jacet
' Gilbertus Sheldon,
' Antiquâ Sheldoniorum familiâ
' In Agro Staffordiensis natus;

Then, after giving an account of his education and preferments, it goes on thus to his character.

' Vir
' Omnibus negotiis par, omnibus titulis superior:
' In rebus adversis magnus, in prosperis bonus,
' Utriusq; Fortunæ Dominus.
' Pauperum Parens,
' Literatorum Patronus,
' Ecclesiæ Stator.
' De tanto Viro
' Pauca dicere non expedit, multa non opus est.
' Norunt Præsentēs, Posterī vix credent.'

i. e. a man equal to any business, superior to all titles: Great in adversity, good in prosperity, master of good and bad fortune. The father of the poor, the patron of the learned, the watchman, or defender of the Church, &c.

[M] *His works of piety and charity were many.*] Besides what he laid out in purchasing *London-houses*, and repairing his *Episcopal houses*, as mentioned above in note [H], he gave for repair of St Paul's church, before the fire 2169*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* and after the fire 2000*l.*—He gave, for the augmentation of Vicarages belonging to his see, a hundred and forty pounds a year, for which he abated in his fines to the value of 1680*l.* and all the leases being expired when he was made Bishop, upon the renewal of them, he abated in his fines above sixteen thousand pounds more, for the augmentation of small livings.—He expended upon the building of the Theatre at Oxford 14470*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* and gave the university 2000*l.* besides, to buy land, for keeping it in perpetual repair.—He gave for the finishing of All-souls-college chapel, and Trinity-college chapel in Oxford, and repairing Lichfield cathedral 450*l.*—In his will, he bequeathed to pious and charitable uses 1500*l.* Out of which he appropriated to All souls college 300*l.* Trinity-college 100*l.* both in Oxford. To Canterbury-cathedral 100*l.* To the poor at Lambeth 50*l.* at Croydon 40*l.* To St John's hospital at Canterbury 100*l.* and to that of St Nicolas Hasledean near Canterbury 100*l.*—In short, we are assured, that from the time of his being Bishop of London to that of his death, it appeared in his book of accounts, that upon publick, pious and charitable uses he had bestowed sixty six thousand pounds (15). But, according to others (16), he disposed to publick pious uses, in acts of munificence and charity (in his life, or by his last will and testament) the sum of seventy two thousand pounds, as attested by his Treasurer Ralph Snow Esq; to whom he left a legacy of 1000*l.* under

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this distinguishing style, *To my old and faithful servant.*

[N] *And the rest of his character is given below.*]

It is thus drawn by Dr Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who had been his Chaplain (17). 'He was a man of undoubted Piety; but though he was very assiduous at Prayers, yet he did not set so great a value upon them as others did nor regarded so much Worship as the use of Worship, placing the chief point of religion in the practice of a good life. In his daily discourse he cautioned those about him, not to deceive themselves with an half religion, nor to think that divine Worship was confined within the walls of the Church, the principal part of it being without doors, and consisting in being conversant with mankind. If men led an upright, sober, chaste life, then and not 'till then they might look upon themselves as Religious; otherwise it would signify nothing what form of religion bad men followed, or to what Church they belonged. Therefore having spoken to this effect, he added with a kind of exultation and joy, *Do well, and rejoice.*—His advice to young Noblemen and Gentlemen, who by their parents commands resorted daily to him, was always this; *Let it be your principal care to become honest men, and afterwards be as devout and religious as you will. No Piety will be of any advantage to yourselves or anybody else, unless you are honest and moral men.* He had a great aversion to all pretences to extraordinary Piety, which covered real dishonesty; but had a sincere affection for those, whose religion was attended with integrity of manners. His worthy notions of religion meeting with an excellent temper in him, gave him that even Tranquillity of mind, by which he was still himself, and always the same in adversity as well as in prosperity; and neither over-rated nor despised life, nor feared nor wished for death, but lived agreeably to himself and others. From this Tranquillity of Mind naturally arose a courteous behaviour. His Conversation was easy; he never sent any man away discontented; among his domestics he was both pleasant and grave, and governed his family with authority and courtesy.—His Generosity was such, that besides what he did in a private condition, (in which he redeemed the family estate, which his elder brother had wasted, for the children of the deceased,) after he was advanced to the episcopal throne he laid out thirty seven thousand pounds in works of Charity and Piety, and yet managed his own affairs with such prudence, that he left a considerable estate and a great deal of ready money to his heirs, and at the same time bequeathed to every one of his servants large pensions for their lives.'—Bishop Burnet does not give him so favorable a character (18): It is as follows.—'Sheldon was esteemed a learned man before the wars: But he was now engaged so deep in politicks, that scarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dextrous man in business, had a great quickness of apprehension, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleasantness of conversation, perhaps too great. He had an art, that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a most obliging manner: But few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all: And spoke of it most commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to

(17) *Commentarii de rebus suis temporis; or, History of his own Time, book i,*

(18) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 247.

* Very likely, because he did not care so much about it, as Bishop Burnet, and persons of his cast,

(15) Le Neve, as above, p. 192, 193. &c. Wood, Ath. col. 1164.

(16) W. Kennet's Case of Imprescriptions, &c. p. 257.

(k) See Mr Chillingworth's Life by Mr Des Maizeaux, edit. Lond. 1725, 8vo. p. 78—103. and the article CHILLINGWORTH [WILLIAM].

(19) Ibid. p. 192.

'fore the King at Whitehall, upon June the 28th 1660, being the Day of Solemn 'Thanksgiving for the happy Return of his Majesty,' on Psalm xviii. 49. Lond. 1660. 4to. With the renowned Chillingworth he had a great intimacy, and was the chief means of persuading that great man to subscribe the Thirty nine articles of the Church of England (k) [O].

'look on him as a wise and honest Clergyman.'— Elsewhere he intimates (19), that he was a man of no great strictness.

But the Reader will be pleased to remember, That, since our unhappy civil wars, every man of eminence hath born a double character, according to people's Passions and Prejudices.

[O] *And was the chief means of persuading that great man to subscribe the Thirty nine Articles of the Church of England*] Among Mr H. Wharton's MSS. in the Library at Lambeth, there are minutes of a Letter of Dr Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth, (as is supposed) which though printed already by Mr Des Maizeaux, and in the General Dictionary, we shall here present the Reader with, from an exact copy taken from the original by an ingenious Friend. It is as follows ;

'It was in a third person else. I should not have told you what I did

I must deal plainly with you, I am much afraid it will ruin you here and not advantage you at the last day

God forbid I should persuade any to do against his conscience, be in itself good or bad, it must be a sin to him.—

Accordinge] if not against for 'tis accordinge to Scripture that the church hath power to establish ceremony or doctrine if occasion require, not against the Scripture

The end of these general forms of prayer if capable of any construction true against the papists

no evangelical counsells as the papists such as presuppose a fulfilling of the law and going beyond it to satisfy and merit for us that accordinge to Scripture in this sense the article condemns them. consider it well.

No such offeringe of X^e in the Scripture where will you find it once offered for all in that manner they did it against whom the article was fram'd,

taken with all aggravating circumstances of corporal preference. — as if another satisfaction for sin the consequences that may be drawn from transubstantiation will amount to little less than blasphemy

Works done by bare nature are not meritorious *de congruo*. nature of sin they must have if sin be in them and so it is for *malum ex qualibet causa* unless a downright Pelagian You may give it a fayre and [not legible] true interpretation.

Upon these reasons I presume did that reverend prelate Andrews and that learned Mountague subscribe when they publicly taught evangelical counsells in their writings what you have writ to me in a third person—be not too forward—over possess'd with a spirit of contradiction. — thus you may—

On the back

Sheldon's hand-written (I suppose) for Chillingworth.'

The Reader may observe, that these are only half-form'd, unfinish'd sentences, or rather hints ; out of which, in part, Dr Sheldon might perhaps afterwards have drawn up a letter to Mr Chillingworth.

In the General Dictionary, 'tis said, that 'In the catalogue of the manuscripts of Mr Wharton drawn up by himself, we find that one of the volumes (20) (20) MS. M. p. 933. contained *A letter of Dr Sheldon to Mr Chillingworth to satisfy his scruples about subscribing*; but 'we can give no account of that letter, having not seen it.' Upon examination, instead of a Letter, it appears to be only those confus'd hints, or minutes, here given.

SHERBURNE [Sir EDWARD] a learned and ingenious Writer in the XVIIth century, was descended from an ancient and genteel family of his name at Stonyhurst in Lancashire. But his grandfather Henry Sherburne becoming a retainer to Corpus Christi college in Oxford (a) settled there, and had issue among other children, Edward Sherburne, who being made Clerk of the Ordnance, resided in Goldsmith's-rents, near Red-cross street, in the Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, London, where the subject of the present memoir was born, on the 18th of September, 1618. He received the first part of his education from Mr Thomas Farnabie [A] who then taught a grammar-school in Goldsmith's rents:

And

[A] *Mr Thomas Farnabie.*] This gentleman who we are told was the most noted schoolmaster of his time, deserves, on account of the importance of that laborious employment to the public, some further notice. His life was also chequered with a variety of uncommon incidents. He was the son of Thomas Farnabie, Carpenter of London, (2) where he was born about 1575. He became a student in Merton college in 1590. and being a youth of great hopes was made by one of the Fellows, Mr Thomas French, his postmaster, and consequently his servitor (3); but being very wild he left the college, was seduced by the Jesuits, went into Spain, and was for some time educated in one of their seminaries there; 'till growing weary of their severe discipline, he found a way to leave them, and went with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins in their last voyage in 1595, being in some esteem with the former. He afterwards became a soldier in the Low-Countries, and was reduced to great poverty, but found means to be set on shore in the west of England; where, after wandering about under the name of Thomas Bainrafe (4), he settled at

Martock in Somersetshire, and taught the grammar-school there for some time with good success; as appears from hence, that in the year 1646. there was in that town and neighbourhood, many that had been his scholars, ingenious men and good grammarians, even in their grey hairs, among whom it was then reported, that when he landed in Cornwall, his distresses made him stoop so low as to be an Abcdarian, several being taught their horn-books by him. After he had gotten some feathers at Martock, he took his flight to London, and taught a long time in Goldsmith's-rents, as above mentioned; where he had large gardens and handsome houses, with great accommodations for young noblemen and gentlemen, who at one time made up the number of 300 or more. The school-house was a large brick building, divided into several partitions or apartments, according to the distinctions of the forms and classes under the care of the respective ushers allotted to attend them. While he taught here he was made Master of Arts at Cambridge, and soon after incorporated at Oxford. At length upon some disagreement with his landlords, and frequent sicknesses

(a) Perhaps Butler. Mr Wood tells us, he built a house opposite to Merton college, and probably dwelt in it. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 659.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 104, 105.

(2) His grandfather was some time Mayor of Turo in Cornwall, and his great-grandfather an Italian musician. Ibid.

(3) It was then the custom for Postmasters to serve these Fellows from whom they received their places. Ibid.

(4) The anagram of Farnabie.

And upon that eminent master's removal to Sevenoak in Kent in 1636, Mr Sherburne engaged his uther, Mr Charles Aleyn (b), a very ingenious gentleman, who had been bred at Sidney college in Cambridge (c), to instruct his son in his own house. But his preceptor dying in 1640, it was resolved to send his pupil, who was now two and twenty years of age, to compleat his education by travelling into foreign parts. Accordingly he went to France about Christmas the same year, and having visited the most considerable places in that kingdom, was preparing to set out for Italy, when the unhappy news of his father's illness brought him home. The old gentleman did not survive his return many weeks. However upon his death, which happened a few days before Christmas 1641, his son succeeded to the Clerkship of his Majesty's ordnance, the patent being granted to him on the 5th of February following (d). But the condition of the times did not suffer his continuance in this post: Upon the breaking out of the civil war he was found too firmly attached to the King's interest for the designs of the opposite party, and being a papist, was ejected by warrant from the House of Lords, in April or May 1642. He was also committed to the custody of the black rod, and lay there at great expence 'till October, when regaining his liberty, he immediately took himself to his royal master, who repaired his loss in the best manner he was then able, by making him commissary-general of the artillery. In that post he served his Majesty at the Battle of Edge-hill the same month, and attending him afterwards to Oxford, was there created master of arts on the 20th of December. This situation was very favourable to Mr Sherburne's taste and turn to letters, and he made use of the opportunity it gave him to prosecute his studies [B] with advantage,

(b) D. Alexander G. L. was an officer in M. Farnabie's, before he succeeded his father as head Master of St Paul School, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 22.

(c) He wrote two poems, one intitled, The Battle of Gusty and Pouchers, and the other The History of Henry VII. with the Battle of Bosworth. Printed at Lond. 1633.

(d) In Wood's Fasti, col. 18. It is printed Feb. 13 Car. I. which must be a mistake and probably of the press, unless the grant was a revolutionary one.

nesses in the city, he removed about 1616, to Sevenoak in Kent, having purchased an estate at Oxford in that neighbourhood. Here he kept a boarding-school, and taught the sons of several noblemen and gentlemen, was greatly esteemed, grew rich, purchased an estate there also, and another near Hortham in Suffex. Upon the drawing of the civil war he was deemed ill affected to the parliament party (5), and being afterwards suspected to have favoured the rising of the country for the King about Newbridge in 1643, he was imprisoned first in Newgate, and thence put on board a ship, it being then moved in the House of Commons to send him to America; but that motion being at last rejected, he was removed to Ely-house in Holbourn, where he remained for about a year before his death, which happened in 1647. He was buried in the chancel of the church at Sevenoak, with this epitaph over his grave. *P. M. Viri ornatissimi Thomæ Farnabii Armigeri. Causæ olim Regiæ, rei que publicæ, sed literariæ, vindicti acerrimi. Obiit 12, 1647.*

Vatibus hic sacris qui lux Farnabius olim,
Vate carens saxo nunc sine luce jacet.

By his first wife Susan, daughter of John Pierce of Launcells in Cornwall, he had a son named John, who became a Captain in the King's army; to this son he left his estate in Suffex, where he lived in good esteem, dying about 1673. By his second wife Anne, daughter of Dr John Howson, Bishop of Durham, he had several children, one of which was named Francis, to whom he left his estate at Kippington, in the parish of Sevenoak, where he was living about 1700, in good repute. To him we are indebted for several particulars in this narrative, as Mr. Wood informs us, who gives Mr Farnabie for the chief Grammarian, Rhetorician, Poet, Latinist, and Grecian of his time, and tells us, that out of his school there issued more churchmen and statesmen than from any other school taught by one man in England. His memory is celebrated by several authors, as John Dunbar (6), Richard Bruch (7), and others. He published several books at London, for the use of schools, among which are *Notæ ad Juvenalis & Persii Satyras*, 1612. 8vo. *Notæ ad Senecæ tragædias* (8), 1613. 8vo. *Notæ ad Martialis Epigrammata*, 1615. 8vo. Genev. 1623. 1633. &c. in 12mo. *Notæ ad Luciani Pharsalia*, 1618, 8vo. *Index Rhetoricus scholis & institutioni tenerionis ætatis accommodatus*, 1625. 8vo. *Phrasæ ora-*

toriæ elegantiores & poeticæ, 1618. 8vo 8th edit. *Hirilegium epigrammatum Græcorum eorumque Latino versu a variis redditorum*, 1629. 8vo. *Notæ ad Virgilium* 1634. 8vo. *Notæ in Terentium*, 12mo. *Notæ in Ovidii Metamorph. libris 12* 12mo and again in 1677, &c. *Systema Grammaticum*, 1641. 8vo. *Index Rhetoricus & Oratorius cum formulis Oratorii & indice poetico*, 1646. 8vo. *Phrasologia Anglo Lat 80 Tabulæ Græcæ linguæ*, 4to. *Syntaxis in 8vo. Epistola variæ ad doctissimos viros*

[B] He prosecuted his studies at Oxford.] As several others did, says our Antiquary, who, among the rest, particularly mentions Captain or Sir George Wharton, as having a place as well as Mr Sherburne in the artillery at Oxford: we shall therefore take this opportunity of supplying what may be thought an omission in the article of Lilly the astrologer, by the following account, in which will be found some entertaining incidents. Mr Wood informs us *, that Sir George was descended from an ancient and gentle family in Westmoreland, and born at Kirby Kendal in that county, April 4. 1617. spent some time as a sojourner at Oxford in 1633, and after; then retiring to his patrimony, he cultivated his genius for astronomy, being assisted by William Milbourne curate at Baussepeth, near Durham, and published almanacks by the name of George Naworth (9); but upon the growing rebellion he turned all his inheritance into money, and raised a gallant troop of horse in his Majesty's service. After several generous hazards of his person in battle, he was at last totally routed in March 1645, near Stow on the Would in Gloucestershire, where the valiant Sir Jacob Astley was taken prisoner, and Sir George received several scars of honour which he carried to his grave. Upon this misfortune he retired to Oxford to his Majesty, who, in recompence of his losses, made him treasurer and paymaster to the artillery under Sir John Heydon. Here at leisure hours he followed his studie, was entered of Queen's college, and might have been created Master of Arts, but neglected it † After the surrendry of Oxford, he retired to London, and, living privately, wrote several small pieces for a livelihood. But these giving offence to the then prevailing powers (10), he was often seized and imprisoned, as in the Gatehouse, Westminster, Newgate, and at length in Windfor Castle, when, being further threatened, he found a friend in Lilly the astrologer, though his antagonist in that art (a) After the Restoration he became treasurer and paymaster to the office of ordnance,

generously

(a) Our author began the war with an attack upon Booker, in a piece intitled, *Mercurio-calica Massix*: or, an Anticaveat to all such as have heretofore had the misfortune to be cheated and deluded by that great and traitorous impostor, John Booker, in an answer to his frivolous pamphlet, entituled *Mercurius Cæcicus*: or, a Caveat to all the People of England. Oxon. 1644, in 4to. The blow was seconded in his Astrological Judgment upon his Majesty's march from Oxford, 7 of May, 1645, 4to wherein he fell severely both on Booker and Lilly. This piece being sent from Oxford to Sir Samuel Luke (a), Governor of Newport-Pagnel, was presented

(a) This Governor is we know not to be the hero of Hudibras, and perhaps Butler might take the hint of Wharcum's name from Wharton.

(1) When the Protestation was urged in 1641, he said he was better to have one King than five hundred. The design of this Protestation may be seen in Salmon's Chron. Hill. under 1641.

(6) In Epigram. Cent. 6. Lond. 1616. in cent. feat. num. 74.

(7) In libro seu cui titulus est Epigrammatum Hætonoides dox. Lond. 1627.

(8) Owen the Epigrammatist, with whom our author had a friendly acquaintance hath celebrated this piece, in Append. Epigr. num. 10.

* In Ath. Oxon: Vol. II. col. 683 to 686. inclusive.

(9) The anagram of his name. The first six only were printed under that anagram. They were intitled, Hæmonocopies, or Almanacks, and came out in 8vo from 1646 to 1666, and were reprinted in his Works.

† Gadbury by mistake says he actually took that degree. Preface to Sir George's Works.

(10) His Almanacks were seasoned with satirical epigrams, reflecting in the times and persons of the rebels, as he called them. Of the same stamp was his Mercurius Elenchus begun in 1647; and in 1648, he printed a list of those members of the House of Commons, as were officers of the army contrary to the self denying ordinance, &c.

advantage, as far as the duties of his post would permit, in which he continued to serve his royal master with unintermitting fidelity, during the four years of the civil wars. Upon the surrendry of Oxford to the Parliament in June 1646, he went to London, where he was entertained by a near relation, John Povey, Esq; at his chambers in the Middle Temple. He was now reduced to the state of a perfect philosopher, and carried all his possessions about him, his estate being seized by the antiroyalists, his house plundered, and all his personal effects and household goods carried off, among which was an ample and very valuable collection of books. And he was, even in this privacy, still persecuted with frequent midnight searches, and proclamation banishments out of the lines of communication as a malignant. In this distressful condition he felt the use and advantage of his learning; to this dernier resort he recurred, and had now the happiness to meet with his kinsman the learned and ingenious Thomas Stanley, Esq; who was a sufferer in the same cause, and had taken up his residence in chambers near those of Mr Povey. This was the first time they had seen one another (e), and the enjoyment became exquisite, by an unreserved communication and a lucky affinity of studies. Our author had not long finished a collection of poems and translations, upon which this friend wrote an excellent copy of commendatory verses [C]; when Sir George Savile, afterwards Marquis of

(e) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 284.

presented to Lilly, who published an answer to it, together with his *Starry Messenger*, the same year (b). In return to which, Sir George, in his Almanack for that year, called Lilly an *impudent and senseless fellow*. Hereupon Lilly, who had been more inclined before to the interests of the King, now devoted himself entirely to the Parliament, and made reprisals upon Sir George, in his Almanack for the same year; wherein, from the King's nativity, he predicted his fatal overthrow at Naseby, in these words: *If now [in June] we fight, a victory stealeth upon us* (c). Sir George concluded the contest by a general storm, in a piece intituled, *Merlini Anglici Errata: or, The Errors, Mistakes, &c. of Mr William Lilly's new Ephemeris for 1647*, printed in that year.

(b) Lilly's History of his own Life, p. 45. Lilly is Butler's Sidrophel, who, upon the approach of Hudibras, accosts his man thus:

Whacum, quoth he, look yonder, some
To try or use our art are come. Hud. Part III. Cant. iii. l. 488, 489.

Upon which Dr Grey observes, that Lilly being acquainted with Luke, from thence, and the Knight's figure, he might well know him at a distance.

(c) Ibid. p. 46.

generously repaid Lilly's courtesy, and out of the gains of his place having raised money to purchase an estate, he was created a Baronet, by patent dated December 31, 1677, which title descended to his son and heir, Sir Polycarp Wharton. He died at his house in Enfield, Middlesex, August 12, 1681, leaving behind him the character of a most loyal and generous cavalier, says Mr Wood, who further tells us, that Sir George was always esteemed the best astrologer that wrote the Ephemerides of his time, and went beyond Lilly and Booker (11), the idols of the vulgar; was a boon companion, a witty droll, and a waggish poet. Besides his astrological pieces, he published several others: the greatest part of his pieces were reprinted in 1683, 8vo, by John Gadbury, the almanack-maker, who being born at Wheatly, near Oxford, in 1627, and bound apprentice to a Taylor in that city, left his master after the great fire there in 1644, and having a natural genius to almanack-making, improved it at London, under Lilly, and afterwards set up that trade, jointly with it's consort of fortune-telling, for himself (12).

One of our author's astrological pieces, intituled, *The cabal of the twelve houses*, from Morinus (13), has a recommendation annexed to it, signed William Oughtred, and dated October 16, 1659, in these terms: 'The cabal of the celestial houses, both for the number thereof, and for their signification, most accurately here first described by the learned author, being the grandest science astrological, I do very much applaud and admire, as having not thought that so much reason, and such natural correspondencies, could have been had in divers of these sublime mysteries' We therefore take this first opportunity of acknowledging our mistake in that eminent Mathematician's article (14).

Morinus, or John Baptist Morin, who was born in France, in 1583, was undeniably one of the most infatuated astrologers of his time; he ascribed all kinds of events to the influence of the stars; he even took a disgust to Physic, to which he was bred, because of the uncertainty he found in it, and applied himself to Astrology, as absolutely certain; and it is certain he made a good hand of the trade; for he acquired a fortune of 4000 livres * a year by it, which was a great estate at that time, and had a pension of 2000 livres settled upon him by Cardinal Mazarin. It is worth observing, that he incurred the like ridicule to that of his brother Astrologer Lilly (15). The story is this: Morin having succeeded Mr Sinclair in the post of Regius Professor of Mathematics in 1630, resolved to suc-

ceed him in his bed and money also, the widow being left rich. Accordingly he was upon his way to visit the lady, in that design, for the first time; when he was struck with great consternation, on finding the gate hung with black, and learning from the neighbours, that the person he was enquiring after would soon be interred (16). Surely he had not consulted the stars before he set out, or else he had not cast his figure right.

[C] *His relation to Mr Stanley was endeared by an affinity of studies, &c.* The relation between them probably arose by Sir Edward's mother, Frances, the second daughter of John Stanley, some time of Roydon-Hall in the county of Essex, Esq; descended from the Stanleys of Houghton in Cheshire (17). The affinity of their studies appears from the fruits of them, especially in this interval. Mr Stanley's may be seen in his article; and those of our author are, (1.) *Medea, a tragedy*. Lond. 1648, 8vo, translated from the Latin of Seneca into English verse, with annotations. (2.) *Seneca's Answer to Lucilius his Quære*, Why good men suffer misfortunes, seeing there is a divine Providence? Lond. 1648. The translation is in English verse, and was dedicated to King Charles the First, during his captivity in the Isle of Wight, who most graciously approved and accepted it *. (3.) *Salmacis, Lyrian and Sylvia, Forsaken Lydia, The Rape of Helen, A Comment thereon, with several other poems*. Lond. 1651, 8vo. The first three are translations in verse from the Italian of Preti, the French of St Amand, and the Italian of Morino. The Rape of Helen is from the Greek of Coluthus, and the annotations to it discover an ample fund of learning, which is very ingeniously applied. The Greek poet was a native of Lycopolis in the Thebaide, and flourished under the empire of Anastasius, between 491 and 518. All we have left of him is this poem, and it is no considerable performance (18). However, besides the English version, it has been since translated into French by M. du Molard, and published in 1742, with annotations; and since that, a new edition of the original was printed at Leyden, as I am informed, a few years ago. It was upon these translations, that Mr Stanley complimented his friend, in the verses mentioned above, which begin thus:

Dear friend, I question, nor can yet decide,
Whether thou more art my delight or pride.

(16) Boyle's Dictionary, under his article.

(17) So it is in Wood, but perhaps it should be Lancashire.

* Id. ibid.

(18) Suidas looks on Coluthus as a versifier, rather than a poet; and Rapin observes, that the design is little, the stile trite and languishing, and that the Judgment of Paris is the best thing in it. Reflex. sur la Poetique, Part ii. p. 15.

And

(11) See some account of Booker in Lilly's article.

(12) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 686.

(13) The Latin title is, *Abronomicarum domorum Cabala detecta*. Which ought to have been rendered thus: The Mysteries of the Astronomical Houses revealed.

(14) Viz. in remark [N], note 13.

* About 180 l. Sterling.

(15) See his article, in remark [N] at the end

of Halifax, returning from his travels about the year 1651 or 1652, he was made superintendant of his affairs [D], and by the recommendation of his mother the Lady Savile*,

* The an-...
of the... who
was a very ex-
traordinary per-
son, in the life
of Dr John Ber-
wick.

And the compliment had been first paid by our author, in some verses to Mr Stanley, on his inimitable poems, which were likewise published in 1651. They end thus :

If 'bove all laurels then thy merits rise,
What can this sprig (which while 'tis offer'd dies)
Add to the wreath that does adorn thy brows ?
No bays will suit with that but thy own bows †.

† *Ethica*, p. 154.

The rest of Mr Sherburne's book is divided into what he calls *Luliera* and *Ethica*, the former of which might have been entitled Love Poems, as well as Mr Stanley's, all the original pieces being such ; and in them he has shewn himself a great master of the rhythmus : in the variety of his measures he even rivals Horace. The rest are translations from Theocritus, Horace, Martial, Ausonius, Marino, and some others. The last part is justly titled *Ethica*, as consisting of serious poems both moral and divine. It will not be amiss, as the book is somewhat scarce, to give the reader a specimen, by way of taste, of Mr Sherburne's poetry, as follows :

On Chloris eyes and breasts.

Chloris, on thine eyes I gaz'd,
When amaz'd
At their brightness ;
On thy breasts I cast my look,
No less took
With their whiteness :
Both I justly did admire ;
These all snow, and those all fire.

Whilst these wonders I survey'd,
Thus I said,
' In much suspense ;
Nature could have done no less
To express
Her Providence,
Than that two such fair worlds might
Have two suns to give them light.

[D] He was made superintendant of Lord Halifax's, then Sir George Savile's, affairs.] This nobleman, who was as great a Statesman as any of his time ||, was descended from a family of great antiquity in Yorkshire, some of whom had matched with the heirs of Rochelas, Gother, Tankersley, Rochdale, Latham, and Rusworth, and other worthy families, before the reign of Richard II. About which time Sir John Savile, the legal heir in the ninth generation, married Isabel, daughter and heir to Thomas Eland, of Eland, in the same county, by whom he had diverse sons ; but the line of the eldest failing, the descent was continued in Henry his second son, who marrying the daughter and heir of Simon Thornhill, of Thornhill, had issue by her, Sir Thomas Savile, father of Sir John Savile, Lord of Thornhill, Eland, and Tankersley. This Sir John, besides others, had two sons, the eldest of whom was Sir John Savile of Eland, of whom proceeded the Savile Earls of Suffolk. The second son was Thomas Savile of Lupset, whose grandson Henry was Sheriff of Yorkshire, and of the council for the North in the time of Queen Elizabeth. This Henry, by the daughter and heir of William Vernon, of Barrowby in Leicestershire, had issue Sir George Savile of Thornhill, Knight and Baronet, who by Mary, daughter to George Earl of Shrewsbury, had issue a second Sir George, Knight, who dying in his father's life-time, had issue Sir George Savile, who succeeded to the title and estate ; but dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Sir William Savile. This Sir William marrying Anne daughter of Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal, became father to Sir George Savile (19), the subject of the present remark ; who was probably born about 1630, as is conjectured from the time of returning from his travels abovementioned. He contributed all he could to

bring about the Restoration, and soon distinguishing himself after that era by his great abilities, was created a peer, in consideration of his own and his father's merits to the crown †. In 1668, he was appointed of that remarkable Committee, who sat at Brook-hall for the examination of the accounts of the money, which had been given during the Dutch war (20), of which no member of the House of Commons was admitted. In April 1672, he was called to a seat in the Privy-Council and in June following went into Holland with the Duke of Bucks and the Earl of Arlington, as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary (21), to treat about a peace with France, when he met with great opposition from his colleagues. In 1675, he opposed with vigour the non-resisting test bill, and was removed from the council board the year following, by the interest of the Earl of Danby the Treasurer, whom he had provoked by a shaft of his wit. In the examinations before the council, concerning the revenue of Ireland, in which Lord Widdrington having confessed that he had made an offer of a considerable sum of money to the Lord Treasurer, and that his Lordship had rejected the offer mildly, in such a manner as not to discourage a second attempt ; Lord Halifax observed upon this, that it would be somewhat strange if a man should ask the use of another man's wife, and the other should indeed refuse it, but with great civility. His removal was very agreeable to the Duke of York, who at that time had a more violent aversion to him, than even to Shaftesbury himself, because he had spoke with great firmness and spirit in the House of Lords, against the declaration for a Toleration †. However, upon a change of the ministry in 1679, his Lordship was made a member of the new council (22). And the same year in the consultations about the bill of exclusion, he seem'd averse to it, but propos'd such limitations of the Duke's authority, as should disable him from doing any harm either in church or state ; such as the taking out of his hands all power in ecclesiastical matters, the disposal of the public money, and the power of making peace or war, and lodging these in the two Houses of Parliament ; and that the Parliament in being at the King's death, should continue without a new summons, and assume the administration. But his Lordship's arguing so much against the danger of turning the monarchy by the bill of exclusion into an elective government, was thought the more extraordinary, because he had made an hereditary King the subject of his mirth, heightened with this witty saw, ' Who takes a coachman to drive him, because his father was a good coachman ? ' Yet he was now jealous of a small slip in the succession, though at the same time he studied to infuse into some persons a zeal for a commonwealth, pretending to these that he preferred limitations to an exclusion, because the one kept up the monarchy still, only passing over one person, whereas the other really introduced a commonwealth, as soon as there was a Popish king upon the throne. And it was said by some of his friends, that the limitations propos'd were so advantageous to public liberty, that a man might be tempted to wish for a Popish king in order to obtain them. Upon this difference of opinions, a faction was quickly formed in the new council, Halifax, Essex, and Sanderland, declaring for limitations, and against the exclusion, while Shaftesbury was equally zealous for the latter. When the bill was brought into the House of Lords, Halifax appear'd with great resolution at the head of the debates against it : This so highly exasperated the House of Commons, that they address'd the King to remove him from his councils and presence for ever. But he prevail'd with his Majesty soon after to dissolve that parliament, and was created an Earl. However, upon his Majesty's deferring to call a new parliament according to his promise to his Lordship, he fell sick through vexation of mind, and expostulated severely with those who were sent to him upon that affair, refusing the post both of Secretary of State, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. A parliament being called in 1680, he still oppos'd the exclusion bill, and gain'd great reputation by his management of the debates, though it occasioned a new address from the House of Commons

† By the title of
Earl Savile of
Eland.

(20) The chair-
man was Lord
Breton, who
spent all his life
in search of the
Philosopher's
stone, by which
he ruin'd his af-
fairs ; but was a
man of great in-
tegrity, and proof
against either the
flatteries, hopes,
or threatenings,
of the lowering
Court. Burnet's
History of his
own Times,
Vol. I. fol. edit.

(21) Lewis XIV.
was then at U-
trecht, and they
had some private
instructions re-
lating to the
war ; but they
return'd without
doing any thing.
General History
of England, and
Sir William
Temple's Me-
moirs.

† Burnet.

(22) It was up-
on this occasion,
that he publish'd
the character of
a Trimmer,
which was an-
swere'd by the
Earl of Mul-
grave, in his
Character of a
Tory. See his
article, remark
[N].

|| For that reason
we have taken
this opportunity
of supplying, in
some measure,
the omission of
his article in it's
proper place.

(19) Baronetage
of England, Vol.
1. p. 162, & seq.
edit. 1741.

some time after Mr Sherburne was appointed to attend her nephew Sir John Coventry, as his tutor or governor in his travels abroad. He left England with this charge in the beginning of March 1654, and having visited all parts of France, proceeded to Italy, some part of Hungary, the greater part of Germany, Holland, and the rest of the Low-Countries, and returned about the end of October, 1659, in the dawn of the Restoration. Mr Wood, who seems to have had some personal knowledge of him, tells us, that he made the best use of this tour in improving himself in polite literature, and leads us to infer, that he was a completely genteel scholar. When he put in his claim for his place in the ordnance the next year, the Oxford Antiquary, on this occasion, treats with his usual rudeness (*f*), Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, who, he informs us, though a relation of Mr Sherburne's late pupil, had put another into his place, after his old sequestrators were dead, so that he was obliged to be at the expense of pleading his right before the house of peers, before he could get readmittance. The same historian likewise informs us, that after some time of the King's settlement, Mr Sherburne

(*f*) He calls his Honour a busy meddling fellow. Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 19.

|| Birch's Lives of Illustrious Men, &c. Vol. I.

‡ The Duke of Bucks says, the Prince of Orange had always forbidden his agents ever to trust him with their design. Account of the Revolution, in the Duke's Works, Vol. II.

* This is said to be a sort of trial, before that party would entirely confide in him; and that he was added to the two other Lords, to be at the head of the Commission, by the Prince himself, who could not help smiling, as he owned afterwards, to see him, who came a commissioner to him from the other side, accept to act so low a part so very willingly. Id. *ibid*.

§ He was offered to be First Commissioner of the Chancery, but refused it. General Histories of England.

(23) *Ibid*. where we find him to be one of the bail for the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Marlborough, accused of being engaged in the Association plot by Young, in 1692.

† Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History of England.

to remove him. However, after rejecting that Bill in the House of Lords, his Lordship pressed them, though without success, to proceed to limitations, and begun with moving that the Duke might be obliged to live 500 miles out of England during the King's life ||. In August 1682, he was created a marquis; and soon after made Privy-Seal; and upon King James's accession, President of the Council: but on refusing his consent to the repeal of the tests, he was told by that monarch, that though he could never forget his past services, yet since he would not comply in that point, he was resolved to have all of a piece, and so his Lordship was dismissed from all public employments. He was afterwards consulted by Mr Sidney, whether he would advise the Prince of Orange's coming over, but the matter being opened to him at a great distance, he did not encourage a further freedom; looking on the attempt as impracticable, since it depended on so many accidents †. Upon the arrival of that Prince, he was sent by the King, with the Earls of Rochester and Godolphin, to treat with him, then at Hungerford. In that assembly of the Lords, which met after King James's withdrawing himself the first time from Whitehall, the Marquis was chosen their president; and upon the King's return from Feverham, he was sent together with the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Delamere, from the Prince, ordering his Majesty to quit his palace at Whitehall, and retire to Hull*. In the Convention-parliament he was chosen Speaker of the House of Lords, and strenuously supported the motion for the vacancy of the throne, and the conjunctive Sovereignty of the Prince and Princess, upon whose accession he was again made Privy-Seal §; but in the session of 1689, upon the enquiry into the authors of the prosecutions against Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, &c. the Marquis having concurred in these councils in 1683, now quitted the court, and became a zealous opposer of the measures of the government (23) 'till his death, which happened in April 1695, being occasioned by a gangrene in a rupture that he had long neglected. When he saw death inevitably approaching, he shewed a philosophical firmness of mind, and professed himself a sincere Christian, lamenting the former part of his life, with solemn resolutions of becoming a new man if God would raise him up †. Bishop Burnet characterizes him as follows. 'He was a man of great and ready wit, full of life, and very pleasant, much turned to satire; he let his wit turn upon matters of religion, so that he passed for a bold and determined atheist, though he often protested to me, says the Bishop, that he was not one, and said he believed there was not one in the world. He confessed he could not swallow down every thing that divines impose on the world, he was a Christian in submission, he believed as much as he could, and hoped, that God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not digest iron as an ostrich did, nor take into his belief things that must burst him. If he had any scruples they were not fought for, nor cherished by him, for he never read an atheistical book. In a fit of sickness, continues this prelate, I knew him very much affected with a sense of religion: I was then often with him, he seemed full of good purposes; but they went off with his sickness; he was continually talking of morality and friendship. He was punctual in all his payments, and just in all private dealings: but with relation to the public he went

' backward and forward, and changed sides so often, that in the conclusion no side trusted him. He seemed full of commonwealth notions, yet he went into the worst part of King Charles's reign. The liveliness of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A severe jest was preferred by him to all arguments whatever; and he was endless in council, for when after much discourse a point was settled, if he could find a new jest, whereby he could make that which was digested by himself seem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would study to raise the credit of his wit, though it made others call his judgment in question. When he talked to me, as a philosopher, of his contempt of the world, I asked him what he meant by getting so many new titles, which I called the hanging himself about with bells and tinsel; he had no other excuse for it but this, that if the world were such fools as to value those matters, a man must be a fool for company, he considered them but as rattles, yet rattles please children, so these might be of use to his family. His heart was much set on raising his family; but though he made a vast estate for them, he buried two of his sons, and almost all his grandchildren. The son that survived him was an honest man, but far inferior to him (24, and this son dying without issue male Aug. 31, 1700, the dignity became extinct in this family, and the title of Earl of Halifax was revived in the person of Charles Montague the same year (25).'

The Marquis was twice married, first to Dorothy, daughter of Henry Spencer Earl of Sunderland, by whom he had issue Henry, William, George, and Anne. Henry married Esther, daughter and coheir of George de la Tour*, but died in his father's life time, without issue (26). Anne was married to John Baron Vaughan. The Marquis's second wife was Gertrude, daughter to William Pierpoint, Esq; of Thoresby in Nottinghamshire, second son to the Earl of Kingston; by whom he had issue only a daughter, heir apparent to her mother, married to Philip, eldest son of Philip Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield, and father to the present Earl.

His son William succeeded him in the honour and estate, and married also two wives. 1. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Samuel Grimston of Gorambury in Hertfordshire, Bart. sister and heir to Sir Harbottle Grimston, by whom he had issue George and other children, who died infants in their father's life-time. Also a daughter Anne, sole heir to her mother, and married to Thomas Bruce, son and heir apparent to Thomas Earl of Aylesbury. His second wife was Mary, daughter to Daniel Finch Earl of Nottingham (by Essex, daughter and coheir to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland), by whom he left only two daughters, Dorothy, married to the Earl of Burlington, and Mary, married to the Earl of Thanet (27).

Besides the Character of a Trimmer, the Marquis wrote *Advice to a Daughter*; *The Anatomy of an Equivalent*; *A Letter to a Dissenter upon his Majesty's late glorious declaration of indulgences*; *A rough draught of a new model at sea in 1694*; *Maxims of State*: all which were printed together after his death, and the third edition came out in 1717, 8vo. since these there was also published under his name, *The Character of King Charles II.* to which is subjoined *Maxims of State, &c.* (28) Lond. 1750. 8vo. All his pieces are wrote with spirit and elegance.

(24) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. fol. edit.

(25) See his article.

* Marquis of Gouverneur in France.

(26) As did also George, the youngest, being slain at the siege of Buda in 1688. Mr Wood, in the list of creations of Doctors of Law at Oxford, anno 1683, mentions, by mistake, among others, who were nominated May 23, but never appeared, George Savile, Lord Eland, eldest son of George Marquis of Halifax. Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 223.

(27) Baronetage of England, ubi supra.

(28) These are more in number than those which had before.

Mr. Sherburne met with a discouragement worse than the former: for by the politic reducers of the charge of his Majesty's revenue, he was retrenched from the best perquisites of his office to the value of no less than 500*l. per annum*, and never received any consideration more than what the King was pleased of his own bounty to confer upon him, which was 100*l. per annum*, in compensation of quadruple the loss he sustained. However, being unmarried, and bookishly inclined, he indulged that disposition, and, by degrees, furnished himself with a large collection of curious books, so that his library was esteemed one of the most considerable belonging to any gentleman in or near London (g). 'Twas here that he passed his happiest hours, not without some emolument to the public. In 1675 he published at London in folio, *The Sphere of Marcus Manilius, made an English poem, with annotations, and an astronomical index*. It was intended chiefly for the use of the young gentry and nobility, to serve as an initiation in the first rudiments of spherical learning, and was thought worthy of a particular recommendation by the Royal Society [E]. In 1679 he printed likewise at London in 8vo, *Troades; or the Royal Captives, a Tragedy* (b), translated from the Latin of Seneca, with annotations. About this time he suffered many indignities on account of the Popish plot, and several attempts were made to remove him from his place in the Ordnance, as a suspected Papist. These however proved ineffectual, and on the 6th of January 1682, his Majesty, in consideration of his loyalty and sufferings, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, in his private bedchamber at Whitehall. But being at last deprived upon the Revolution, he retired, and passed the remainder of his days in a devout and studious course of life near London, cheerfully spending his time altogether in books and prayer. It appears from Mr Wood's account, that he probably survived the close of the last century, but how long is still unknown (i).

He had a younger brother, Henry Sherburne, who was also created A. M. at the same time with himself, and was soon after made comptroller of the Ordnance in the army of Ralph Lord Hopton. While he resided at Oxford he drew an exact Ichnography of that city, as it was then a garrison for his Majesty, with all the fortifications, &c. It was done for the use of Sir Thomas Glemham, then governour, who shewing it to the King,

(g) Γαλι Οξον. as before.

(b) He had likewise in MS. a translation of Seneca's tragedy of Hippolytus. He was of opinion, and endeavoured to prove it, that these two, with the Medea before mentioned, were all that were genuine of Seneca.

(i) This misfortune happens from the Oxford Antiquary's carrying on his Work no longer than the year 1700. His diligence in procuring dates to facts is one very useful part of that work.

[E] *His Manilius was recommended by the Royal Society.* Their account is printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 110, in these terms. 'The learned and intelligent author of this work, rightly considering the great importance of the mutual helps which the knowledge of antiquity, and the pleasure of the new discoveries of the present times may afford to one another, thought fit to employ part of his ingenious talent in rendering English this antient poem; the famous author whereof, desirous to inculcate knowledge with delight, was pleased to exhibit to the age wherein he lived, the principles of astronomy in a poetical dress, in which several particulars occur, touching the nature of the heavens and the celestial bodies, that agree with the assertions of some of the most eminent modern astronomers: as the fluidity of the heavens against the Aristotelian solidity of the orbs (28), the position of the fixed stars not in the same concave superficies equally distant from the center of the universe, but at unequal distances in the ætherial region (whence the difference of their apparent magnitude and splendor) (29), the fiery nature and substance of the fixed stars, and consequently their being endued with native lustre (30), and the galaxy's being an aggregate of numberless small stars (31). The poem begins with a succinct indication of the original and progress of arts and sciences, more particularly of Astronomy; of which last, besides what the Englisher hath noted in his not common marginal illustrations, he hath added for the satisfaction of the more curious, a compendious history continued to the time of Manilius, together with a most instructive catalogue of the most eminent astronomers, from the first parent of all arts and mankind itself to this present time. Secondly, the poem being carried on with a description of the mundane system, and the celestial signs and constellations; the former of these our interpreter hath explained according to the various hypotheses both ancient and modern, the latter he hath described by the number of the stars that compose them, their several denominations in most of the learned languages, and as they are distinguished into sacred and profane figures, according to the different uranography of the ancient heathens, and some late christian astronomers. The third part of the poem containing a description of the celestial circles, for the better understanding of these, besides the explanations in the marginal notes, our author hath added a cosmographical astronomical synopsis mostly from

Merfennus, to which is annexed the twelve propositions of Theodosius de Habitationibus in English. And Manilius having touched upon the fiery nature of the fixed stars, this interpreter hath made some further and more curious inquiries about their substance, light, colour, scintillations, number, figure, magnitude, place, and distance from the earth, or rather the sun. In the next place, the planets are enumerated, and the several denominations by which they were known and distinguished by the Ancients. The interpreter hath given in his notes, further enlarging about the nature and substance of the sun, his maculæ and sæculæ (which are likewise represented in a particular scheme) something also being said of his vertiginous motion, magnitude, and distance, as also of the moon and her spots, adding thereto the selenographical schemes of Hevelius and Grimaldi, with their respective nomenclatures; and withal exhibiting a brief account of the nature, substance, structure, figure, magnitude, and distance of the other planets. And because this poem concludes with a corollary of fiery meteors and comets, our author hath in part explained them also in his notes, more fully discoursing in the appendix, of their names, kinds, and several species, their matter, place, and efficient causes, adding in the close a chronological historical table of the most remarkable comets that have appeared since the Flood to this present. Having in the illustration of the whole observed the method expressed by Justinian. *Ita omnia videntur tradi commodissime, si primo levi ac simpliciter via, deinde diligentiori atque exactiori interpretatione singula tradantur* (32). Nor hath the interpreter omitted to inform his reader touching Manilius's life, country, quality, studies, writings, &c. In the doing of which, as well as in composing the whole work, he hath given sufficient proof of his more than ordinary acquaintance both with ancient and modern writings.

He adorns the whole as with many other very fair schemes, so with those of the two hemispheres of the stars, one for the northern and the other the southern constellations, wherein the stars are expressed according to their magnitude, as appears in the scale thereof, inserted in the Southern hemisphere. And the constellations are only pricked out, wherein with Gallucius, the middle way is taken between not placing them in any, or representing them in too dark shadowed figures, as some have done.'

[A] He

(28) This being embraced and demonstrated by Tycho, Galilæo, Scheinerus, and others, paved for a modern discovery.

(29) Many had taken this also for a novel opinion, as being lately asserted and maintained by the famous Kepler, Epic. Astron. l. b. i. and other modern Astronomers.

(30) The proof of this is particularly laboured by Galilæo, who first of the Moderns maintains them to be so many suns, convincingly to our fan.

(31) This was generally thought to have been a discovery owing to the telescope, from the observations made therein by the said Galilæo, Kepler, and others.

(32) Instit. lib. i. tit. 1.

King, his Majesty approved of it, and wrote in it the names of the bastions with his own hand; and as a mark of his favour was pleased to confer upon him the post of his chief engineer, then void by the death of Sir Charles Lloyd. But he did not enjoy this favour long, being killed in a mutiny that happened among some of the soldiers in Oxford, on the 12th of June 1646; whereupon his body was interred the next day, in the church of St Peter in the East in that city (k).

P

(k) Fasti Oxon. col. 19.

(a) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1707; where it is recorded, that he died that year in the 67th of his age.

(b) Preface to Dr South's Animadversions, &c. p. 3. edit. 1693.

(c) Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious, Vol. I. p. 298.

(d) From the College Register. His tutor was John Standish, B. D. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1110.

(1) Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 461, 462. fol. edit.

(2) See Archbishop Whitgift's article.

SHERLOCK [WILLIAM] an eminent Divine, was born in the year 1641 (a), in Gravel-lane, Southwark (b), where his father was a tradesman of good repute, and having a competent fortune, sent his son, a boy of a promising genius, to Eton school, where, being very industrious, he became remarkable for the strength and vigour of his parts (c), so that at the age of fifteen years he was judged fit for the university, and was accordingly admitted into Peter-house college in Cambridge in 1650 (d), where he behaved so well as to receive a particular encouragement in a benefaction arising from a scheme of Matthew Pool's, for maintaining young men of eminent parts at that university in the study of divinity (e). With this advantage he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in the year of the Restoration (f), and entering into holy orders not long after, he exercised his faculty as a curate (g) and commenced Master of Arts in 1663 (h). He continued in the station of a curate till 1669, when he was preferred to the rectory of St George's Botolph-lane, London (i). In this parish he discharged the duties of his function with a commendable zeal and piety, and was esteemed one of the ornaments of the London Clergy [A], but being ambitious to make his character and talents more extensively useful to the Church, he resolved to expose in print the absurdities of the Solifidian and Antinomian Doctrines, which at that time still prevailed among the sectaries. To this purpose he published in 1673 (k), a treatise entituled, *A discourse concerning the knowledge of Christ, and our union and communion with him, &c.* [B]. This attack upon their darling notions

(e) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 256. edit. 1753.

(f) From the University Register.

(g) South's Animadversions, as before.

(h) Birch, as before.

(i) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 354.

(k) The imprimatur is dated May 30, 1673. The second edition came out in 1674.

[A] He was one of the ornaments of the London Clergy.] Bishop Burnet, speaking of the different behaviour of the clergy in those times, observes, that as there were many of that order, whom the heat of their temper and the hope of preferment drove to extravagancies [against the Dissenters]; so there were still many worthy and eminent men among them, whose lives and labours did in a great measure, rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. Such, continues he, besides those whom I have often named, were Tenison, Sharp, Patrick, Sherlock, Fowler, Scot, Calamy, Claget, Cudworth, the two Mores, Williams (1).

[B] Was executed with that boldness which was natural to our author.] The solifidian and antinomian principles, from their first appearance in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (2), took such deep rooting, and spread so wide under Cromwell's usurpation, that they were espoused by great numbers, when our author undertook this treatise, where having shewn wherein the knowledge of Christ consists, the sum of which is, that to know Christ is to understand his gospel, which contains all the revelations he made of God's will; he proceeds to examine another notion of the knowledge of Christ, very distinct, he says, from the former, and that is an acquaintance with the person of Christ, particularly as it is stated in Dr John Owen's book intituled, *Communion with God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, each person distinctly*. He declares, that in the management of it he had carefully avoided all personal reflections; while his adversaries pretended to argue gravely, he had examined their arguments with all possible gravity and solemnity: But however where they plainly toy and trifle, he had so far complied with their humour as to smile sometimes, though as modestly as any man could desire. The drollery of his manner is somewhat entertaining, and therefore we shall give a specimen of it as follows. In order to give his reader a clear understanding of the whole design and contrivance of this doctrine concerning an acquaintance with the person of Christ, he puts every thing into what he calls it's just and natural order. God then from the beginning designed to glorify his justice, and his mercy, and because there had been no occasion either to punish or pardon unless man had sinned, he appointed and ordained sin for the glory of his vindictive justice, and pardoning grace, and accordingly since nothing can withstand the decrees and appointment of God, it pleased God that man should sin; but when he had sinned, God is extremely displeas'd with it, and now his justice must be satisfied; for it is impossible for God to forgive the least sin, without a complete and perfect satisfaction. This falls hard

upon those miserable wretches whose ill fortune it was, without any fault of theirs, to be left out of the roll of election, and who have no way to satisfy the divine justice but by their eternal torments. By this it appears how rigorously just God is, that he will never pardon the least sin, when he can serve his own glory by the misery and confusion of sinners

But this is but one part of the glory of God, to be just in punishing sin; the other is, to shew mercy in sparing and rewarding the sinners. Now here was the great difficulty, how God should be just and merciful too, when justice requires a full satisfaction, and mercy excludes all desert; for the demerit of sin being infinite, no creature can expiate sin but by enduring infinite, that is endless, torments; and those who must be always miserable, can never be the subjects of God's mercy.

To unite these two extremes, and reconcile such contradictions, was a work of infinite wisdom as well as goodness, and it was effected thus: God sends his only begotten son, our Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, to fulfil all righteousness in his life and to make a full satisfaction for sin by his death; for his blood being of infinite value, (as being the blood of the Son of God) would expiate an infinite guilt, and so make a compleat satisfaction to justice, which is more glorified by the death of Christ, than by the eternal miseries of all the sinners in the world, because it discovers the naturalness of justice to God, which is the position to be maintained, that he would not pardon without full satisfaction; that is, that he is so just that he hath not one dram of goodness in him 'till his rage and vengeance be satisfied, which, says he, is, I confess, a glorious kind of justice. But now the justice and vengeance of God having their actions assigned them to the full, that is, (for I can make no better of it) being glutted and satiated with the blood of Christ, God may pardon as many and great sins as he pleases, without fear of the least imputation of injustice; and now a glorious and more comfortable scene of mercy begins to appear, now God embraces sinners as a kind father, and accounts them perfectly innocent in virtue of that satisfaction Christ hath made for their sins; but this is not enough, the law of God must be fulfilled as well as his justice satisfied, we must be righteous as well as innocent, otherwise we may escape punishment but can expect no reward, though I confess I should have thought that Christ had satisfied for sins of omission, together with sins of commission, and as by his satisfaction for our doing what we ought not to do, we are reputed by God as having never done any thing amiss, so by his satisfaction for our neglecting what we ought to have done, we might by the same reason be reputed by

notions being executed with that boldness which was natural to our author's temper, presently

by God perfectly righteous to have done all that we ought to have done, to have kept the whole law; but it seems this was not sufficient, and therefore the satisfaction of Christ is imputed to us to make us perfectly righteous, and this makes the grace of God perfectly free, without any suspicion of merit or desert in us. And now God and sinners may agree very well and walk comfortably together, for though they have guilt enough, and he justice enough to destroy a world, yet there is no danger, since Christ hath satisfied justice: and though he be infinitely holy and pure perfect light, and sinners abominably filthy, yet there is no fear he should loath and abhor them, when they are cloathed with the white and spotless robes of Christ's righteousness; and they are so well acquainted now with the design of God to advance the glory of his free grace in their salvation, that they are very secure that neither their past sins nor present habitual impurities can do them any hurt, but they shall be saved with a notwithstanding their sins (3).

This is in his grave way, but his pleasantry will perhaps be more entertaining to some people. Let us take that instance of it, where he rallies Dr Owen's manner of explaining the notion, that the personal righteousness of Christ becomes our personal righteousness, where though there be an union of persons, yet is there no personal only a legal union; Christ as our Mediator having fulfilled for us all that righteousness which is required of us (4). In shewing what this righteousness is, the Doctor [Owen] having first excluded the habitual inherent righteousness of Christ, or his perfect conformity to the law or will of God, and also his actual obedience to any peculiar law of the Mediator which respected himself inereely, declares this righteousness is that which concerns Christ in a private capacity as a man subject to the law, that is, whatever was required of us by virtue of any law, that he did and fulfilled; which is that actual obedience of Christ which he performed for us. In answer to this, our author remarks first, that it is strange Christ should do whatever is required of us by virtue of any law, when he was neither husband nor wife, nor father, merchant, or tradesman, seaman or soldier, captain or lieutenant, much less a temporal prince or monarch. However, continues he, setting aside this difficulty of proving that Christ did what he never did. Let us consider how the Doctor proves that what Christ did, he did for us and in our stead. And here he makes use of a little reason and a great deal of scripture to as little purpose (5). And to prepare the way for his reasoning, I find, says he, the Doctor much puzzled, and don't wonder at it, to prove that Christ acted as Mediator in those things which did not concern the law of his mediation, and which he did as a private man subject to the law. For he tells us, that of this expression 'as Mediator' there is a double sense, it may be taken strictly as relating solely to the law of the Mediator, and so Christ may be said to do as Mediator only, what he did in obedience to that law (that is only what he did as Mediator, which is a pretty observation) but in the sense now insisted on (that is not strictly as Mediator but as not Mediator). Whatsoever Christ did as a man subject to the law, he did as a Mediator, because he did it as part of the duty incumbent on him who undertook so to be; the meaning of which is, that he who was Mediator, being bound to do such things though not as Mediator, but as a man subject to the law, yet he did them as Mediator, because he was a Mediator who did them; which is just as good an argument as it would be to prove, that every Ambassador eats, and drinks, and sleeps as an Ambassador, because though this be no part of his Embassy, yet he is an Ambassador who does it; which is such an exposition of Christ's mediatorial office as the subtletest schoolmen of them all never yet thought of. This difficulty of Christ's doing the things as Mediator, which did not belong to the laws of his Mediation, required great skill in logic to get rid of: but however it was wisely done to make a shew of saying something to that which cannot be answered. For he was sensible that what Christ did as Mediator, could not be imputed to us as though we had done it, though the fruits of it are; because we were never designed to be Mediators, and the righteousness of a Mediator is as improper to be imputed to those who are not Mediators, as it is to

impute the righteousness of a prince to a beggar; and therefore that the righteousness of Christ might be fit to be imputed to us as our righteousness, he was forced to consider him not as a Mediator, but as a private person subject to the law, who did whatever was required of us by virtue of any law; though this too was impossible, for he could not at the same time act so many different and opposite parts as there are relations and conditions of men in the world. And yet when he thought on it again, he found, that it was not the righteousness of a private person that would avail us, though it were never so perfect, (because we have no way to come at it to make it ours) but only the righteousness of a Mediator, who did whatever he did, for us and in our stead. And so he wheels about again, and tells us, that though what Christ did as a man subject to the law, did not belong to the law of his mediation, yet he did it as Mediator, because he was a Mediator that did it. And thus he is caught in the net and labyrinth of his own making, and the more he turns and winds himself the faster it holds him. 'A Mediator who acts as a Mediator in a private capacity as a man subject to the law.' I shall certainly believe, as they say some country people do, that Logie is conjuring, if it can reconcile such palpable contradictions (6). Our author, while he thus pursues Dr Owen, the then Captain of this new way of salvation, through all the shifts and sophistries of an evasive Logie, with all the nerves of reason and rhetoric, fails not up and down to throw a slight smile upon the under-workmen, who rise not above the character of verbal triflers. These were very numerous, as we have seen above. One of these explaining the riches of Christ in Ephes. iii. 8. sports and toys with words and metaphors in the following manner: That he is rich, because he hath a rich dowry, having all the world given to him as his proper inheritance: 'That he keeps open house, and maintains all the creation at his own charge, and that he hath done this six thousand years, which would have broken him long time since had he not been very rich, and that he does not enrich all the saints, but all of the saints, their understandings with glorious light, their consciences with quickness, pureness, &c. And that after all this vast expence he is never the poorer, that he is not a penny the poorer for all that he hath laid out for the relief of those that have their dependence on him. And that Jesus Christ is generally rich, rich in houses and lands, though he had not a place whereon to lay his head; in gold and silver, in cattle, in all temporals as well as spirituals, and that he hath a great tribute and rent due to him, that is the great Landlord and Owner of all that men possess above and below (7).' Another of the same stamp having published an invitation of young women to Christ, exhorts them to chuse Christ for their husband. 'You must be sick of love, says he, of love to Christ, and let him be always as a bundle of myrrh between your breasts. Christ is *maxime deligibilis*, as the schoolmen speak. He is the very abstract and quintessence of beauty. He is a whole paradise of delights. He is the flower of Charan, enriched with orient colours, and perfumed with the sweetest favour; O! carry this flower not in your bosoms but in your hearts, and be always smelling to it, and shew your love to this lovely Saviour.' These, says our author, are very fine things to persuade young women to accept of Christ for their husband, since they can never expect so rich and advantageous a match any where else. The doctor smiles at these pretty spiritual conceits, as modestly, to use his own words, as a man can desire; so much at least will be allowed, that these precious saints made as bold with their Saviour, as our author has done with them, and upon that account he was induced to give way to the natural bent of his genius with less reserve, in a view of flaming them, if possible, out of that audacious confidence to which the doctrine of an intimate familiar acquaintance with Christ's person, of coming to and closing with him, and leaning, and resting, and rolling their souls upon him, for salvation, had carried them. 'To be a match for such men, required a suitable degree of hardness, and he did not spare to rouse the whole nest of them, with their captain, Dr Owen, at their head, from whom, who he allows to write with learning and subtilty, he descends to the inferior tribe, as Shephard's *Sincere Convert*, as also his *Sound Believer*; Wafson's *Tracts*, viz.

(3) Union and Communion, p. 40, & seq.

(4) Ibid. p. 178.

(5) Ibid. p. 182.

(6) Knowledge of Christ, p. 207, & seq.

(7) Brooke's Riches of Christ, p. 73.

(1) i. e. The Independents; These tenets were generally rejected by the Presbyterians, and Mr Baxter particularly had wrote against them before this, as our author takes notice in the preface to this book.

(8) So he is called by Mr Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 893 to 896. but his true name (which he concealed) was Vincent Alfop. Our author contemptuously calls him the looking-glass maker; but he was undeniably a man of wit and learning. See his article, in this Work.

(9) In the conclusion, p. 534, 535. he excuses himself for taking no notice of Mr Polhill and Alfop, as not worth notice.

presently drew upon him the rage of all those who were writers among the Saints (1) [C]. In answer to whom, he published, in 1675, 8vo. *A Defence and Continuation of the Discourse, &c. with a particular respect to the Doctrine of the Church of England* [D], besides some other pieces the following year, which are mentioned below [E]. Having silenced these Antimoralists (m), it was not long before he engaged in the dispute against the Non-conformists [F]; who taking advantage, from the situation of public affairs, began to be very

(m) He asserts this expressly in his defence of his notions of a Trinity, p. 98.

(1) *Christ's Loveliness*; (2) *The Christian Character*; (3) *The Spiritual Vine*; (4) *The True brazen Serpent*; (5) *The Mystery of the Lord's Supper*; to which must be added, *The Saint's Jewel*; and Dr Jacomb's *Discourse on Romans the viiith*; W. B's. *Christ's personal excellency the object of our love, &c.*

[C] *The Rage of all the writers among the saints.* These were, (1) Dr Owen, in his *Vindication of some passages in a discourse concerning communion with God, from the exceptions of William Sherlock*. (2) Mr Robert Ferguson, a Scotch minister and schoolmaster at Irlington, in his *Interest of reason in religion*. (3) Edward Polhill of Burwash in Suffex, Esq; in his *Divine will considered*. (4) Mr Benjamin (8) Alfop, a nonconformist minister, in his *Antifozzo, or Sherlocismus eneruatus*. (5) An anonymous author, supposed to be Mr Henry Hickman in *Speculum Sherlockianum*. (6) Mr Samuel Rolle, in his *Prodromus, or a character of Mr Sherlock's book called a Discourse, &c.* all printed in 1674, 8vo.

[D] *A vindication of his Discourse, &c.* This vindication was levelled chiefly against Mr Ferguson and Dr Owen (9), who, among other expressions in that discourse, had produced this as strongly favouring Socinianism, viz. That the natural notions which men have of God assure them, that he is very good, and that it is not possible to understand what goodness is, without pardoning grace; whence he infers, that God could have pardoned sin without satisfaction, and consequently that the satisfaction of Christ was not absolutely necessary in respect to God's justice. But that method of proceeding was chosen by him for other wise reasons; several of these are mentioned, in which he observes he has pitched upon such as are most suitable to the design of a treatise against the Antinomians: And in answer to the charge of his adversaries, who had argued from this, that the Satisfaction of Christ could not be the meritorious cause of God's pardoning our sins, if he was obliged to it by his essential goodness; our author asks which of these he will reject, whether he will deny that the natural notion of a Deity, includes infinite goodness, or that the natural notion of infinite goodness includes pardoning grace, when there is a just and honourable occasion for it, or that the merits of Christ's satisfaction, had purchased the grace and mercy of the gospel. The denial of these he declared to be either Atheism, or Socinianism; and blaming his antagonist for charging him with asserting that God's essential goodness obliged him to pardon sin; whereas, he says, that the essential goodness of God, only proves that he may pardon sin without a sacrifice; but not that he either will, or must. As to the nature of justification, he maintains, that our justification and acceptance with God, depends wholly upon the gospel-covenant, which does not exact from us a perfect and sinless obedience, but promises pardon of sin and eternal life, upon the conditions of faith and repentance, and new obedience; that this gospel-covenant is wholly owing to the merits of Christ, who by the sacrifice of his death, hath wholly expiated our sins, and both in his life and death hath given a noble demonstration of his entire obedience and submission to the divine will: For God being well pleased with the obedience of Christ's life, and with the sacrifice and expiation of his death, entered into a new covenant of grace and mercy with mankind; that the only way to partake of the blessings of this new covenant, is by believing and obeying the gospel of Christ; that is, in other words, by acknowledging the divine authority of our Saviour, believing his revelations, obeying his laws, trusting to the merits of his sacrifice, and the power of his intercession, and depending on the supplies and influences of his grace. So that, continues he, the righteousness of Christ is not the formal cause of our righteousness or justification, but the righteousness of his life and death is the meritorious cause of that covenant, whereby we are declared righteous, and rewarded as righteous persons. And as for the meaning of Christ's righteousness being imputed to us, he asserts that our righteousness is wholly owing to the righteousness of

Christ, which in this sense may be imputed to us, because without this covenant of grace, which is founded on the righteousness of Christ, the best man living could lay no claim to righteousness or future glory; and the righteousness of Christ is our righteousness, when we speak of the foundation of the covenant, by which we are accepted: but if we speak of the terms of the covenant; that is, what it is that will intitle us to all the blessings of the covenant; then we must have a righteousness of our own, for the righteousness of Christ will not serve the turn. Dr South, speaking of our author's treatise of the knowledge of Christ, says, it is a book fraught with reflections upon God's justice, with reference to Christ's satisfaction; and that it may deservedly pass for a blasphemous libel upon both. However our author, speaking of this controversy some years afterwards, intimates, that he had confuted his antagonists, and put them to silence; and assures Mr Baxter, that if he had a mind to revive that then old controversy, which his other adversaries had been pleased to forget, he is content to enter the lists once more (10).

(10) Preface to his Continuation and Vindication of Dr Stillingfleet, p. 4, 5.

[E] *Other pieces the following year.* After his Vindication was finished, Mr Danson attacked his former book, in a piece, intitled, *A friendly debate between Satan and Sherlock, containing a discovery of the unsoundness of Mr Will. Sherlock's principles, in a book, intitled, A discourse concerning the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in 1676.* Our author replied to it the same year, in his *Answer to a scandalous pamphlet, intitled, A friendly debate between Satan and Sherlock.* He also wrote *An account of Mr Ferguson's common-place-book, in two letters to Mr Glanvil: and Mr Danson publishing, A defence of the late friendly debate, &c. against Mr Sherlock's exceptions, 1677, 8vo.* our author was defended in a piece, intitled, *A vindication of Mr Sherlock, against the calumnies of Mr Danson, &c. 1677, 4to.*

[F] *He engaged in the dispute against the Non-conformists.* Our author in this dispute, being only Dr Stillingfleet's second; his first design, if we may believe himself, was no more than a short rebuke to some such skulking pamphleteers as those who don't fight with the Doctor's book, but with his reputation, and have no other way of answering arguments, but with picking up some by-sayings, which, with the help of an ingenious comment, may expose the author, and then there is no need of answering his book. Among others, he takes notice of one whom Dean Stillingfleet had charged with having in the first edition of a tract, published in 1675, pleaded for an universal toleration, so as to have it granted to Papists, as well as other Dissenters; but printing it again in 1680, he denied them the liberty of that toleration, because they were idolaters, and only allowed them the private exercise of their religion. The reason of which difference, the Dean supposes to be, that in 1675, they were willing to consent to a toleration, tho' Papists reaped the advantage of it, as well as themselves; but after the Popish plot broke out, they thought it unseasonable to make such a proposal. The passage in the edition of 1675, runs thus; *The Papists in our account, are but one sort of recusants, and the conscientious and peaceable among them, must be held in the same predicament with those among ourselves that likewise refuse to come to common-prayer.* Again, *but as for the common Papist, who lives innocently in his way, he is to us as other separatists, and so comes under the like toleration.* Again, *He is to us, in regard of what he does in private, in the matter of his God, the same as those who likewise refuse to come to common prayer.* Whereas in the edition of 1680, the words are, *The Papist is one whose worship is to us idolatry, and we cannot therefore allow them the liberty of publickly assembling themselves as others of the separation.* Stillingfleet, in his animadversions on this alteration, was very sedate, and indeed cooler than his usual temper. 'Now,' says he, if there be any difference between the public and private exercise of religion. Here seems to be a plain alteration of his opinion; but he says, he explains himself therefore by way of supply, signifying, that

(*) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 461. fol. edit.

(o) Life of Tillotson, as before.

(p) His eldest son was born before this time.

(q) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 297.

very troublesome in defending their separation (n). In answer to those principles, our author published *Reasons for non-conformity examined*, in 1679, 4to. which was followed by *A defence of Dr Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of separation* in 1681, and *A vindication of that defence* in 1683, both in 8vo. In the mean time he had taken the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1680 (o), and been married some few years before (p). He had also been collated to the Prebend of St Pancras in the cathedral of St Paul London, November 3, 1681 (q). After the discovery of the Rye-house plot in 1683 (r), the Doctor observing, that the principles of resistance to a Popish Prince were warmly abetted by some eminent persons, and were also frequently urged in vindication of rebellious practices against the government (s), drew up a set of arguments in support of the court doctrine of absolute non-resistance, which he published the following year under the title of *The case of resistance to the supreme powers stated and resolved, according to the doctrine of the holy scriptures* [G], and he continued to preach the same doctrine after King James II's accession

(r) In a sermon preached at St Paul, h's this year in that occasion, he lays this plot to the charge of the Dissenters but at the same time appears full in the belief of the truth of the Popish plot likewise.

' that what he said at first, should be taken in regard as his meaning really was then, and now is, but fuller expressed (11). We have no way, continues our author, to disprove what his meaning was, but by his words; and if they desired a public toleration for themselves, they did so for the Papists, who were to come under the like toleration; and I think Mr H— might as well have let it alone, unless he could have made a better defence.'

[G] *The case of resistance.*] Our author in defending this doctrine, did no more than concur with the general voice of his order; Burnet and Tillotson, both gave into it (12): And as we have seen, he was not of a disposition to be sparing of his pen; he slept out boldly and confidently, as his manner was, in the open defence of this principle. It will not be amiss, for a reason we shall see presently, to give a sketch of his way of arguing upon the subject. After a short essay to prove it by the common arguments then in vogue, he proceeds to answer objections. The first is, of those who urging, that 'they are bound by no law to suffer against law, suppose, as a late author (13) does, that a Popish Prince should persecute his Protestant subjects in England, for professing the Protestant religion, which is established by law, by what law must he die? not by the law of God, for being of that religion which he approves, nor by the laws of our country, where Protestantism is so far from being criminal, that it is death to desert it, and turn Papist. By what law then? by none that I know of, says the author; nor do I, says the Doctor, know of any, and so far we are agreed: but then both the laws of God and of our country, command us not to resist; and if death, an illegal and unjust death, follow upon that, I can't help it; God and our country must answer for it.' Agreeable to this is his answer to the next objection; that a Prince has no authority against law; 'that is true, says he, but then 'tis as true, that he is accountable only to his superior, that is God alone, and not to his inferior; that being a principle which is contradictory to the very notion of power, and destructive of all order and government.' In the further prosecution of this argument, he maintains that the authority of the Sovereign is in his person, and not in the law: that there must be in him a personal power and authority antecedent to all civil laws, since the law is nothing but the public declaration of the law maker, whether sovereign Prince, or the people. Hence it necessarily follows, that the sovereign Prince does not receive his authority from the laws, but laws receive their authority from him; and this he will have to be the constitution of England, against Bracton's rule, that *Lex facit Regem, The law makes the King*; by which he tells us, that the author means only that he is no King, as King signifies a just and beneficent power and authority, who governs by arbitrary will, and not by law, as appears from his own words, *non est enim Rex ubi dominatur voluntas & non Lex*; not that he is no sovereign Prince, but he is a tyrant and not a King. And hence, continues he, it evidently follows, that the being of a sovereign power, is independent on laws; and the same is evident from the allowed maxim, that the person of the king is sacred and inviolable; but what makes his person so, but his inviolable authority? *In a word, says he, it does not become a man who can think three consequences off, to talk of the authority of laws, in derogation to the authority of the sovereign power.* In the further prosecution of this argument, he declares, that of the long succession of Princes in this kingdom, there had been no Prince that had cast off the authority of laws, or usurp-

an absolute or arbitrary power; whence he shews how vain the fears of those are, who pretend this, only to disturb the public peace. Lastly, in answer to the objection, that granting absolute non-resistance, the mischiefs and inconveniencies to mankind may be intolerable: he declares that no mischiefs, even of the most merciless tyrant, can be so bad as those of confusion and a civil war. And in reconciling the doctrine of absolute non-resistance to a limited monarchy, he observes very curiously, that tho' a Prince may break the laws, yet he cannot make or repeal them, and therefore can never alter the frame and constitution of the Government; tho' he may at present interrupt the regular administration of it: and this, says he, is both a great security to posterity, and a present restraint upon himself; comfort enough (for so he intimates by his silence) for whatever miseries the present race of his subjects may groan under, who must still lie fast bound by the indissoluble iron chain of passive-obedience. Sam. Johnson, a writer well matched for hardiness to the Doctor, in his remarks upon this piece, very shrewdly observes, that the lawfulness of defending ourselves against illegal violence, is a truth so obvious, and so agreeable to the common sense of mankind, that even those men who set themselves to oppose it, do oftentimes assert it unawares, and give unanswerable reasons for it. He then proceeds to set down those concessions, which the force of truth has extorted from our author. (1) *No man wants authority to defend his life against him, who has no authority to take it away*, p. 96. *But no man whatsoever has any just and legal authority to take it away contrary to law*, p. 190, 191. (2) *He that resists the usurpations of men, does not resist the ordinance of God, which alone is forbidden to be resisted. But acts of arbitrary and illegal violence are the usurpations of men*, p. 128, and 211; and in p. 212, he acknowledges, that the assuming of an absolute and arbitrary power in this kingdom, would be usurpation; tho' he says at the same time, that no Prince in this kingdom, ever usurped such a power, which, says Johnson, is notoriously false, for Richard the second by name did, not to mention any other. (3) A third argument, which the Doctor furnishes against himself, is this, p. 164, 165. *The reason why we must submit to Governors, or subordinate Magistrates, is, because they are sent by our Prince, and act by his authority; and we must never submit to them in opposition to our Prince.* Now, says Johnson, nothing is better known in this kingdom, than that those who commit illegal violence, do not act by the Prince's authority; for, as our author says, p. 190. *he himself has no just nor legal authority to act against law*, and therefore we need not submit to them in such acts. Nay, further, according to this author, *we must never submit to them in this case, because they are in opposition to our Prince*; for they act against the peace of our sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, as the law has evermore interpreted such acts. (4) Our author, p. 126. has these words, *Every man has the right of self-preservation, as intire under civil Government, as he had in a state of nature. Under what government I live, I may still kill another man, when I have no other way to preserve my life from unjust violence by private hands.* Now the hands of subordinate magistrates, employed in acts of illegal violence, are private hands, and act with no manner of authority at all; of which this is a most convincing proof, that they may be hanged by law for such acts; which no man can or ought to suffer for what he does by authority: they are no officers at all in such acts; for illegal violence is no part of their office. This, concludes Mr Johnson, is sufficient

(11) Answer to Dr Stillingfleet, p. 7.

(12) See the article of William Lord Russell.

(13) Sam. Johnson, in his Julian.

accession to the throne [H]. However, though he maintained that neither Popery nor tyranny in the Prince could excuse the subject from the duty of passive-obedience, yet he entered with the first into the controversy against the Papists, and distinguished himself by a great variety of performances published on that occasion [I], and he is allowed by his warmest

(14) Remarks on Dr Sherlock's Case of Resistance, printed among Johnson's Works, p. 257, 752. edit. 1710, fol.

cient to shew, that this author holds so much truth, as would have led him to his own conviction, if he had but attended to the immediate consequences of it, instead of blending it with a great many falsehoods (14). These remarks, tho' written in 1683, were not published 'till 1689; and it is observable, that if Mr Johnson had happened to defer the publication a very little longer, he would have seen the Doctor actually led to his own conviction.

We must not conclude this remark, without informing the reader, that *The Case of Resistance* had the honour of being translated into French, by Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon; whose father James Dillon, being reclaimed, when young, from Popery, by Primate Usher, was sent by him into England, and committed to the care of Dr George Hakewell, who placed him in Exeter College, Oxford, under the tuition of Lawrence Bodley, B. D. a nephew of Sir Thomas Bodley: here he continued some years, became a person of several accomplishments, and afterwards Earl of Roscommon in Ireland, his native country. He was succeeded in that dignity by his son Wentworth Dillon, who was educated in all kinds of polite literature: and about the time of the Duke of York's marriage to the Princess of Modena, was made Captain of the band of Pensioners to King Charles the second, and afterwards Master of horse to the said Dukes of York. He published several pieces of poetry, among which his Essay on translated verse is esteemed a master piece; it has gone thro' many editions; to one of which he added a specimen of blank verse, being the battle of the Angels in Milton's Paradise lost. He also translated Horace's Art of Poetry, into English blank verse, printed at London, 1680, 4to. Besides several Prologues and Epilogues to plays, printed with the respective plays; as also divers copies of verses and translations, printed in the Miscellanies, by Jacob Tonson, in 1684; and in the collections of Poems, in 1693, 1694, 8vo. Since which, his works have been printed together, among those of the minor poets, in 1749, and 1750, vol. i. and iii. This ingenious nobleman paid his last debt to nature, in his house near St. James's palace, Jan. 1684, and was buried in Westminster-abbey. To the dignity succeeded his uncle, Cary Dillon, Colonel of a regiment, in the war between King James the second, and William the third in Ireland; from whence going into England, he was seized with a distemper which brought him to his grave at Chester, in Nov. 1689*: And the title has been extinct many years.

* Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 223.

[H] He continued to preach the same doctrine after the accession of King James the second.] In a sermon before the house of Commons, May 29, 1685, he has these remarkable words upon the duty of loyalty. 'To this, says he, we owe the present security and protection of the Church of England: For if there were nothing else to be looked on, yet a jealous Prince cannot but look on and reward it's loyalty; and it would seem very harsh for any Prince, to desire that a religion should be turned out of the Church, which secures him in a quiet possession of his throne; and therefore to conclude, I desire you to observe, that it is a Church of England loyalty which I persuade you to. This the King relies on as a tried and experienced loyalty, which has suffered with it's Prince, but never yet rebelled against him; a loyalty upon firm and steady principles, and without reserve: And therefore to keep us true to our Prince, we must be true to our church and our religion, and it's legal security. It is no act of loyalty to court and compliment away our religion and it's security. For if we change our religion, we must change the principles of our loyalty; and I am sure the King and the crown will gain nothing by it: for there is no such lasting and immovable loyalty as that of the Church of England. I deny not, but some of our Papists, in some junctures may, and have been very loyal; but I am sure the Popish religion is not. The Englishman may be loyal, but not the Papist: And yet there can be no security of those men's loyalty, whose religion teaches them, in any case, to rebel.' Soon after there came out a humorous remonstrance, by way of address from

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the Church of England to both houses of parliament, upon the account of religion, together with some remarks upon Dr Sherlock's sermon, preached May 29, 1685. Wherein the author animadvertes upon this last charge upon Popery, as groundless and uncharitable. In answer to which, Dr Sherlock published, *A vindication of a passage in a sermon before the House of Commons*, where he asserts the doctrine of deposing Princes, on account of their religion, to be maintained by the Church of Rome in her public instruments as a Church.

[I] A great variety of performances on that occasion.] He published more treatises in the Popish controversy, than perhaps any other of the disputants, as will appear from the following list of them. (1) *A Discourse of the object of religious Worship*. (2) *A vindication of the Rights of ecclesiastical Authority, in answer to Dr Whitby's Protestant Reconciler*, both in 1685; 8vo. before the death of King Charles the second. After the accession of King James the second, his pieces are, (1) *Notes on Lucilla and Elizabeth*, 1686. (2) *A Discourse of a judge of Controversies in Matters of Religion*. (3) *Protestant Resolution of Faith*. (4) *A Papist not mis-represented by Protestants, being a Reply to the Reflections upon the answer to a Papist mis-represented, and represented*. (5) *An answer to a Discourse, intituled, Papists protesting against Protestant Popery; being a Vindication of Papists not mis-represented by Protestants; and containing a particular Examination of Mr de Meaux, late Bishop of Condom, his Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, in the Articles of the Invocation of Saints, and the Worship of Images, occasioned by that Discourse*, all these in 1686, in 4to. (6) *An answer to the Request of Protestants, to produce their plain Scriptures, directly authorizing their tenets*. (7) *A short summary of the principal Controversies between the Church of England, and the Church of Rome; being a Vindication of several Protestant Doctrines, in answer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, Protestantism destitute of Scripture Proofs*. (8) *An answer to a late Dialogue between a new Catholic Convert, and a Protestant, to prove the Mystery of the Trinity to be as absurd a Doctrine as Transubstantiation; by way of Notes on the said Dialogue*. (9) *A brief Discourse concerning the Notes of the Church, with some Reflections on Cardinal Bellarmine's Notes*. (10) *A Vindication of the brief Discourse, concerning the Notes of the Church, in answer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, The Use and great Moment of the Notes of the Church, as delivered by Cardinal Bellarmine; these all in 1687, 4to. (11) An answer to the amicable Accommodation of the Difference between the Representers and the Answerer. (12) A Vindication of some Protestant Principles of Church Unity, and Catholic Communion, from the charge of Agreement with the Church of Rome, in answer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, An Agreement between the Church of England, and the Church of Rome; evinced from the concertation of some of her Sons, with their Brethren the Dissenters. (13) A Discourse concerning the Nature, Unity, and Communion of the Catholic Church, wherein most of the Controversies relating to the Church, are briefly and plainly stated, part i. (14) The same, part ii. (15) A Preservative against Popery, being some plain Directions to unlearned Protestants, how to dispute with Romish Priests, part i. (16) The second Part of the Preservative against Popery; shewing how contrary Popery is to the true ends of the Christian Religion; fitted for the Instruction of unlearned Protestants. (17) A Vindication of both Parts of the Preservative against Popery, in answer to the cavils of Lewis Sabran, a Jesuit. The Jesuit hereby procured himself an antagonist that he will be always famous for, who made him this following reply; 'A defence of Dr Sherlock's Preservative against Popery, in reply to a Jesuit's answer, wherein the rev. father's reasonings are fully confuted, by William Gyles, a Protestant footman †.' We are assured by the editor of this piece, that it was brought to his hands by the young man himself, who wrote it, and to remove all suspicion of fraud, or foul play, he professes upon the word of a Christian, that he has committed it to the press, as it was delivered to him by the young man himself, in his own hand-writing, without the addition or taking away of one word, or altering*

† In the second edition there is added, living with Madam H. in Mark-Lane.

(1) Dr South who observes that there is hardly any one subject which he has wrote upon, that of Popery only excepted, but he has wrote to him for it and against it. Preface to South's Animadversions, p. 18.

(2) Bishop Burnet observes, that he was one of the most considerable and eminent among the Non-jurors. Ibid. Vol. II.

warmest adversary (s) to have wrote well upon this subject. After the Revolution he remained for some time under the influence of his former principles, and refusing to take the new oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, was, with other Non-jurors (t) suspended in 1689 from all his preferments: The chief of these was the Mastership of the Temple, which had been conferred upon him in 1685. During his suspension he published his celebrated treatise intituled, *A practical discourse concerning death* [K] in 1690. But before the expiration of the year he complied with the new-established government, and taking the oaths, was reinstated in all his preferments; of which, though forfeited, yet by the lenity of the administration he had not been deprived. Great clamours were raised against this step in his conduct by his old friends whom he had left: Whereupon he thought proper, for the satisfaction of the whole party, to publish his reasons for it, and the piece came out the same year (u), intituled, *The case of the allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, stated and resolved according to Scripture and reason, and the principles of the Church of England; with a more particular respect to the Oath lately enjoined of allegiance to their present Majesties, King William and Queen Mary* [L]. The Doctor having in this book

(2) The title page says 1691, but the Printers begin the year at Michaelmas. And it is remarkable that a piece intituled, a True Vindication of the Rev. Dr Sherlock's Case was published in 1690, against five or six pamphlets; and this imprimatur to his Vindication by himself is dated Jan. 14, 1690 91.

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altering one sentence or line; so that, continues he, the reader will have it just as I had, excepting the falseness of the English, which is pardonable enough in a poor servant, that was very young deprived of his parents, and never had more learning than to read English. However, upon this, I ordered the bookseller to speak to his compositor at the press, to correct the English as he set it.

[K] *He wrote his Practical Treatise on Death.* It has been observed, that our author was as remarkable for his writings in controversial Divinity in his own time, as he will be eminent for his practical treatises in all times; and it may with equal truth be said, that if he had wrote none but this upon Death, it would have been enough for his fame, *satis pro fama*. All his practical pieces were well received by the publick, but they all fall greatly short of this on Death, which has gone through almost thirty editions. I fancy the reader will be beforehand with me, in observing the suitability of the subject to the then present state of the Doctor's affairs, as well as the melancholy prospect he had for the future in this world. Such a situation would naturally inspire thoughts of another world; but such thoughts, and cloathed in such expressions, are then only produced, when a genius happens to be luckily hit with his subject. The whole piece is a compleat instance of the true sublime in writing: And nothing but a genius too could have produced the following, I had almost said, equally sublime description of it:

Thy even thoughts with so much plainness flow,
Their sense, untutor'd, infancy may know;
Yet to such height is all that plainness wrought,
Wit may admire, and letter'd pride be taught.
Easy in words, thy stile, in sense sublime,
On it's blest steps each age and sex may rise;
'Tis like the ladder in the Patriarch's dream,
It's foot on earth, it's height beyond the skies.
Diffus'd it's virtue, boundless is it's power,
'Tis publick health and universal care.
Of heavenly manna 'tis a second feast,
A nation's food, and all to every taste (15).

(15) Commendatory verses by Mr Prior, prefixed to every edition of this piece.

Another genius, speaking of this treatise, writes thus: Dr Sherlock has represented, in very strong and lively colours, the state of the soul on it's first separation from the body, with regard to that invisible world which every where surrounds us, though we are not able to discover it through this grosser world of matter, which is accommodated to our senses in this life; and observes, that our leaving this world is nothing else but the putting off this body (16).

[L] *The Case of Allegiance, &c.* In the preface he declares, 'That he had some of the thoughts contained in the book long before, which he drew up in writing, and shewed them to some of his friends, and discoursed with others about them, and told them where he stuck. But, continues he, stick I did, and could find no help for it; and there I should have stuck to this day, had I not been relieved by Bishop Overal's Convocation book, which not only confirmed my former notions, and suggested some new thoughts to me which removed those difficulties I could not conquer, but also, by the venerable authority of a Convocation,

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gave me greater freedom and liberty of thinking, which the apprehension of novelty and singularity had cramped before.' As the Doctor ascribes his conviction to Bishop Overal's Convocation-book, it will not be amiss to give the following account of that book from Bishop Burnet. 'There was a book, says this author, drawn up by Bishop Overal, fourscore years ago, concerning Government, in which it's being of a divine institution was positively asserted! It was read in Convocation, and passed by that body, in order to the publishing it, in opposition to the principles laid down in that famous book of *Parsons* the Jesuit, published under the name of Doleman*. King James I. did not like a Convocation's entering into such a theory of Politics, so he wrote a long letter to *Abbot*, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, but was then in the lower house. I had the original wrote all in his own hand in my possession: By it he desired that no farther progress should be made in that matter, and that this book might not be offered to him for his assent; there that matter slept. But *Sanctus*, Archbishop of Canterbury, had got Overal's own book into his hands; so in the beginning of this [K. William's] reign, he resolved to publish it, as an authentic declaration that the Church of England had made in this matter, and it was published || as well as licensed by him a very few days before he came under suspension for not taking the oaths †. But there was a paragraph or two in it that they had not considered, which was plainly calculated to justify the owning the United Provinces to be a lawful Government; for it was there laid down, that when a change of Government was brought to a thorough settlement, it was then to be owned and submitted to as a work of the providence of God, and part of King James's letter to *Abbot* related to this. The Bishop then goes on to tell us, that when this was observed by Sherlock, he had some conferences with the [Jacobite] party, in order to convince them by that, which had convinced himself (17). What his Lordship here asserts we have seen confirmed by Dr Sherlock, but he has not informed us of the exact time when he thought such a settlement as Bishop Overal mentions, was made by the Revolution: indeed he tells us, he was always disposed to receive satisfaction in his scruples, and wished he could have got over them; nay, that he complied with the new government so far, as not only to live quietly and peaceably, but even prayed for King William and Queen Mary by name, according to the Apostle's direction, to pray for all that are in authority, which they visibly were in: that he likewise always opposed a separation, and advised not a few, who thought fit to consult with him, to keep to the communion of the Church, and not to entertain prejudices against their Ministers for taking the oaths; 'for, continues he, I did not refuse the oaths out of any fondness for the government of King James, nor zeal for his return, which the present prospect of affairs gives no man who loves the Church of England, and the liberties of his country, any reason to wish; nor yet out of any aversion to the government of King William and Queen Mary: But against my own inclinations and interest, out of pure principles of conscience to comply with the obligations of my former oaths, and that duty which subjects owe to their Prince, which I then apprehended irreconcilable with the new oath.' In all this there is not the least hint that any new advantage lately obtained by the Prince of Orange had any share in his conversion, but rather the contrary; it being insinuated,

* See an account of it in his article.

|| In the title-page it is said to be published by the New Observer.

† He was suspended October 13, 1689. *Salmon's Chron. Hist.* for that year.

(17) Burnet's *History of his own Times*, Vol. II. p. 212, folio edition.

(16) Mr Addison in *Spectator* No. 111. the October 13, 1713.

ascribed the change of his political opinions chiefly to a passage which he had not before observed in Bishop Overal's Convocation-book. There was printed the following year,

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ated, that, in settling his conscience, he never looked any further than to King James's first leaving the kingdom; and that this was actually the case, we have his own express words in the body of the book, where he asserts, that *Allegiance was no longer due to King James when he had withdrawn his person and left his Crown* (18). So that what the forementioned Right Reverend historian tells us, must rest on his sole authority, concerning our author's declaration, which is, that 'upon King James's going out of Ireland, Dr Sherlock thought that this gave the present Government a thorough settlement, and, in that case, he thought it lawful to take the oaths, and not only took them himself, but justified what he had done.' This historian had, however, undeniable authority for what he asserts afterwards, *viz.* 'that upon this account our author was severely labelled by those from whom he withdrew (19).' An anonymous author, remarking the words above-cited, that 'twas not out of fondness for King James, nor desire of his return, &c. that the Doctor so long refused the oaths, interprets them thus: That is, says he, that he [the Doctor] did not swear all that while, because he had hopes of King James's return; but how justly this pamphleteer may be called a libeller, appears from his idle story of the Doctor's conversion being the meer effect of his wife's ill usage, in respect to his table, 'till he had complied (20). In the same licentious spirit, another of these libellers observes, that it was the battle of the Boyne that satisfied the Doctor's conscience (21). However, the Doctor found a vindicator of himself from these aspersions, who shews that he takes allegiance to be due to King William as soon as he was in possession (22). Finally, our author soon after expressly, and at large, declares against this ill-natured censure of Bishop Burnet in these words: (1) The Prince of Orange undertook to settle the Government upon the ancient bottom, not disliked by the Nonjurors at that time. The great body of the nation stood still looking on, and wishing well to the Prince, without wishing ill to the King's person, or to the just exercise of his authority. Very few of the active ones thought of any thing more than to obtain a free Parliament; but the King would not stand this trial, disbands his army, withdraws his person, without leaving any authority behind him to administer the Government: Nobody ever thought that this was a perfect free and voluntary act; but however gone he was, and had left nobody behind him to govern by his authority: and then the Government was either dissolved, or the power must rest in the States of the realm. The States upon this exigency assembled, but did not pretend to assert the authority of the People over the King, and their power to judge, depose, and banish him; they only undertook to judge what properly falls under their cognizance in such cases, *viz.* Whether the Throne were vacant? and if it were, how it must be filled? And when those who were the sole and proper judges had once determined it, private subjects (according to the forementioned rules of all Governments) were bound to acquiesce, whatever their private opinions were; or else such state disputes can never be determined, but we must necessarily dissolve into anarchy and confusion. Where there is no determination of the law of nature, or the law of God against it (as there is none about meer legal rights) the resolution of Governors must determine the consciences of private subjects; for the power of judging must extend as far as the power of governing goes (23). By this time we see the Doctor convinced of the parliamentary right which was then the Court doctrine: the great difficulty was to support the reputation of his having changed his former principles of indefeasible hereditary right in the Stuart family, our natural Princes (24); in respect to which family, he had carried these principles to the greatest height, and pressed them, as his manner was, with a contemptuous confidence of all opposers. But here he acted ingenuously and openly, confessing himself mistaken in that point. 'I must,' says he, add one thing more, that I have renounced no principle that ever I taught excepting one, in the case of resistance, which is the only material passage I know any reason to retract in that book, *viz.* 'That when St Paul says, All power is of God, he

' means only legal powers, but that in an hereditary monarchy, where the right heir is living, usurped powers are not of God, nor the ordinance of God, as I proved by the example of Joash: The reason and the example you will find sufficiently answered in the following discourse, and the doctrine itself rejected by the Convocation. Though it has been of late years so prevailing a mistake, and imposed by such great authorities, that it is very pardonable, especially when it is so freely acknowledged (25). It will perhaps be thought by some the most surprising effect of this change, that it should even carry him into an attempt to reconcile it with what he had before taught, *viz.* the doctrine of absolute Non-resistance: but this task was now for the ease of it become irresistible to let it pass unperformed; for since a *de facto* King was the ordinance of God, he must derive his authority from the same divine fountain, which consequently must not be resisted. Upon this principle he has these words in the discourse already cited: 'So that whatever dispute there may be about other matters, the late Revolution has made no alteration in the principles of Government and obedience; it does not oblige us to own the superior power of the People over the King, which would be a very tottering foundation for monarchy, and could never support it long. *Those who believed the doctrine of Non-resistance and passive Obedience to be a good doctrine before, may think so still, and be never the worse friends to the present Government.* And I have often thought it a wonderful Providence of God, that in an age wherein the strictest loyalty and obedience had been so earnestly pressed on men, so great a Revolution should be brought about, while the generality of the subjects were merely passive, and surprized into a deliverance (26). Whence it is evident, that, in his opinion, the wonder at last of this providence consisted in secretly inspiring King James with a resolution to withdraw his person, disband his army, and leave nobody in authority to administer the affairs of the Crown. Otherwise, that the active party should prevail over the other who were merely passive, is so far from being wonderful, that the contrary would have been the only, and indeed a most surprizing wonder.

As this revolution, in the Doctor's principles, was so wonderfully wrought by Bishop Overal's book, the reader will naturally be inquisitive after some further account of that Prelate; which curiosity we are able to gratify so far as to inform him, that Dr John Overal was bred at Cambridge, where, from being a Fellow of Trinity-college, he became Master of Catharine hall, and Regius Professor of Divinity. In 1601-2 he was promoted to the deanery of St Paul's * by Queen Elizabeth, at the recommendation of Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, his patron; and in the beginning of King James's reign he was chosen Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation. In April 1614, he was advanced to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, from which he was translated in 1618, to that of Norwich, where he died on the 12th of May following, and was interred in that church; where Dr Cosins, Bishop of Durham, who had been bred under his counsels †, in gratitude erected an elegant monument to his memory, after the Restoration †. He is ranked amongst the best Divines of his time, and particularly excelled in scholastic Theology. He held a correspondence with Gerard Vossius, and Hugo Grotius, to whom several of his letters are published in that useful Collection, intitled *Præstantium & eruditorum Virorum epistolæ ecclesiasticæ & theologicæ* †, in which he declares himself in favour of Arminianism; however, he thinks St Austin's opinion of the irresistibility of Grace may be tolerated, but absolutely condemns the doctrine of confining Grace to the Elect alone. He laboured heartily to accord the disputes in Holland upon the points of the quinquarticular controversy, and expresses great concern for the ill treatment which the studies and proposals of Grotius, for peace, met with. Lastly, in the same spirit of peace, he held the expediency of an hypothetical re ordination, in the case of admitting foreign Protestant Divines to the benefices of the Church of England; wherein his opinion very probably influenced Archbishop Tillotson § several years afterwards.

(25) Case of Allegiance, sect. iv. in particular; but, indeed, as this principle is the grand pillar on which the whole edifice stands, the force of it spreads itself through every part of that treatise.

(26) Sermon preached before the House of Commons, July 30, 1691.

* In this Deanery he succeeded the famous Alexander Nowell.

† See his article.

‡ Smith's Life of Bishop Cosins. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 702. and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 170. 2d edition.

§ This collection was published by Limborch and Hartfoeker, as an Historical Account and Defence of Arminianism. Moretti's Diction. under Limborch's article.

§ See his article.

(18) P. 43. the first edition, in 1691, 4to.

(19) The titles of some of these were, 1. A Letter to Dr S. 2. Modest Remarks, &c. 3. Remarks on the Doctor's Case, &c. 4. The Two Kings of Brentford. 5. Sherlock upon Sherlock. 6. Another that printed part of his own Book, to put a Cheat upon the World.

(20) Answer to Dr S——'s Case of Allegiance, &c. by a London Apprentice, in a single sheet, 1691.

(21) Modest Remarks, &c. p. 21.

(22) True Vindication of the Rev. Dr Sherlock, being a Reply to the printed Answers of his late Book, intitled, The Case of Allegiance, &c. p. 17, 18.

(23) Case of Allegiance.

(24) Case of Resistance, p. 128, & seqq.

An answer to a late pamphlet, intituled, Obedience and Submission to the present government demonstrated from Bishop Overall's Convocation-book, with a Postscript in an answer to Dr Sherlock's case of allegiance (20). To this our author replied, in his *Vindication of the case of allegiance to Sovereign Power, in reply to an answer in a late Pamphlet, &c. with a Postscript, &c.* [M] In 1691, he published his *Vindication of the doctrine of the holy and ever-blessed Trinity* [N]. In this book he started a new method of explaining that mystery [O], the danger of which novelty was taken notice of the same year. How-

(20) This was supposed to be writ by Bishop Ken, to whom, according to his usual warmth, he has once said he would be crucified before he would take the oaths. South's Animadversions, &c.

ever,

[M] *Vindication of the Case of Allegiance.*] A copy of King James's letter to Abbot, mentioned by Bishop Burnet, as above cited, was published in the New Observer of Friday December 5, 1690 (27), where that writer declares, that the original was communicated to him by an eminent person in whose hands it was. If this be the Bishop, he differs from his Lordship with regard to it's being writ all in the King's own hand, whereas the author says this only of the four last lines, the rest, as he conjectures, being writ by the then Secretary of State. The words alluded to by the Bishop are these, 'You have dipped too deep in what all Kings reserve as the *Arcana Imperii*, and whatever aversion you may profess against God's being the author of Sin, you have stumbled upon the threshold of that opinion, in saying upon the matter, that even tyranny is God's authority, and should be revered as such. If the King of Spain should return to claim his old pontifical right to my kingdoms, you leave me to seek for others to fight for them, for you tell me, upon the matter before-hand, his authority is God's authority if he prevail.' In this vindication Dr Sherlock supposes King William's authority to be unjustly gotten, and that the means of bringing about the Revolution were wicked and unjustifiable, but he changed this opinion soon, as appears from his sermon abovecited in 1691.

The Doctor's picture, as drawn by S. Johnson, on this occasion, is not a little entertaining. The reason, says that writer, why the Clergy were so zealous for tyranny in King Charles II's time, was, because it was a tyranny on their side: That made them so very liberal of the English rights, and to sacrifice them all at once in a peace-offering to Moloch; and it was a true act of worship, for it signalized their loyalty. *But when Judgment began at the House of God, as Dr Sherlock preached upon the Bishops being sent to the Tower, then their note was quite altered. King James had forfeited and ought to be deposed, with a great deal more to that purpose. But afterwards, when they grew jealous of this Revolution, and could not tell what to make of it, having missed two hits, both of having King James, and afterwards of having his intended Deputy the Prince of Orange, in their hands, and wanted a third hit; then the words were these, Well, will not the Convention fetch the King back again? If they will not we have forty thousand Men to fetch him back.* Dr Sherlock best knows where those forty thousand men now are, but I believe King James would be very glad of half the number. To proceed in my story, the very man that had asserted that King James had forfeited, and ought to be deposed long before he was, or even before the Prince of Orange was expected, began with change of interest to have change of thoughts; and then he could not allow King James to be lawfully set aside, nor would swear to this present Government, and his forfeited place at the Temple was supplied by I know who. At last, after he had stuck as himself says, a great while, *for stick he did*, he was happily relieved by a lucky coincidence of Bishop Overall's canons, and the victory of the Boyne; and then he settled the Government upon it's own settlement, which we that pretend to dull reason, do say is a circle, and proving a thing by itself. It is true he called Providence in aid of this settlement; but they have talked of late as meanly of Providence, as ever mankind did of the *Swiss*, who are of all sides, and in French and Dutch service both at once; he then proceeds to harangue in proof of that maxim as he calls it, *that Providence thus divided against itself cannot stand.* After which, returning to his preaching, he maintains that Judgment began at the House of God, not when the Bishops were in the Tower, but when Stephen College was murdered, who was a true first martyr Stephen.

But for quietness sake, continues Mr Johnson, it shall be his own *House of God*, the Bishops; for I grant that *that* word, and the true Religion, and the like, are doubt-

ful words, and signify nothing till we know of what religion the man himself is. These are by-matters; but the question is, how a man that had a right notion before, came to lose it the next year, and has not been able to recover it to this day? For if he had stuck to his own occasional *English* principle, (but then was then, and now is now) *That King James, being a Tyrant, had forfeited, and, having broke with the nation, ought not to reign*, he had not stuck at all among Jacobite principles, which however are forty times better than his own hypothesis of usurpation: for the Jacobites, though mistaken, pretend to right, but he proceeds upon avowed, barefaced, open, impudent, outrageous wrong; as usurpation either is, or there is no such thing in the world: it is all that either the giants or the devils ever attempted against heaven. But he had no other way to make a *Case of Allegiance* to King William, to chime in with his unretracted *Case of Resistance*, written heretofore in favour of Tyranny: For though passive obedience had no hand in the Revolution, yet perhaps he was informed it might be a grateful present to a Settlement. However, I must tell him, that passive obedience must be crooked and bent like a ninepence, and look contrary ways, before he can make a token of it to this Government; for actual resistance of Tyranny gave this Government it's birth and being, and it stands, and can stand, upon no other bottom (28).

[N] *Vindication of the Trinity.*] Bishop Burnet (29), as it should seem for the sake of an opportunity to indulge his ill-nature in party matters, has antedated the time of our author's publishing this treatise. That historian asserts, that it was writ while our author was under suspension for refusing the oath of allegiance; that tho' his doctrine was looked on as plain Tritheism, yet all the party applauded him and his book; that upon his taking the oath of allegiance soon after, and publishing an account of his reasons for it, his former party being highly exasperated, pursued him with the clamour of Tritheism, which, says he, was done with much malice by the same persons who had highly magnified the performance while he was of their party. That the Bishop has antedated this treatise is manifest, by comparing the Imprimatur of it, January 9, 1690-1, with that of his *Case of Allegiance*, which is dated October 17, 1690, so then he must have taken the oaths before he published his *Vindication of the Trinity*; what then must we think of the Bishop's aspersions, which is pointed at the end too with this virulent exclamation, So powerful is the bias of interest and passion in the most speculative and most important doctrines. I own the mistake in the date is small, but not so is the wound given by it; the point of a dagger too is small, but for that very reason it pierces more surely to the heart.

[O] *A new Method of explaining that mystery.*] His explanation was thus: He thought there were three eternal Minds, two of these issuing from the Father, but that these three were one by a mutual consciousness in the three to every of their thoughts. The opinion was generally censured, as tending to Tritheism. We shall give what Dr Wallis says, as it is spoken with candour in a letter to Mr William Jane, with whom the Doctor had then a controversy upon this subject of the Trinity. 'Now, says he, as to what you observe, concerning the learned author, Dr Sherlock, I shall begin where you end, and agree with you that the treatise to which you refer contains many excellent things; the strength and weight of his arguments, as to those whom he undertakes to answer, does not depend upon those expressions to which you object, but his arguments are of equal force, though these expressions were spared. As to those expressions of his by you noted, that the three divine persons are three beings, three intelligent beings, three substantial beings, three Holy Spirits really distinct as *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, and one God only as they are mutually conscious: I was I confess dissatisfied there-

(28) Notes on the Phoenix edition of the [Burnet's] Pastoral Letter, p. 307, 308. among S. Johnson's Works, as before.

(29) In the History of his own Times, p. 218.

(27) No. 12 in Vol. III. This paper was taken up in contrast to one published by Sir Roger L'Estrange, under the same title, in the preceding reign.

in

(z) Life of Tillotson, as before.

ever, upon the promotion of Dr Tillotson to the see of Canterbury, our author succeeded him, by his Grace's recommendation and interest (x), in the Deanery of St Paul's, and was installed into that dignity on the 15th of July this same year [P]. So considerable a preferment in the Church, treading as were upon the heels of his compliance to the State, furnished an inexhaustible fund of common-place wit to his adversaries, and particularly Dr South was too liquorish of sarcasm (y) not to hitch upon it [Q], as he too frequently, for

(y) He was as severely handled by South, who complied with the new government, as he was either by Hickey or Collier, both Nonjurors. Burnet.

' in (as you are) from the first, looking upon them as expressions too hardy for him to venture upon, (and so I find are most others with whom I have discoursed about them) and wish he had declined them; yet I did not think it necessary for me to write against them (though I did not like them) but chose rather to wave them, and express myself otherwise; nor shall I aggravate the objections which you have urged against them, but leave them as they are. That learned author may, if he think fit, so vindicate or explain those expressions as he shall judge convenient; or he may (which I had rather he should) decline them, without prejudice to his main cause, which (in my opinion) he may as well defend without them, and thereby less expose himself to the cavils of the Anti-Trinitarians, who are catching at every colourable pretence of objecting, though not against the main cause concerning the Trinity, if but against some expressions of those who maintain it. Now, Sir, if you look back upon your own discourse, you will find that the whole edge of your arguments is directed against those expressions, three Beings, three Substances, three Spirits: and I do acknowledge, that as to these, the arguments seem to me sharp enough and to do their work: but if, instead of these, he say, as I think he should, that the three Persons are one Being; one Substance, one Spirit, like as he says they are one God, the edge will be taken off. That which I conceive did impose upon him in this point, is the forced sense which, in our language, we sometimes put upon the word *person* (for want of another English word answering to *homo*) which might indifferently respect man, woman, or child, and a like forced sense put by the schoolmen upon the word *persona*, for want of a Latin word which might equally relate to men and angels, as signifying an intelligent Being; whence he was induced to think that three persons must needs be three intelligent Beings: Whereas *persona* in it's true and ancient sense, before the schoolmen put this forced sense upon it, did not signify a man simply, but one under such and such and such circumstances or qualifications; so that the same man, if capable of being qualified thus, and thus, and thus, might sustain three persons, and these three persons be the same man.'

Now, if (as he says himself elsewhere in a like case) he have not been taken to be a fool, yet a wise man may sometimes, upon second thoughts, see reason to change his opinion (as in that case he did) or rectify his expressions; and it then be considered how much easier it will be, and less obnoxious to exceptions, to maintain his hypothesis thus rectified, he may think I have done him no ill offices thus to suggest (30).'

N.B. Dr Wallis is generally censured for running into the other extreme of Sabellianism, and we need not observe that the latter part of the passage here cited, is an instance of it.

[P] He was made Dean of St Paul's by the interest and recommendation of Archbishop Tillotson.] Dr Birch, to whom we owe this particular, has likewise given us an instance of our author's gratitude. Every body knows in what indifferent circumstances that excellent Archbishop left his family, and the following letter is at once both a proof of it, and of this friend's endeavours to procure a proper relief; The design of the letter is sufficiently explained in the contents, which run thus.

Deanery, Sept. 25, 1697.

' Dear Hobbs *,

' That kindness which was designed to Archbishop Tillotson's nephew, for maintaining him at the University, and was then refused, is now become necessary; and your respect for the Archbishop's memory, which was your motive then, I hope continues still, especially considering the nephew was in no fault. Mrs Tillotson had such a regard for the honour of my Lord, and such a kindness for his rela-

tions for his sake, that she would gladly maintain him if she could, but she is reduced herself to those narrow circumstances, by the unexpected death of Mr Chadwick †, and that less expected condition he has left his family in, that she is utterly disabled. She came to me before I went to Tunbridge, to desire me to recommend him to some family to be tutor to some young gentleman, where he might support himself; and upon that occasion acquainted me with her condition: that Mr Chadwick had spent all his estate, but what was settled upon his wife in marriage, which comes to her eldest son; that the younger son and daughter had not one farthing to maintain them, but depended wholly upon her; that he had put a thousand pounds of her money into the bank in his own name. and had given her no declaration of trust, though she had often desired it of him, which by this means is lost to her, and must pay his debts; that his estate in the Forest*, where she has built her house, and which I think is copyhold, was purchased for his life at 300l. which must now be paid again; that upon his great importunity she built that house at great expence, which is now much too big for her. I was extremely concerned to hear this sad account, and promised I would do what I could to maintain her nephew in the University; for to take him so young from thence would be his ruin; and for this reason have represented the case to you, presuming upon your old friendship, but have not the confidence to do so much to some great men you know, for it must be great kindness or great virtue that recovers a baulk'd charity. But this good Lady's condition is so very pitiable, that I with you could persuade my Lord Chancellor || to represent it to his Majesty, who, I am persuaded after all his generous behaviour to her, would still be inclined to compassionate her new misfortunes.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

W. Sherlock (31). (31) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 346 to 348.

The Archbishop's nephew mentioned in this letter, Mr Robert Tillotson, son of his brother Joshua, was educated at Clare-hall, in Cambridge, and became afterwards a Fellow there. During the course of his education he was honoured with the favour of Lord Somers, out of regard to his uncle's memory, which was acknowledged by him in a Latin letter to his Lordship still extant. Upon entering into Orders, he was presented to the sine-cure of Elme of considerable value in the isle of Ely, by the executors of the Archbishop, to whose disposal that option was left (32). He lived, being unmarried, in private lodgings at Cambridge, in 1724 (33).

(2) Dr South hitched upon it.] We shall give the following instance for a specimen of the Doctor's manner in this way. 'The fable, says he, tells us of a cat once turned into a woman, but the next sight of a mouse quickly dissolved the metamorphosis, cashiered the woman, and restored the brute; and some virtuosi skilled in the philosophy of alterations, have thought her much a gainer by the latter change, there being so many unlucky turns in the world, in which it is not half so safe and advantageous to walk upright, as to be able to fall always upon one's legs.' The unpleasing coarseness in the thread of this sarcasm, immediately gave my eyes a turn from it to those lines in the Duke of Buckinghamshire's Essay on Satire, where this fable, a little differently couched, is applied with a much more stabbing keenness, as it is pointed with such a genteel spirit and delicacy as cannot but be admired. The subject of it is a statesman of distinguished abilities for business, but too fond of mirth and wit, as follows:

When

† He had married the Archbishop's eldest daughter. See his article.

* Valentines near Wanstead in Essex.

|| Lord Somers.

(32) Ibid.

(33) From my own knowledge.

(30) Letters concerning the Trinity, Letter 7. p. 17, & seqq. by Dr Wallis.

* A Physician and intimate friend of Lord Somers.

(z) Dr South, however, declares, that in this apology he had changed his opinion in some things. Preface to Animadversions.

(aa) It was writ in answer to an earnest and compassionate suit for forbearance to the learned writers of some controversial papers, by a melancholy stander by. Our author observes, that Dr Wallis and himself were immediately concerned in this suit. Apology, p. 2. and in 1694 he published a defence of this Apology.

(bb) In the beginning he appeals to his friend, that he had not been idle; and it appears, that he published his Practical Discourse concerning a Future Judgment, in 1692, in 8vo. and A Discourse concerning Providence, in 1694, in 4to.

for his own credit does in his *Animadversions upon Dr Sherlock's book intituled, a Vindication of the doctrine of the holy and ever-blessed Trinity, &c. humbly offered to his admirers and to himself*, (so the title concludes) *the greatest part of them*. This was published in 1693, after our author had printed his *Apology for writing against the Socinians in defence of the doctrines of the holy Trinity and Incarnation*, in which he asserts his first opinion (z), and declares his resolution to proceed in defence of those important articles (aa). Accordingly in 1694 he published *A defence of Dr Sherlock's notion of a Trinity in Unity, in answer to the Animadversions upon his vindication of the doctrine of the holy and ever blessed Trinity, with a Postscript relating to the calm discourse of a Trinity in the Godhead*. In this piece he explained his opinion in the generally received terms, so as there appeared no material difference from what was called the orthodox faith (bb) [R]: But the affair was not so determined. For in answer to this last-mentioned piece, Dr South published his *Tritbeism charged upon Dr Sherlock's new notion of the Trinity, and the charge made good, &c.* in 1695. and the same year the Doctor's notion being asserted in a sermon preached at Oxford, by a Fellow of University-college, was censured by an express decree of that learned body, as false, impious, and heretical, and all persons under their jurisdiction warned not to preach or maintain any such notion [S]. This decree of the University being published in the weekly news-papers, with a Postscript, signifying, that the doctrine so censured was that of Dr Sherlock, in his Discourse on the Trinity. Our author, by way of reply, printed in 1696 (cc), *A modest Examination of the authority and reasons of the late decree of the Vice-chancellor, and some heads of Colleges and Halls, concerning the bery of three distinct infinite minds in the holy and ever-blessed Trinity*. This piece producing another, intituled, *Remarks upon a book lately published by Dr William Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, &c. intituled, A modest examination of the Oxford decree, &c.* (dd). And the whole controversy being managed with unbecoming heat and acrimony on both sides, his Majesty, at the motion of the Bishops (ee), thought fit to interpose, by putting out *Directions to the Archbishops and Bishops, for the preserving of unity in the Church, and the support of the Christian Faith concerning the holy Trinity*, wherein it was ordained, that in the explication of the Trinity, 'all preachers should carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themselves to such ways of explication as have been commonly used in the church (ff).' So that our author's conduct in this point was finally condemned [T]. Before

(cc) So it is in the title-page; apparently in the custom of the London-Printers, in beginning the year at the Michaelmas preceding the established era; but it must be printed before March 25, 1696, as is plain by the date of the King's direction, Feb. 3, 1695; and the answer to it is also printed, according to the title piece, in 1695, at Oxford, where the Printer follows the established era.

(dd) The author was supposed to be Dr Jonathan Edwards, Principal of Jesus-college in Oxford, where the book was printed.

(ee) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 213.

(ff) The directions are printed at length in Burnet, and the general histories of England.

When serious, few for great affairs more fit,
But shew him mirth, and bait that mirth with wit,
'That shadow of a jest shall be enjoy'd,
Though he left all mankind to be destroy'd.
So Puffs transform'd fat like a mumping bride,
Pensive and prudent till the mouse she spy'd,
But soon the Lady had him in her eye,
And just as oddly from the board did fly.

[R] No material difference from the Orthodox faith.] He followed the advice suggested, as we have seen, by Dr Wallis. For, in speaking of the word *person*, he observes, 'that it is not in the Trinity taken in the common sense of the word, as three persons who subsist apart, but three subsistences are three persons who subsist distinctly without separation; for subsistence necessarily signifies a distinct and real, but not separate subsistence, and the usual orthodox way, if I mistake not, is, that the person is really distinct from the *modus subsistendi*; and thus the orthodox faith is distinguished from Sabellianism, according to which the person is nothing else but the *modus existendi*. Now, continues he, what I have said of the word *person*, is with equal reason applicable to the word *mind*.' The animadverter objects against the Dean, 'That a mind or spirit is an absolute Being, Nature, or Substance, and I grant it is so in the common use of the word, as applied to created minds and spirits, but so is person also as much as mind; and if we allow of a theological use of the word person, why not of mind too to signify an intelligent subsistence? which is a mind too, but not a separate mind, and therefore not such an absolute Being, Nature, and Substance as a created mind is.—And when the Dean speaks of three distinct infinite minds, which are essentially and independently one, he could mean nothing more than three distinct, intelligent, but not separate subsistences; and I need ask no other pardon for the use of a term which the schools have not consecrated (34).

[S.] Was censured by a Decree of the University of Oxford.] The decree was drawn up in these terms: *In Conventu D. Vicecancellarii & Præfectorum Collegiorum & Aularum Universitatis Oxon. die vicefimo*

quinto Novembris, 1695. Cum in concione nuper habita coram Universitate Oxon. in Templo S. Petri in Oriente, in festum SS. Simonis & Judæ proxime elapsam, hæc verba inter alia publice prolata & asserta fuerunt, viz.

There are three infinite distinct Minds and Substances in the Trinity.

Item. That the three Persons in the Trinity are three distinct infinite Minds or Spirits, and three individual Substances.

Quæ verba multis justam offensionis causam & scandalum dedere.

Dominus Vicecancellarius & Præfeti Collegiorum & Aularum in generali suo Conventu jam congregati judicant, declarant & decernunt, prædicta verba esse falsa, impia, & heretica, dissona & contraria doctrinæ ecclesiæ catholicæ & speciatim doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ publice receptæ.

Quapropter præcipiunt & firmiter injungunt omnibus & singulis eorum fidei & curæ commissis, ne tale aliquod dogma in Concionibus, aut alias, in posterum proferant.

Ex decreto Domini Vicecancellarii & Præfectorum.

B. Cooper, Not. Pub. & Regist. Univ. Oxon.

[T] Our Author's doctrine was finally condemned.] Bishop Burnet in the place cited above, tells us, that these directions put a stop to the debates upon this subject, and that Mr Firmin's death [in 1698] put a stop to the printing and spreading of Socinian books. This last remark must not be understood absolutely, and can only mean that Mr Firmin was the chief propagator of Socinianism; for that it continued afterwards in a high degree is apparent from this among other instances, that notwithstanding this, our author in 1696 published a piece, intituled, *The Distinction between real and nominal Trinitarians; & considered*; and the following year, *Vindication of a Sermon concerning corrupting Faith by Philosophy*, to which he added, *The present State of the Socinian Controversy* in 1698, all in 4to; and in 1701 he preached a *Concio ad Clerum* before the Convocation (35), where he earnestly and warmly, as his manner was, exhorts and invites his brethren to oppose those heretical, as he calls them, and viperous tracts, which then threatened so much danger to the Church. In the same view he likewise published *Proofs of Christ's Divinity*, in 1706, 8vo.

† The Doctor was called a real Trinitarian.

(35) It was preached on the 30th of December that year.

(34) Defence of Dr Sherlock's Notion, &c. p. 15, 16. edit. 1694, 4to.

fore this, in the same year, he preached a remarkable sermon in the Temple-church, on the death of Queen Mary, by which it appears that he did not disapprove of the then intended Comprehension [U]. But this did not hinder him from employing his pen to reconcile Dissenters to the Church upon the present state of its establishment [W]. In 1704. he published the *The distinction of high and low Church considered*, in 4to. And the same year came out his discourse upon the Immortality of the Soul, in which he attacked Mr. Locke's opinion concerning innate ideas [X]. He was presented to the rectory of Therfield in Hertfordshire some time before his death, which happened on the 19th of June, 1707, in the 67th year of his age (gg). He died at Hampstead, near London, and was interred in the Cathedral of St Paul's. Besides the numerous books already mentioned in the course of this memoir, he printed several sermons, which after his decease were collected and published in two volumes, 8vo. (bb). He was survived by two daughters, and as many sons, to the eldest of which, Thomas, he left a considerable fortune; having in his life-time resigned the Mastership of the Temple in the view of procuring it for him. Accordingly this gentleman succeeded his father in that honourable post, which he discharged to the great satisfaction of those societies a great number of years. He was likewise made Dean of Chichester, and afterwards promoted successively to the sees of Bangor and Salisbury, and, upon the death of Dr Edmund Gibson, in 1748, succeeded him in the Bishopric of London; to which high and arduous province he does honour, and, though upwards at present of fourscore years of age, enjoys the full vigour of his excellent parts. Having lately (ii) published a most excellent charge to his Clergy, wherein that masterly knowledge in the laws of both Church and State, for which he is eminently distinguished, is applied with a paternal affection to their use and service (kk).

(gg) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1707; and Le Neve's Fasti, p. 185.

(bb) He had also a share in Archdeacon Gregory's pompous edition of the Greek Testament; printed in 1703, at Oxford, in folio. Advertisement prefixed to that book. Mr Wood also mentions some controversial writings between him and one Thomas Vincent a Nonconformist Conventicler at Hogden, near London. Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 623.

(ii) In July, 1759.

(kk) Since the preceding sheet was printed off, there hath come to our knowledge these two particulars concerning Bishop Overal, viz. That he was first admitted of St John's college in Cambridge; and that he died in the sixtieth year of his age. Carter's History of Cambridge; and the Bishop's epitaph, printed at the end of Bishop Cosins's life, by Dr Smith.

[U] *He did not disapprove the intended Comprehension with the Dissenters*] The Doctor, it seems, run with the current of his friends at different times, in respect to this project. In the reign of King Charles the Second, he treated the Dissenters roughly and rudely, with disdain and contempt: speaking of Baxter, the head then of that sect, and, as he declares, the wisest head amongst them, he says, 'As for Mr Baxter, I am mightily inclined to pity him, he has disputed himself out of all sense and all good manners, and I think there is the least reason to answer any of his books, of any man's I know; for I believe very few people understand what he would have himself (36):' Thus it is evident he had at that time no opinion of a Comprehension. But in the succeeding reign, when a scheme was laid for one by Archbishop Sancroft in 1687, he preached a sermon, wherein, to use Dr South's expression, he opened both his arms to embrace the Dissenters. And how much he approved of Archbishop Tillotson's design of introducing it after the Revolution, appears from a passage in the above-mentioned sermon on the death of Queen Mary, where, speaking of her Majesty's piety, and noble designs for the Church of England, he proceeds thus: 'I have reason to say this from those frequent intimations I have had from our late admirable Primate [Tillotson] who had great designs himself to serve the Christian Religion and the Church of England, in its truest interest; and had interested their Majesties, and particularly the Queen, who had more leisure for such things, with the same great and pious designs. It may be no churchman ever had, I am sure none more deservedly had, a greater interest in his Prince's favour; and the great use he made of it was to do public service to religion; and, whatever some men may suspect, to the Church of England, though it may be not perfectly in their way (37).'

(36) Preface to the Continuation and Vindication of the Defence of Dr Stillingfleet, &c.

(37) Sermon on the Death of Queen Mary, preached at the Temple church, p. 6, 7. the 3d edition, 1694, 4to.

[W] *The present state of its establishment.*] It was with this view that he published the following pieces. (1) *Cases about Church Communion, &c.* in 1698, folio, which being attacked by Mr N. Taylor, was defended in a piece intituled, *A Vindication of Dr Sherlock, Dean of St Paul's, in Answer to Mr Nathaniel Taylor's Treatise, intituled, Dr Sherlock's Case of Church Communion and his Letter to Anonymous, considered, &c. Together with a Reply to his Vindication of the Dissenters from the Charge of Schism*, 1702, 4to. (3) *New Danger of Presbytery*. Lond. 1703, 4to. (4) *Of Religious Assemblies*, the same year, in 8vo, to which may be added, (5) *Distinction of High and Low Church considered*, in 1704, 4to.

[X] *Innate ideas, against Mr Locke.*] It is introduced by way of digression into his third section of the third chapter, where he endeavours to prove the natural Immortality of the Soul, from universal consent, which he thought irreconcilable to the opinion main-

tained by Mr Locke, that we have no innate ideas; for so he argues, 'if the soul of man has no inbred knowledge, it is in vain to talk of the light, and voice, and sense of nature; if it has, then the universal consent of mankind, can be reasonably attributed to no other cause'. He then observes, that 'Mr Locke's hypothesis that all our ideas come from without, is the same with the old atheistical hypothesis that *nihil est in intellectu, quod non sit prius in sensibus*,' yet he does not charge Mr Locke with those principles because that writer disowns them, but he asserts that the hypothesis can serve no other end. In order to prove these ideas connate, and that there is some inbred knowledge in the mind, our author argues thus against Mr Locke, upon his own concession that there is a God, and that he made the world. '1. Knowledge is before the things known, and is the maker of them; for God knew what he would make before he made the world, and therefore the ideas of all things were originally in the divine mind, before any thing was made. Hence it follows, that ideal knowledge is essential to a mind. It is found nowhere originally, but in the eternal mind, and it is essential to the very notion and idea of a mind, for what is a mind without the images and ideas of things, which is a good argument that created minds, as far as they partake of the eternal mind, have the natural ideas of things interwoven in their frame and constitution, if I may so speak, for a mind is a mind whether created or uncreated, and if created minds are made after the pattern of the divine mind (and there is no other pattern for minds) natural ideas must be as essential to created minds, as they are to the uncreated mind, for there is no notion of a mind without them.' Every body sees the ridicule our author lies open to, in begging the question that the soul always thinks, which is controverted by Mr Locke; as also, that God must make minds after a pattern, and that too of his own mind. Accordingly Mr Locke made himself very merry with it (38). It must not be denied that our author's reasoning upon this point, is contemptibly weak, and much beneath his character, being built upon a mistake, in confounding truth itself with our perception of it. But how much soever he falls short in the philosophical part, his motives for opposing Mr Locke were pious and not unbecoming the Divine. He was apprehensive, with many others, that the modern Atheists would espouse and magnify Mr Locke's hypothesis, and, whether he would or no, make use of it, or as much of it as they pleased, to confute those principles of religion and virtue which he owned. The objection that mankind were made without any connate ideas of good and evil seemed very formidable to him, for he observes, that the general reason why men are so zealous against these ideas being innate, is to deliver themselves from the necessity of believing any thing of God or Religion.

(38) See his article.

P

SHOVEL [Sir CLOUDESLEY], one of those brave Admirals, who, from the lowest birth and beginning, raised himself, by the sole weight of personal merit, to the first honours of his profession. He was born at a small town near Clay in Norfolk (a), in 1650 (b); and, after such an education as was suitable to the circumstances of his family, was bound apprentice, it is said, to a shoemaker, or some such mechanic trade (c). However that be, it is certain the youth had always a strong inclination for the sea; and happening to be sent upon some business to one of the maritime towns upon the Norfolk-coast; the sight of the shipping, &c. fired his fancy to such a degree, that he never ceased intreating his parents to let him try his fortune in the Navy, 'till he obtained their consent (d): one principal motive to which seems to have been, the consideration how little they were able to do for him in any way. 'Tis said, they had directed him to be christened Cloudesley, in the view of recommending him to the notice of a relation of that name (e); and, perhaps, this kinsman might now be a means of procuring a recommendation to the famous Sir John Narborough, who thereupon presently made him his cabin-boy (f). Thus were fulfilled the fondest wishes of his heart. This was a very promising way of entering into the Navy; the birth gave him all the opportunities he could desire of engaging his master's regard, and he did not fail to make the best use of them. Sir John had raised himself from the same station, and was a generous patron of all who discovered any extraordinary symptoms of maritime worth (g). He saw with pleasure the fidelity and affection which the boy expressed towards his person upon all occasions; and after some time, having had sufficient proofs of his talents and assiduity, he ordered him to be thoroughly instructed in Navigation, and in every other requisite to make a compleat seaman, and then procured him a Lieutenant's commission (h). He was in this rank at the close of the second Dutch war, when our trade to the Levant being distressed by the corsairs of Tripoli and Algiers, a Squadron was ordered to suppress their insolence, under the command of Sir John Narborough; who, arriving before Tripoli in the spring of 1675 (i), found every thing ready to give him a warm reception. The Algerines, upon his first appearance, drew up their ships of war under the cannon of their mole, and the pirates of Tripoli following the example of their confederates, had brought their ships under the walls of their town, and the artillery of a fort that commanded the harbour (k). The appearance of the enemy's strength, joined to the tenor of Sir John's instructions, by which he was directed to try negotiation rather than force, determined him to send a person in whom he could confide to the *Dey* of Tripoli, to propose an accommodation, upon receiving satisfaction for what was past, and security for the future. The Admiral pitched upon our Lieutenant, who attended this expedition, to carry the message. Accordingly he went on shore, and delivered it with great spirit. But the *Dey* despising his youth, treated him with much disrespect, and sent him back with an indefinite answer. Mr Shovel, on his return to the Admiral, acquainted him with some remarks he had made on shore: Sir John sent him back with another message, and well furnished with proper rules for conducting his enquiries and observations. The *Dey's* behaviour was worse the second time; but Mr Shovel bore it with patience, and made use of it as an excuse for staying some time longer on shore: And when he returned, he assured the Admiral that it was very practicable to burn the ships in the harbour, notwithstanding their lines and forts. Accordingly, in the night on the fourth of March, Lieutenant Shovel, at the head of all the boats (l) in the fleet filled with combustible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and destroyed the enemy's ships, with a degree of success scarce to be conceived [A]; and Sir John Narborough gave so honourable an account of it in all his letters, that the next year our Lieutenant was rewarded with the command of the *Sapphire*, a fifth rate; from whence he was not long after removed into the *James Galley*, a fourth rate, in which he continued 'till the death of King Charles the Second; who first raised and had always a great kindness for him (m). Whatever grateful sense he might have of this kindness, yet he did not think it sufficient to justify a compliance with the arbitrary and illegal measures of the succeeding reign. He appeared among those sea commanders, who, at the risque of their posts, bravely rejected every attempt that was made upon them in that design; and the event is a remarkable proof of the high esteem he was then in. When threatenings failed, it was resolved to try what favours would do; in that view

King

[A] *A degree of success scarce to be conceived*] The vessels burnt, which were all that lay in the harbour, were the *White Eagle* crowned, of 50 guns, the *Looking-glass*, of 36, the *Santa Clara*, of 24, and a *French* vessel, of 20: After which he returned safe to the fleet, without the loss of so much as a single man (1). This extraordinary action struck the *Tripolines* with amazement, and made them instantly sue for peace. Yet when they came to treat, refusing to make good the losses sustained by the English, Sir John cannonaded the town; and finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about 20 leagues from the town, and there burnt a vast magazine of timber, provided for building ships. When all this failed of reducing these people, Sir John failed to *Malta*; and after remaining there for some time, returned suddenly upon the enemy, and distressed them so

much, that they were glad to conclude a peace on the terms prescribed. Yet soon after the conclusion of the peace, some of their *corsairs* returning into port, not only expressed a great dislike thereto, but actually expelled the *Dey* for making it, and began to take English ships as before. Sir John being still in the Mediterranean, and having notice of what passed, presently appeared with eight frigates before *Tripoli*, and began with such violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and to deliver the authors of the late disturbances to condign punishment (2). Tho' our young hero is not particularly mentioned in these subsequent actions, yet no doubt he had a good share in them, as he was all the while in the Squadron with Sir John.

(a) Secret Memoirs of the Life of Sir Cl. Shovel, &c. p. 1. edit. 1738, 8vo. By a gentleman who was several years under the command of that Admiral.

(b) Inscription on his monument in Westminster abbey, where his shipwreck is dated October 22, 1707, in the 57th year of his age.

(c) Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 266. Lond. 1750, 2vo.

(d) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 4, 5.

(e) Lives of the Admirals, as before.

(f) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 7: Mr Campbell, indeed, tells us, he was cabin boy to Sir Christopher Mynns, but gives no authority; and the author of the Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 8. observes, that Sir John Narborough served Sir Christopher Mynns in that station.

(g) See his article in the appendix.

(h) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 8, 9, 10.

(i) I. e. according to the new style, or in the latter end of 1674 of the old style.

(k) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 10.

(l) Ibid. where it is observed, that he commonly led the van in all the engagements of which he had a share afterwards.

(m) Compleat History of England; and Burchet's Memoirs.

(1) Sir John Narborough's Letter to Sir Paul Rycaut.

(2) Burchet's Naval History.

(n) Burchet's
Memoirs.

(o) So called from that King, who first asserted the English dominion on the Narrow Seas, as 'tis said, in this very ship, which had continued the same, according to the rule of preserving one plank at least of the old ship, as often as it becomes necessary to rebuild her. I need not observe, that she is still existing in the navy.

(p) The number killed on both sides was pretty much upon a par; but the loss sustained by the Edgar, which bore the hottest brunt of the engagement, was nearly equal to the whole number slain on board all the other English ships. Secret Memoirs, p. 19.

(q) Ibid. p. 20. Captain Ashby of the Defiance was also knighted at the same time.

(r) Secret Memoirs, p. 21 to 25.

(s) Ibid. p. 27. and Burchet's Naval History.

(t) Burchet.

(3) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 201.

King James preferred him to the command of the Dover, a fourth rate (n). He accepted the commission, without changing his principles; by which means, he was luckily possessed of this command at the Revolution: When, closing heartily with the new government, he was very active in the service, and rendered himself so conspicuous, that his rise in the Navy was as quick as he could wish. We find him in the command of the Edgar (o), a third rate, at the battle of Bantry Bay, in 1689; where he gave such signal marks of his courage and conduct (p), that, when King William went to Portsmouth, in order to reward the seamen for their service in that action, he dined on board the Elizabeth with Admiral Herbert; and having created him Earl of Torrington, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Captain Shovel (q). During the winter of the year 1690, he was employed in cruising in the Soundings, and on the coast of Ireland, to prevent the enemy from landing any recruits. He had not been long upon this station, when he received advice, that there were several ships of war, French and Irish, which at low water lay dry on the sand in Dublin Bay. Sir Cloudesley immediately stood into the Bay, and soon discovered, a considerable way in, an English ship of good force, a small French man of war of twelve guns, and two or three other ships filled with soldiers, thought to be a sufficient guard to secure them from any danger. But all these precautions were not proof against the resolution of Sir Cloudesley; he determined to reduce them to ashes, in the sight of King James's capital, and in the presence of a numerous garrison. To carry this project into execution, he left his flag, and went on board the Monmouth yacht; and at a little more than half flood, the wind being northerly, with that yacht, two hoys belonging to men of war, a ketch, and the pinnaces, he passed the bar with a surprizing bravery. The small armada of the Irish seeing this, and perceiving his intention, cut their cables, and sailing as close to the shore as the bank of sand would permit, fired several guns at him, and called for assistance from the garrison at Dublin, and did all that was possible to secure themselves from so unexpected an attack. Sir Cloudesley pressed forward, in spite of all opposition, exposed to the fire of the ships, and of the small-shot, which flew very thick from King James's militia. As soon as he was near enough, he gave a signal for a fireship, which waited his orders to come in: this being obeyed, the soldiers in the largest ship, which Sir Cloudesley first attempted, deserted her, and the others ran themselves aground. Hereupon he ordered the largest ship to be boarded; which being executed with all imaginable briskness, every thing, that might retard her being conveyed away, was thrown overboard, and the sailors, with the assistance of their pinnaces, towed her off; to the inexpressible confusion of the persons who stood on shore, sad spectators of this daring action [B]. But Fortune had cut out more work for the courage of Sir Cloudesley, before she permitted him to return to his squadron. In turning out of the Bay, the wind veered from the sea, and drove one of the hoys aground; so that it was impracticable to bring her off, before the water fell away from her. Sir Cloudesley was unwilling to leave her behind him; he ordered her to be lightened as much as possible, and all the vessels and boats that went in to take her, remained as her guard, till the return of the tide should admit the carrying of her away. All this while he continued in the Monmouth yacht. At the lowest ebb, the hoy was upon dry ground, and many thousand people crowded upon the strand, where was also King James and his guards. The English lay in their boats armed, and ready for the rencounter. The Irish battalions advanced with a pretended bravery, and made a discharge or two, but quickly retired, and permitted the English to do the same with their prize, as soon as a sufficient quantity of water gave them leave (r). In June this year, 1690, Sir Cloudesley was pitched upon to convoy King William and his army into Ireland. With this important charge, he set sail on the 11th from Highlake, attended with five men of war, six yachts, and a great number of transports. The wind and weather was scanty favourable at first, but soon after a fresh gale sprung up, and he set his Majesty safe a shore at Carrickfergus, on the 14th (s). In matters of this nature, Sir Cloudesley, without question, was one of the ablest commanders that ever put to sea; and the King was so highly satisfied with his diligence and dexterity on this occasion, that he made him Rear-Admiral of the Blue, with this particular mark of esteem, that he delivered him the commission with his own hands (t). After performing this service, it was intended he should join the grand fleet [C]; but on the 10th of July, King William receiving information, that the enemy intended to send upwards of twenty small frigates, the biggest not above thirty-six guns, into St George's-Channel, to burn the transport-ships, he was ordered to cruise off Scilly, or in such a station as he should judge most proper to prevent such a design; and to send frigates to ply eastward and

[B] *Spectators of this daring action.*] This frigate, which Sir Cloudesley brought away with him, was the *Pelican*, she carried 20 guns, and was the largest man of war then in King James's possession; she had been taken from the Scotch the preceding year, by the French, when they conducted some forces to Scotland, for the assistance of the Highlands, then in rebellion (3).

[C] *It was intended he should join the grand fleet.*] Accordingly, Lord Torrington was waiting for him with the Plymouth squadron, and some other ships, when he received the news of the Brest fleet's arrival up-

on our coast, which brought on the battle of *Beachy-head*. As this was one of the most disgraceful actions in our naval history (4); the writer of the secret Memoirs, having given a particular account of it, observes, that Sir Cloudesley was very fortunate in being absent from an engagement, where his obeying orders, would have exposed him to the hazard of his reputation, or the disobeying them, called him to a court-martial. This then must be ranked among those lucky incidents which necessarily concur in the raising and forming of an illustrious character.

(4) It is well known, that Lord Torrington was tried, and tho' cleared by the Court, yet he was soon after dismissed the service. General Histories of England.

[D] To

and westward, to gain intelligence of the body of the French fleet, so that he might be the better able to provide for his own safety. And they, upon meeting with Vice-Admiral Killigrew in his return from the Streights, were to give him notice of all circumstances, that so he might likewise take care not to be intercepted. Sir Cloudefley cruized up and down in the aforesaid station, 'till the 21st of July, without meeting any thing remarkable; and then the *Dover* and *Experiment* joined him from the coast of Ireland, with a ketch that came out of Kingsfale, on board of which was Colonel Hacket, Captain John Hamilton, Archibald Cockburn, Esq; Anthony Thompson, Esq; Captain Thomas Power, Mr William Sutton, and six servants, who were following King James to France, in order to accompany him in his intended expedition to England. They gave Sir Cloudefley an account, that King James took shipping at Duncannon, and sailed to Kingsfale; but after staying there a little above two hours, he proceeded to France, with two Spanish Frigates, that had lain there for that purpose a considerable time; and that he carried with him the Lord Powis, Sir Roger Strickland, and Captain Richard Trenavon (u). Hereupon Sir Cloudefley returned to Plymouth, where he found the Mediterranean Squadron just arrived from Cadiz, under Vice-Admiral Killigrew; who having there received letters from the Lords of the Admiralty, informing him that the French, after an engagement [at Beachy-head], had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about Rye, Dover, and those parts, and that therefore he was to take care of his squadron, he called a council of war, at which were present the Dutch Admirals, Allemonde and Evertzen, and Sir Cloudefley Shovel; when it was determined, as the safest course to secure them from any attempts of the French, to proceed with the ships into Hamoze, within Plymouth Sound (w). But here our Rear-Admiral received orders to proceed, with the ships under his command, for Kingsfale, to intercept some French frigates, that were said to be on that coast. Arriving at Waterford-river, he received the agreeable news of General Kirke's having made himself master of the town of Waterford; but was at the same time informed, that Duncannon-castle, which by it's situation commanded the river, still held out, and that the General, for want of cannon, was not likely to take it. Upon this, considering the importance of the place, and that no use could be made of the port of Waterford, while this castle remained in the hands of the enemy, he sent the General word, on the 27th of July, that he was ready to assist him, by sending some frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could spare out of his squadron, under the protection of their guns: accordingly the next day he sent in the *Experiment* and the *Greyhound*, two small ships, to batter the castle, and under their fire landed between six and seven hundred men, all the boats of the fleet being employed in this service. The castle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpose; but when once General Bourk, who commanded there, saw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate (x), and marched out of the castle, with 250 men, with their arms and baggage; leaving to the English the fortress, which was furnished with forty-two pieces of cannon, a noble reward for one day's hard duty (y). After this success, the Rear-Admiral sailed for Limerick, where he was informed the French had a considerable number of ships; but finding soon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own squadron began to be in want of provisions and sea-stores, he came to a resolution of retiring to Plymouth, where he received a considerable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in quest of the enemy; but these orders, which came from the Lords of the Admiralty, were countermanded, on the 18th of September, by a fresh order from the King (z), directing him to detach ten ships into the Soundings for the protection of the trade, and to sail with the rest for the Downs; which he accordingly did. The remainder of the year 1690 was spent by Sir Cloudefley for the most part in cruising, 'till he was ordered to make part of Sir George Rooke's squadron, which escorted the King from Holland, and from which service he did not return into the Downs 'till Jan. following. The naval operations of the year 1691, ended very little to the profit, honour, or satisfaction, of the nation, which occasioned attempts in the House of Commons, to fasten upon Ruffel the miscarriages, as they were called, at sea (aa) [D]. But it was Sir Cloudefley's felicity, that as his services were well intended, so, generally speaking, they were well received; and if Sir Cloudefley Shovel at any time missed of success,

(u) Lives of the Admirals, as before, p. 270.

(w) Burchet's Memoirs, and Naval History.

(x) Bourk had declared his resolution to defend both town and fort, as long as one stone remained upon another, but surrendered before there was so much as one stone beat from another. Burchet's Naval History.

(y) Ibid. p. 432.

(z) Who after raising the siege of Limerick, had returned to England on the 5th of September. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

(aa) Lives of the Admirals, p. 271.

[D] To fasten upon Ruffel the miscarriages as they were called at sea.] Upon the dismissal of the Earl of Torrington, Ruffel, afterwards Earl of Orford, was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief: who, in pursuance of his instructions, assembled a fleet, consisting of ninety-one ships, of which fifty seven were of the line of battle; and the whole being divided into two squadrons, commanded by the Admirals of the red and blue flags, Sir Cloudefley was consequently included in it. The grand design was to attack the French fleet under Tourville. Accordingly, Ruffel being joined, tho' late, by the Dutch, bent his course to the French coast, in pursuit of their fleet; and arriving in that station in July, he sent Sir Cloudefley Shovel to look into Brest, where he saw about forty sail coming out of that port; which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ships from Bretagne, escorted by three men of war.

Sir Cloudefley to decoy these ships into his hands, made use of an excellent stratagem: He knew the French had intelligence that a small squadron of their fleet had made prize of several English merchantmen; laying hold therefore of this piece of false news, he ordered part of his squadron to put out French colours, and the rest to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally suppose it to be that squadron with their prizes. This succeeded in part, tho' the enemy discovered the trick before he was near enough to do much mischief. Admiral Ruffel being ordered to keep abroad later than he wished, for the safety of the fleet, met with a storm, in September, by which several capital ships were greatly damaged. He came to an anchor in the Sound, gave orders for repairing these damages, and left Sir Cloudefley at Plymouth, to see it performed (5).

(5) Burchet's Memoirs, p. 87. N. B. Here we have another attestation of what has been before observed, that Sir Cloudefley excelled in such kind of services.

success, no body ever pretended to fix imputations upon his conduct; his courage and his sincerity were alike unquestionable; and though this was not the most credulous age, yet there was never heard of such an infidel, as one who did not believe Shovel had both. On this account, most people were very well satisfied, when the King, just before he set out for Holland (*bb*), in the spring of the year 1692, declared him Rear-Admiral of the Red, and at the same time commander of the Squadron that was to convoy him thither (*cc*). On his return from thence, he joined Admiral Ruffel [*E*] with the grand fleet, and had a great share in the glory of the famous victory at La Hogue. For the French, after an engagement for some hours, breaking their line, and Tourville being discovered to tow away northward, when the weather cleared up, the English Admiral gave the signal for chasing, and sent notice to all his ships, that the enemy was retiring. At the same time, several broadsides were heard to the westward; and though the ships that fired could not be seen, it was concluded they were the blue squadron, that by a shift of wind had weathered the French. It proved, however, to be the brave Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Rear-Admiral of the Red, who had with wonderful pains and diligence weathered their Admiral's own squadron, and got between them and their Admiral of the Blue; but after he had fired upon the French for some time, Tourville, as well as the Admiral of that squadron, came to an anchor, with some of the ships of their division, but could not discover one another by reason of the thickness of the weather (*dd*) [*F*]. In 1693, the heat and animosity of parties produced an extraordinary change in the command of the fleet; when, instead of appointing an Admiral, the King, by way of compromise, granted a commission to Henry Killigrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley, to execute that office. The two former were declared Tories, and Shovel a determined Whig, though without any party spirit; yet this proved a bad expedient. They were indeed all good seamen, and probably meant their country well; but not agreeing in the manner of serving it, the consequence proved the destruction of the Smyrna fleet, which so much disgraces our annals of this year [*G*]. However, upon the enquiry of the Parliament into that affair,

Sir Cloudesley,

(*bb*) He embarked on the 5th of March, 1691-2. Salmon's Chron. Hist.

(*cc*) Lives of the Admirals, as before; and Secret Memoirs.

(*dd*) Ibid. p. 271, 272.

[*E*] *He joined Admiral Ruffel.*] At this time a report was bruited about, that the officers of the navy were bribed by the emissaries of France, to betray the fleet into the possession of King James; and the forces which now began to draw together, and were to be commanded by him, gave further uneasiness to our Court; whereupon the following address was presented to her Majesty, signed by Sir John Ashby, Admiral of the Blue, Sir Ralph Delaval, Vice-admiral of the Red, Mr Rooke, Vice admiral of the Blue, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Rear-admiral of the Red, and Mr Carter, Rear-admiral of the Blue, besides several Captains. 'We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, Flag-officers and Captains of your Majesty's fleet, out of that deep and grateful sense we have of your Majesty's good and just opinion of our loyalty, and fidelity, imparted to us by the Right honourable the Admiral Ruffel, in a letter to to him from the Earl of Nottingham, in behalf of ourselves, and all the other officers and seamen; humbly presume to address ourselves to your Majesty at this juncture, to undeceive the world in those false and malicious reports that have been lately spread, in prejudice of your Majesty's service, by people of unreasonable disaffection to your Majesty's government, and an absolute aversion to the quiet, and good of their country; that there are some among us, who are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to your Majesty's service (6): We therefore must humbly beg leave to add to our repeated oaths, the assurance of our fidelity, that we will with all imaginable alacrity and resolution, venture our lives in defence of your Majesty's undoubted rights, and the liberty and religion of our country, against all foreign and Popish invaders whatsoever; most heartily beseeching the great God Almighty, to preserve your Majesty's most sacred person, direct your councils, and prosper your arms both by sea and land (7).'

Sir Cloudesley was as forward to promote this address as any gentleman in the navy, tho' he was far from being suspected either by the Queen or Ministry. Admiral Carter was the person particularly struck at; but without any foundation.

[*F*] *By reason of the thickness of the weather.*] King James bore the loss of all his hopes, in this defeat, with inconsolable grief, as appears by the following letter which he wrote to his Most Christian Majesty.

'Monsieur, my Brother;
'I have hitherto, with some constancy and resolution, supported the weight of all the misfortunes, which it has pleased Heaven to lay upon me, so long as myself was the only sufferer; but I must

'acknowledge this last disaster utterly overwhelms me,
'and I am altogether comfortless, in reference to what
'concerns your Majesty, thro' the great loss that has be-
'fallen your fleets. I know too well, that my unlucky
'star it is, that has drawn down this misfortune upon
'your forces; always victorious, but when they fought
'for my interests: And this is that which plainly tells me,
'that I no longer merit the support of so great a Mo-
'narch, and who is always sure to vanquish, when he
'fights for himself; for which reason it is, that I re-
'quest your Majesty no longer to concern yourself for
'a Prince so unfortunate as myself, but permit me to
'retire with my family, to some corner of the world,
'where I may cease to obstruct the usual course of your
'prosperities and conquests, which only my misfor-
'tunes could interrupt. It is not just that the potentest
'Monarch in the world, and the most flourishing above
'all others, should share in my disgrace, because you
'are too generous: 'tis better much that I should re-
'tire, 'till it shall please omnipotent Providence to be
'more propitious to my affairs. But, howsoever it please
'over-ruling Heaven to dispose of me and mine, or into
'whatsoever recess I may be thrown, I can assure your
'Majesty, that I shall always preserve to the last gasp
'of my expiring breath, that due acknowledgment,
'which I still retain for your favour and constant friend-
'ship; nor can any thing contribute more to my con-
'solation, than to hear, as I hope to do, when I have
'wholly quitted your dominions, of the quick return
'of all your wonted triumphs, both by sea and land,
'over your enemies and mine, when my interest shall
'no longer be intermixed with your's.

I am,

Monsieur,

my Brother,

your's, &c.

J A M E S Rex (8).'

[*G*] *Which so much disgraces our annals.*] The Dutch upon this occasion played off their wit in a picture, wherein the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, the two ends of the cord being respectively held by his colleagues; to insinuate that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the Admirals Killigrew and Delaval, had not hindered him.

[*H*] *The*

(6) The Queen declared, she did not believe these reports, and that she would displace no body from their posts on that account. General Histories of England.

(7) The Gazettes for this year.

(8) From a copy preserved in the Secret Memoirs of our Admiral, p. 55, 56.

Sir Cloudesley, at the bar of the House, defended his colleagues as well as himself, and gave so clear and plain an account of the matter, that it satisfied all people, who were capable of being satisfied, of the innocence of the commanders; that is, in point of treachery, which, though it had been asserted by a vote of the House of Commons, yet the proposed resolution to censure them passed in the negative (*ee*). In the year 1694, Admiral Russel was replaced in the chief command of the fleet; and the character of Sir Cloudesley remaining absolutely unimpeached, we find him again at sea this year, acting in the Channel, and on the French coast; where he had the honour to command as Vice-Admiral of the Red, under Lord Berkeley Admiral of the Blue, in the famous expedition to Camaret-Bay, which, unfortunate as it proved *, yet Sir Cloudesley distinguished himself, by his speedy and dextrous embarkation of the land-forces, when they failed upon it: as he did also, when, on their return to England, it was thought necessary to send the fleet again upon the coast of France, to bombard Diep and other places (*ff*). On the 27th of August, Lord Berkeley returning to London, the command of the squadron, which consisted now only of frigates and small ships, devolved upon Sir Cloudesley, who received express instructions to undertake the bombardment of Dunkirk at all events. Accordingly he attempted it, though without any good effect, through the fault of the engineer, who probably, for want of sufficient intelligence of the preparations which the French had made against this design, had promised more than either he or any other man could perform [*H*]. Sir Cloudesley, however, took care to demonstrate from his conduct, that no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat within the enemy's works, and so became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed to be done; and therefore, on his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed, as a man who would command success where it was possible, and omit nothing in his power where it was not (*gg*). The remaining part of this war was carried on at sea, chiefly by bombarding the towns and forts on the French coast; in which Sir Cloudesley had his share: and after the peace of Ryswick he was always consulted by his Majesty, whenever maritime affairs were under consideration †. After the declaration of war against France and Spain by Queen Anne, the ministry setting their eyes upon the galleons, a squadron consisting of twenty men of war was fitted out, in order to intercept them, under the command of Sir Cloudesley, then Admiral of the White. And when this design had been luckily anticipated (*bb*), he was sent to Vigo, after the taking that place by Sir George Rooke, to bring home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleet. This was in the latter end of the year 1702, and he performed all that was expected from him with that zeal and expedition which he had formerly shewn upon all occasions: for, arriving at Vigo on the 16th of October, he got things into such forwardness, that he carried off whatever could possibly be brought home, burnt the rest, and notwithstanding the stormy season of the year, the foulness of his ships, and his being embarrassed with prizes, arrived safely in the Downs on the seventh of November [*I*]; which the Court considered as so remarkable a service,

(*ee*) Chandler's Debates.

* General Histories of England.

(*ff*) Admiral Bebbow was constantly employed in executing the bombardments. See his article.

(*gg*) Trenchet's Naval Memoirs.

† Upon Lord Berkeley's resigning in Feb. 1697, his regiment of marines was given to Sir Cloudesley. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, Vol. I. p. 330. note (6).

(*bb*) See Sir George Rooke's article.

[*H*] *The engineers promised more than they could perform*] This attempt had been resolved on before Lord Berkeley's departure, and Mr Meesters, who is said to be the inventor and manager of the machines, called infernals (*g*), went to Flanders, in order to procure such pilots as were able to carry the squadron into the harbour of Dunkirk, or at least so far into the road, as might enable them to destroy the enemies ships. Sir Cloudesley sailed to the Downs in the beginning of September, and on the 7th was joined by Mr Meesters, with twenty-six pilots; when Captain Benbow was appointed to command the small ships, and to follow the directions of Mr Meesters, whose pilots did not perform what was expected from them. On the 12th however, Sir Cloudesley Shovel appeared before Dunkirk, with thirteen English, and six Dutch men of war, two bomb-vessels, seventeen machines, and other small craft. In the evening, Capt. Benbow went in and founded the western channel, between the Brake and the Main, notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the ships and the citadel. The next day all the boats and small vessels were sent in again, with the Charles galley, two bomb-vessels, and some of the machines. In the afternoon, two of the machines were sent in. The first took fire before she was near enough to do execution; whether it was that the cannon of the place set fire to it, as some of the French writers say, or that those on board finding it impossible either to bring it nearer, or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggest, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide set her on one side, so that she drove a cable's length, and then blew up (*io*). It was found, that the French had, according to custom, early intelligence, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and sinking ships on the back of the westernmost pier, had secured themselves against all attempts of this nature. Sir

Cloudesley being informed of this, and knowing that the spring tides were over, failed away for Calais, and on the 17th sent the bomb-vessels in, and threw so many shells into the town, that about forty houses were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great swell of the sea happening, the Admiral was forced to bear away: And the storm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to stay any longer, but returned with his whole squadron into the Downs, from whence the bomb-vessels and machines were sent into the river Thames (*ii*).

[*I*] *He arrived in the Downs on the 7th of November.*] Sir Cloudesley, in the space of a week, put the French men of war and other prizes, into the best condition possible; took out all the lading from a galleon, which was made prize by the Mary, and brought along with him the Dartmouth, which had been taken from us in the last war, and was now made prize by captain Wyvill; but as there was another ship of that name in the navy, the prize was called the Vigo. He also took out of the French ships that were run on shore, fifty brass guns, and brought off sixty more from the forts and batteries; after which, on the 24th of October, he set fire to the ships he could not bring away. The next day he left Vigo, but it proving calm, he anchored in the channel between that port and Bayonne, where he sent several prisoners on shore, with a flag of truce, and had ours returned in their stead. On the 27th of October he was again under sail, intending to have passed thro' the north channel; but the wind taking him short, he was obliged to pass thro' that which leads to the south, where the galleon which was the Monmouth's prize struck upon a rock and foundered; but there being several frigates on each side of her, all her men were saved except two. He was this day joined by the Dragon, a fifty gun ship, commanded by Captain Holyman, which had been attacked by a French man

(*g*) See an account of these machines in Admiral Benbow's article. But Stephen-Martin Leske, in the Life of Sir John Leske, ascribes this invention to that Admiral's father. See Sir John Leske's article.

(*io*) Campbell's Naval History of King William III. from the French accounts, in Histoire Militaire, Tom. III. and Journal Historique de Louis XIV. p. 197.

(*ii*) Life of King William.

(i i) The Queen had before made a promotion of sea-officers, in which Sir Cloudefley was left out. General Histories of England.

(k k) The Dutch were well contented with what was done, imagining the protection of their own trade was a matter of as great importance, at least to them, as the support of King Charles's title to the Crown of Spain, which the Court of Vienna at this time left entirely to the Confederates. Ibid.

(12) London Gazette, No. 3683, where it is said, the remainder of the fleet came in under the command of Sir Stafford Fairborne.

(13) Burnet commends him for it, Hist. of his own Time, under this year; but he had censured another Admiral for the same thing. Such is party-spirit.

* Upon his arrival there, the Governor refusing to give him a royal salute, he exerted himself in honour of the Union Flag, and used such means, as soon brought the haughty magistrate to a compliance. Tindal's Continuation, &c. under this year 1703.

service, that it was immediately resolved to employ him in affairs of the greatest consequence for the future (i i). Accordingly he commanded the grand fleet up the Straights in 1703, where he did every thing that was possible for an Admiral to do, whose instructions were very large, and who yet wanted force to accomplish almost any part of those instructions [K]; so that, notwithstanding the management of our affairs at sea was very severely censured that year in the House of Commons (k k), yet all parties agreed, that Sir Cloudefley Shovel had done his duty in every respect, and very well deserved the high trust and confidence that had been reposed in him *. In 1704, Sir George Rooke commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean; to reinforce which, Sir Cloudefley Shovel was sent with a powerful squadron, and he took such care, not only to execute his orders, but to distinguish in what manner they ought to be executed, that by joining the fleet in the middle of June, he was very instrumental in the success that followed [L]; as by that very action, he effectually disappointed all the French schemes, though that Court had boasted, they should be able to restore their maritime power, and give law to the confederates at sea this summer. He assisted in the reduction of Gibraltar (ll), and had a very considerable share in the action off Malaga, in which he behaved with the utmost bravery [M]. But he was very far from taking to himself what some afterwards endeavoured

man of war of much greater force, and the captain and twenty five men killed; but his lieutenant fought her bravely, and at last brought her safe into the fleet. In their passage they had extreme bad weather; and tho' the Nassau had the good fortune to make a very rich prize, which was coming from Morlaix, yet it foundered the next morning; and the weather was then so bad, that the squadron separated, every ship shifting for itself; tho' all had the good luck to get safe to England, but in a very shattered condition (12).

[K] He did all that could be done in his circumstances.] The fleet consisted at first of twenty-seven ships of the line, and the Admiral had under him, Rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterwards reinforced with eight ships more, these were commanded by Vice admiral Leake. His instructions were very large, but all of them might be reduced to these three heads, viz. annoying the enemy, assisting our allies, and protecting our trade. He waited 'till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ships of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him had been better adjusted than it was to the things he had orders to perform; yet the time allowed him, which was only to the end of September, was much too short, so that it was really impossible for him to execute the services that seemed to be expected. He represented this (13); but being however ordered to obey, he did so, but was not able to get clear of the land 'till the middle of July, having also a fleet of upwards of 230 merchant-men under his convoy. On the 24th he arrived off the rock of Lisbon, where he called a council of war, at which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea bay. He pursued his instructions as far as he was able; and having secured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have staid some time upon the coast of Italy. But the Dutch Admiral informed him, that both his orders, and his victuals required his thinking of a speedy return; and it was with much ado that Sir Cloudefley prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn *. In the mean time, the instructions he had to succour the Cevennois, then in arms against the French King, were found impracticable; and therefore the Admiral contented himself with doing all that could be done, which was to send the Tartar and the Pembroke upon that coast, where they found it impossible to do any thing. The Admiral then detached Capt. Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and sent Rear-admiral Byng to Algier, to renew the peace with those states, and on the 22d of September arrived off Altea, from whence he soon after sailed for England. On the 27th, in the Straights mouth, he met with an Algerine man of war becalmed, which he immediately took under his protection, 'till all the Dutch ships were passed; in which he certainly performed the part of an English Admiral, preserved the reputation of our Flag, did great service to our trade, and put it out of the power of the French to practise upon those piratical states, as they had done formerly. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant-ships waited for a convoy from Lisbon, he sent Sir Andrew Leake thither with a small squadron, who convoyed them safe into the Downs. On the 16th of November, the fleet being off the Isle of Wight, the Dutch crowded away for their own ports, and left the Admiral to steer for the Downs, which he did; but before he he made land, Captain (afterwards Sir John)

Norris, in the Orford, a third rate, together with the Warsprite of 70 guns, and the Litchfield of 50, being a-head of the fleet, gave chase to a French ship of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the dispute continued 'till two in the morning, when, having lost her fore-top-masts, and all her sails, and her standing and running rigging being much shattered, she struck. This ship came from Newfoundland, was commanded by Monsieur de la Ruë, was named the Hazardous, and had fifty guns mounted, with 370 men; but had more ports, and was larger than any one of our sixty gun ships, so that she was registered in the list of our royal navy (14).

Sir Cloudefley had been only a few days in the Downs, when the great storm happened, which began on the 26th of November, this year, 1703, about eleven in the evening, the wind W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flashes of lightning 'till about seven the next morning. Sir Cloudefley cut his main mast by the board, which saved the ship from running on the Galloper, of the breach of which she was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag as Vice-admiral of the Red flying in the Association, in which he was driven first to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home 'till the next year. The Revenge was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving some time on the coast of Holland, got into the river Medway; the Russel, Capt. Townsend, was forced over to Holland; and the Dorset, Captain Edward Whitaker, after striking twice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at sea, and then got safe to the Nore (15).

[L] He was very instrumental in the success that followed.] After Sir George Rooke was failed, the Court received intelligence, that the French were very busy in fitting out a great squadron at Brest. Upon this news it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a good fleet; which was put under the command of Sir Cloudefley, Admiral of the White, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, Vice-admiral of the Red, and George Byng, Esq; Rear-admiral of the same squadron. The Admiral was instructed, if he found the Brest squadron still in port, to send away the trade, storeships, and victuallers, under a proper convoy to Lisbon, and to remain before Brest himself, to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the Brest squadron failed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to Sir George Rooke, and if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail with them himself; that our fleet might at all events be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudefley executed his instructions punctually; and finding the Brest squadron were gone, and therefore that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean to oppose the French, he sailed thither about the latter end of May, and on the 16th of June joined Sir George Rooke, with his squadron off Lagos. When a council of war being called to consider what service should be proceeded on, it was at length, after a long debate, carried, to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar (16).

[M] He behaved with the utmost bravery in the action off Malaga.] In order to a clear understanding of Sir Cloudefley's

* The blame fell upon those who framed the project, and gave the Admiral his instructions. Ibid.

(11) See the account of that action in Burchet's Memoirs, &c.

(14) Burchet's Naval History, p. 656.

(15) Gazette, No. 3928.

(16) The writer of the Secret Memoirs, &c. says, the Council was determined to this resolution by Sir Cloudefley's arguments, p. 90, 91. See some account of the affair in Sir George Rooke's article.

endeavoured to confer upon him, the glory of beating the French fleet, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a distance (*m m*). This was not at all Sir Cloudesley's nature; he would no more be guilty of an action of that sort, than he would have been patient in bearing it. He knew very well his own merit, and his Admiral's; and he did justice to both in the letter he wrote on that occasion, a copy of which is inserted below [*N*]. Upon his return home, he was presented to the Queen by Prince George, Lord High-Admiral of England, and met with a very gracious reception. As Sir Cloudesley had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aside; so, after this was done in 1705, being made Rear-Admiral of England, and Admiral and Commander in Chief of the Fleet, he made no scruple in accepting a commission to act jointly with the Earl of Peterborough, as Admiral of the fleet destined for the Mediterranean. Accordingly he arrived at Lisbon with this fleet, consisting of twenty-nine line of battle ships, on the 22d of June. From thence he sailed to Altea-Bay, and there took in his Catholic Majesty; who pressing the Earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia, where he was assured the people were well affected to him, it was agreed to, and the fleet sailed accordingly to Barcelona on the 12th of August; where after some disputes the siege was undertaken, and the city surrendered in the end of September [*O*].
On

(*m m*) They are the words of Bl- shop Burnet, in the History of his own Times.

Sir Cloudesley's part in this important action, it will be necessary to give a short account of the strength of the two fleets, and the form in which they were drawn up. The French line, which consisted of fifty-two ships, and twenty four galleys, was very strong in the center, but weaker in the van and rear; to supply which most of their galleys were placed in those squadrons. In the center was the Count de Toulouse, High-Admiral of France, with the white squadron, having behind him the Marquis du Roy with four galleys. In the van was the white and blue flags, commanded by the Marquis de Vilette, with seven French, and five Spanish galleys, and the blue squadron formed the rear, commanded by the Marquis de Langeron, having behind him eight French galleys, under the command of the Marquis Fervisse. The line of the confederate fleet consisted of fifty-three ships, Sir George Rooke, the Rear-Admirals Byng and Dilkes, being in the center, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Sir John Leake, leading the van, and the Dutch ships forming the rear. A little after ten o'clock, Admiral Shovel, with the van, bore down upon the enemy, and was at some distance from our center; which the Marquis de Vilette observing, thought he might get a-head of that squadron with his foremost ships; and in that view made a signal to the head most ships of the French line, to crowd all the sail they could. Admiral Shovel still bearing down upon the enemy, insensibly found himself in their line a-head of them; which the French judging to be a favourable opportunity, resolved to make their advantage of it, by keeping their wind, and crowding all the sail they were able, in order to cut off our van from the rest of the fleet; hoping with reason, that if it grew calm, which usually happens in a sea-fight, their galleys might tow them off, so that they might make a double, and weathering Sir Cloudesley, might put him between two fires. But the Admiral perceiving the design, immediately elapt upon a wind; and Sir George Rooke foreseeing what would be the consequence, if his van was intercepted, bore down upon the enemy with the rest of the confederate fleet, and put out the signal for the fight, which was immediately begun by Admiral Shovel, and was continued with equal resolution on both sides, 'till about two in the afternoon; when Sir Cloudesley having disabled several ships of the enemy's van, obliged them to make out of the reach of his cannon. But Sir George Rooke had not the like success in the center, where the enemy being very strong, and several of our ships forced to go out of the line for want of shot, the battle fell hard upon the Admiral's ship the *St George*, and the *Shrewsbury*. This being observed by Sir Cloudesley, he immediately tacked a-stern, and reinforced the Admiral, by closing the line of the center; which excellent piece of seamanship decided the fate of the day (17). The Count de Tholouse shared the like fate with his van, and about seven o'clock was obliged to tow out of danger. The Dutch in the rear, continued indeed firing somewhat longer than the rest, but night coming on put a period to that dispute also.

[*N*] The letter is inserted below. This most admirably honest plain letter, which gives us a true picture of our Admiral, is as follows. This brings the news of my health, and that we are in our way homeward: That which sends us home so soon, is a very sharp

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engagement we have had with the French. Our number of ships that fought in the line of battle, were pretty equal, I think they were forty-nine, and we fifty three; but Sir George Rooke reserved some of the fifty gun ships, to observe if they attempted any thing with their galleys, of which they had twenty-four. Their ships did far exceed in bigness; I judge they had seventeen three deck ships, and we had but seven. The battle began on Sunday the 13th instant, soon after ten in the morning; and in the center and rear of the fleet, it continued 'till night parted them: But in the van of the fleet, where I commanded, we having the weather gage, gave me an opportunity of coming as near as I pleased, which was within pistol-shot, before I fired a gun; thro' which means, and God's assistance, the enemy declined us, and were upon the run in less than four hours; by which time we had little wind, and their galleys towed off their lame ships, and others as they pleased: For the Admiral of the white and blue, with whom we fought, had seven galleys attending upon him. As soon as the enemy got out of the reach of our guns, and the battle continuing pretty hot a-stern, and some of our ships in the Admiral's squadron towing out of the line, which I understood afterwards was for want of shot; I ordered all the ships of my division to slack all their sails, to close the line in the center. This working had that good effect, that several of the enemies ships a-stern, which had kept their line, having their top-sails and foresails set, shot up a-breast of us, as the Rear Admiral of the white and blue, and some of his division, and the Vice-Admiral of the white and some of his division; but they were so warmly received before they got a-broadside, that with the boats a-head, and their spritsails set, they towed from us, without giving us the opportunity of firing at them.

The ships that suffered most in my division, were the *Lenox*, *Warsprite*, *Tilbury*, and *Swiftsure*, the rest escaped pretty well, and I the best of all, tho' I never took greater pains in my life to be soundly beaten; for I set all my sails, and rowed with three boats a head, to get along side with the Admiral of the white and blue, but he out-sailing me, would not fight, and lay along side of the little ships.

Notwithstanding the engagement was very sharp, and I think the like between two fleets never hath been in any time, there is hardly a ship that must not shift one mast, and some must shift all: A great many have suffered much, but none more than Sir George Rooke, and Captain Jennings, in the *St George*. God send us well home; I believe we have not three spare top-masts, nor three fishes in the fleet; and I judge there is ten jury-masts now up. After the fight, we lay two days in sight of the enemy, preparing for a second engagement, but the enemy declined, and stood from us in the night (18).

[*O*] *Barcelona surrendered in the end of September, 1705.* The reduction of Barcelona has been always considered as one of the most extraordinary events of this war, and one may venture to affirm that nothing but the assistance of the fleet could have reduced it. In support of this assertion, we shall lay before the reader part of a letter written by Sir Cloudesley to his Royal Highness the Lord High-Admiral, dated October 12,

41 D

1705,

(18) From a copy in a piece intitled, *The Other Side of the Question*, wrote in an Answer to the Conduct of the *Duchess of Marlborough*. This letter was also printed in *Compleat History of Europe*, for 1704.

(17) See more of this in Sir John Leake's article.

(17) This was owing to the great things performed by Sir John Leake, for an account of which we refer to his article.

(18) Being in the Soundings on the 10th, the *Barfleur*, a second rate, sprung a dangerous leak, which obliged the Admiral to send her home, and to take the Earl Rivers and his principal officers into his own ship the *Association*. Burchet.

(19) The trenches were opened on the 9th of September. Burchet.

(20) Burchet.

On the first of October, it was resolved in a Council of War, that Sir Cloudesley should proceed for England, with the best part of the fleet. In pursuance of which resolution, he passed the Streights, with nineteen ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, on the 16th of October, and arrived happily at Spithead on the 26th of November following, after as glorious a sea-campaign as either ourselves or our allies could expect (17). The next year, 1706, Sir Cloudesley again commanded the fleet which sailed from St Helens on the 10th of August, with ten thousand land-forces, in the design of making a descent somewhere on the French coast; but not being joined time enough by the Dutch, this project proved abortive [P], and it was resolved that the fleet should proceed to Lisbon, with these forces on board, and that they should be employed in the service of his Catholic Majesty. But not sailing 'till the sixth of September (18), and meeting with very bad weather, it did not reach the river of Lisbon 'till the month of November; and even then, the disputes which arose in King Charles's Council, with the delays of the Portuguese, who were far from being hearty in his cause, disappointed all the designs of the maritime powers. In this uneasy situation, Sir Cloudesley did all that could be expected from a wise and vigilant commander. He sent Colonel Worsley to Valencia [Q], in order

1705, containing an account of what passed in the last days of the siege (19), in the following terms: 'The 17th, our battery of thirty guns was opened, and fourteen of them began to play with very great execution upon that part of the wall where the breach was designed; the *Earl of Peterborough* came a-board and represented to us the great necessity he laboured under for want of money for subsisting the army, and carrying on the siege of *Barcelona*, and the services in *Catalonia*, and, in very pressing circumstances, desired the assistance of the fleet; upon which our flag-officers came to the inclosed resolution, to lend the *Earl of Peterborough* forty thousand dollars out of the contingent and short-allowance money of the fleet. The 19th, we came to these resolutions, viz. to remain longer before *Barcelona* than was agreed on at the first, to give all the assistance in our power, and to lay a fire-ship ashore, with two hundred barrels of powder; and a further demand being made for guns for the batteries, we landed fourteen more, which made up in all seventy-two guns, whereof thirty were twenty-four pounders that we landed here, with their utensils and ammunition. We continue to bombard the town from the sea as our small store of shells, and the weather will permit. The 20th a demand was made for more shot, and we called together the English flag-officers, and came to a resolution to supply the batteries with all the twenty-four and twenty-eight pound shot, except a very small quantity, which was accordingly done.

'The 22d the Prince of *Lichenstein*, and the Earl of *Peterborough* having desired, at the request of his Catholic Majesty, that the town of *Lerida* might for its security be furnished with about fifty barrels of powder; and a further supply of shot being demanded for the batteries ashore, it was considered at a council of war, and we came to the inclosed resolutions, viz. To furnish fifty barrels of powder for *Lerida*, and to send so many more twenty-four and twenty-eight pound shot ashore, as would reduce the English to thirty rounds; as likewise to be further assistant upon timely notice.

'The 23d at night, our breach being made, and all things prepared for an attack, the town was again summoned, and they desired to capitulate, and hostages were exchanged; on our side Brigadier *Stanhope*, and on the enemy's the Marquis de *Rivera*; and all hostilities ceased (20)'

It must be confessed that Don *Velasco*, Governor of *Barcelona* for the Duke of *Anjou*, and the garrison, submitted to the arms of Lord *Peterborough*, but it was to the clemency and good-nature of Sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, that the same gentleman, the Duke of *Popoli*, the French and Italian soldiers who had served against the Allies in that siege, confided their lives, fortunes, and their honours; from his goodness they sought a protection, when even heaven and earth, the miquelets, the remainder of the garrison, and the burghers of *Barcelona* had declared against them; and 'twas by his justice and strict observance of the capitulation, they enjoyed a freedom, of which they had criminally deprived several persons who expressed their zeal a little too warmly for the house of Austria.

After the town had surrendered, a quarrel happened between the townsmen and the Viceroy, which had

near proved fatal to the latter. He had used the burghers both before and during the siege with an unreasonable severity, especially those that were the least inclined to favour the cause of King Charles the Third; he preserved the same austerity even in the reverse of his fortune, and to his four and morose deportment gave a further suspicion to the inhabitants, that he designed to carry along with him some prisoners of the state which were of their number: His haughty carriage, and these surmises, true or false, and the general odium he lay under, incited some of the meaner sort of citizens to draw into a body, who, being assisted in a little time by others of the better sort, and several hundred miquelets, violently broke open the prisons, and boldly charged the garrison, who were then issuing out at the breach, and threatened to sacrifice the Governor to their resentment; the tumult was at length appeased, by the prudence of his Excellency. In the mean time, the chiefest of the garrison, with their ladies, and the Governor himself, had taken sanctuary in a monastery, and at their earnest request, in the close of the evening they were carried on board Sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, from whom they received a treatment civil and honourable, attended with all the offices of compassion and humanity (21).

[P] *The project proved abortive.*] The design was framed upon the representation of some French Hugonots, particularly of the famous Marquis *Guiscard*, who was afterwards engaged in a design to assassinate the Queen. The land-forces for this service consisted of very near ten thousand men, which were to be commanded in chief by the Earl *Rivers*, and under him by the Lieutenant-Generals *Earle* and *de Guiscard*; the Earl of *Effex* and Lord *Mordaunt*, eldest son to the Earl of *Peterborough*, were to serve as Major-generals (22.)

[Q] *He sent Col. Worsley to Valencia.*] While this gentleman was gone, and before the Admiral had it in his power to take any settled resolution, the King of Portugal died; which threw the affairs of that kingdom into some confusion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We have observed already (23), that the Portuguese Ministry acted in a manner no ways suitable to the strict alliance which then subsisted between our Court and theirs. But now things grew worse, and whatever sentiments the new King might be of, his Ministers ventured to take some such steps as were not to be borne with patience by an Admiral of Sir *Cloudesley Shovel's* temper, of which we shall give the following instance.

In the beginning of December, the Admiral having appointed some cruising ships to proceed to sea, as they were going out of the mouth of the river, the Portuguese fired first at least threescore shot at them to bring them to an anchor, which he perceiving, sent orders to our captains to push their way through; and accordingly they did so without so much as returning a single shot at the forts. The Court of Portugal, upon his representation of this usage, pretended, that the officers of the fort had done it without orders, being only directed to fire at and detain a *Genoese* ship, whose master was indebted to the King. But the Admiral being certainly informed, that this very ship was at the same time lying before the walls of Lisbon, and that the master of her was ashore transacting his business, he let them know, in a manner which became a person in his post, thus affronted,

(21) Secret Memoirs, &c. p. 108, 109.

(22) Campbell's Naval History, Vol. III. p. 444.

(23) In Sir John Leake's article.

order to receive from the King himself and the General a certain account of their affairs, and a true state of the services they expected from him (pp). The Colonel returned with letters from the King and the Earl of Galway, informing him, that unless he could bring the forces, and land them so as that they might come to their assistance, things were likely to fall into as great confusion as they were in the winter before; whereby all the advantages would be lost, which had been procured at so vast an expence both of blood and treasure by the maritime powers. These advices gave the Admiral so much more concern, as he knew the ships were so much damaged by the rough weather they had met with in their passage, that it was impossible to fit them speedily for the sea; and that the land-forces were likewise so much reduced by sickness, death, and other accidents, that instead of ten there were scarce six thousand effective men. He resolved, however, to do the best he could to comply with the King's and the General's desires, the rather, because he saw that nothing but spirit and diligence could possibly recover those advantages, which had been lost through divisions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing with the utmost diligence the mischief that had been done to his ships, ordered the transports to be victualled, and made the other necessary dispositions for proceeding with the fleet and army for the Spanish coast, and was on the very point of embarking the troops, when he was restrained by an order from England. This order was obtained by the pressing instances of the court of Portugal, representing, that the forces might be more effectually employed in conjunction with their army. Orders were sent to this purpose, and a memorial was drawn up, containing the terms upon which her Britannic Majesty would consent to the propositions made by the Portugueze minister. But notwithstanding this application, the Portugueze being either unwilling or unable to comply with those demands, it was resolved, in a Council of War, to resume the former project, and to land them at Alicant; for which orders arrived soon after from England. Accordingly the Confederate fleet, on the seventh of January, 1707, sailed with the land-forces from Lisbon to Alicant, where they arrived on the 28th, and were actually landed (qq). But through the delays the expedition met with, and the reduction of the troops already mentioned, Sir Cloudesley, finding that his presence would be of little use there, and that the fleet stood in need of repairs, left Alicant on the 17th of February, and returned to Lisbon, where he arrived the 7th of March following [R]. There he received orders for the expedition against Toulon. In obedience to his instructions relating to that important affair, which, if it had succeeded, must have put an end to the war (rr), our Admiral made such dispatch, that on the 10th of May he sailed for Alicant; where having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded to the coast of Italy, and on the fifth of June came to an anchor before Final, with a fleet of forty-three men of war, and fifty-seven transports. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the Admiral, and soon after the fleet sailing for Nice, came to an anchor at the latter end of the month, between that city and Antibes; where, on the 29th, he had the honour to entertain the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, and most of the general officers, together with the English and Dutch ministers, on board his own ship the Association [S]. After dinner they held a Council of War, where it was resolved to force a passage over the Var, in which the English Admiral promised to assist. Accordingly, two days after, this daring enterprize was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable; and so indeed they had proved to any forces in the world except English seamen, as will appear by perusing the account of that action; which, with the rest of the proceedings of the fleet in this affair against Toulon, may be seen below [T]. Upon the Duke of Savoy's raising

(pp) He had, on his first arrival in the river of Lisbon, sent two ships of Sir George Byng's squadron to Alicant, with money and necessaries for the army then under the command of the Earl of Galway. Ibid.

(qq) When the Earl Rivers and the Earl of Essex returned to England. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1706.

(rr) See the General Histories of England.

affronted, that if they offered to attempt any such thing again, for they had done it before to Sir John Leake (24), he would not stay for orders from his mistress, but take satisfaction by the mouth of his cannon. This declaration had a very proper effect, and though it might not mend the principles of the Portugueze Ministry, it contributed however greatly towards teaching them better manners (25).

[R] He arrived at Lisbon on the 7th of March, 1706-7. The great defeat at Almanza happened on the 14th of April following. After which the Earl of Galway retired with the broken remains of his army, which nothing could have saved but the timely appearance of our fleet. Sir Cloudesley, knowing the distress our army was in through want of almost every thing necessary, sent Sir George Byng with a strong squadron to the coast of Spain for their relief. Sir George sailed on the 30th of March, and coming off Cape St Vincent on the 15th of April, he received there the news of our defeat; soon after which he received a message from Lord Galway acquainting him with the distress he was in, and desiring that whatever he brought for the use of the army might be carried to Tortosa in Catalonia, to which his Lordship designed to retreat, and that, if possible, he would save the sick and wounded men at Denia, Gandia, and Valencia, where it was intended the bridges of boats, baggage, and all things

that could be got together should be put on board. Accordingly he took care of the sick and wounded men, and sent them to Tortosa, where the Lord Galway proposed to make a stand with the poor remains of the army. This service employed Sir George Byng almost the whole month of April, and then he was in daily expectation of being joined by Sir Cloudesley from Lisbon, either on that part of the coast of Spain, or at Barcelona, whither he was designed (26). Accordingly we see above that Sir Cloudesley joined him at Alicant.

[S] He entertained the Duke of Savoy, &c. at dinner. Though Sir Cloudesley was not one of the politest officers we ever had (27), yet he shewed a great deal of prudence in the magnificent entertainment he made upon this occasion. The Duke, when he came on board the Association, found a guard of halberdiers in new liveries at the great cabin door. At the upper end of the table was set an armed chair with a crimson velvet canopy. The table consisted of sixty covers; and every thing was so well managed, that his Royal Highness could not forbear saying to the Admiral, at dinner, 'If your Excellency had paid me a visit at Turin, I could scarce have treated you so well (28).'

[T] The proceedings against Toulon may be seen below. The enemy's entrenchments on the Var, were extended above four miles into the country, and were defended by eight hundred horse, and six battalions of foot,

(26) Eurchet, as before, and Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

(27) He is generally ranked with Admiral Benbow in this particular, and was equally the favourite of the sailors. See Benbow's article,

(28) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

(24) See his article.

(25) Burchet's Naval History, p. 729.

raising the siege, and repassing the Var, there happened some new disputes, in which Sir Cloudefley had little or no concern. Her Britannic Majesty's minister laboured to persuade Prince Eugene to take upon him the command of all the forces in Spain, in which the Duke of Savoy likewise concurred; and Sir Cloudefley offered to transport his Royal Highness, with a body of troops under his command; but this proposition being rejected, his Excellency, not a little chagrined at the miscarriage of an expedition upon which he had set his heart, bore away for the Streights (s s), and soon after resolved to return home, which was the last act of his life. He left Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar, with nine ships of the line, three fifth-rates, and one of the sixth, for the security of the coasts of Italy, and then proceeded with the remainder of the fleet, consisting of ten ships of the line, five frigates, four fire-ships, a sloop, and a yacht, for England. On the 22d of October he came into the Soundings, and in the morning had ninety fathom water. About noon he lay by; but at six in the evening he made sail again, and stood away under his courses, believing, as is presumed, that he saw the lights on Scilly. Soon after which he made signals of danger, as several other ships did. Sir George Byng, who was then within less than half a mile to the windward of him, saw the breaches of the sea, and soon after the rocks called *the Bishop and his Clerks*, upon which the Admiral struck, and in two minutes there was nothing more of him or his ship seen [U]. There were near nine hundred persons with him on board (t t) the *Association*, among whom were his sons-in-law Sir John Narborough and James his brother, Mr Trelawney, eldest son to the

(s s) Burchet.

(t t) Not a soul of which escaped. The Chaplain happened to go on board another ship that morning, to administer the Sacrament to some dying people, and so saved his life.

foot, and a reinforcement was daily expected of twelve battalions more, under the command of Lieutenant-general Dillon, but before his arrival, Sir Cloudefley having observed to the Duke, that part of the French lines were so near the sea, that it was in his power to cannonade them, and that he would land a body of seamen who should attack the highest and strongest of their entrenchments, his Royal Highness consented to it. Accordingly on the first of July, Sir Cloudefley ordered four English and one Dutch man of war to enter the mouth of the river *Var*, where they began to cannonade the French lines; soon after which 600 English seamen landed in open boats, under the command of Capt. (afterwards Admiral) Norris, who was quickly followed by the Admiral, and having begun the attack, the enemy were so terrified with such an unexpected salutation, that they threw down their arms after a short dispute, and abandoned their works (29). They had scarce quitted their entrenchments, but they met in their retreat Lieutenant-general *Dillon*, at the head of his twelve battalions, and he was so astonished, that he suffered himself to be persuaded to abandon the town of *St Paul*, and continue this retreat (30). On the 2d of July, his Royal Highness and Prince Eugene, with the British Envoy and Sir John Norris, dined again on board the Admiral, and after dinner entering into a conference, the Duke of Savoy resolved to march directly to *Toulon*, hoping for a good conclusion of the affair. But the Duke having observed that even after *Toulon* was taken, himself and his army might find it impracticable to retreat. The Admiral replied, 'I hope better things from your Royal Highness's fortune; but if there should be any appearance of such a thing's happening, your Highness may rely upon me, I will take care to supply a sufficient number of transports to embark all your troops.' The Duke thanked him for his generous offer, told him he relied chiefly on the assistance he expected from him, and that if he would repair to the islands of *Hieres*, he should not long remain there before he should hear of the army's being in the neighbourhood of *Toulon*, and that then he should expect to see the fleet in the road. The Duke marched from the *Var* on the 3d, but did not arrive before *Toulon* till the 15th (31). The Admiral however sailed immediately with his fleet for the islands of *Hieres*, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemy's correspondence with Italy. On the 17th of July, he landed and assisted at a council of war, in which many demands were made on the fleet, and the Admiral promised all that was in his power, which he accordingly performed. A hundred cannon were landed from the fleet for the batteries, with two hundred rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners; and cordage, nails, and spikes, with all other things wanting for the Camp (for indeed they were but poorly furnished) were supplied from the ships: So that affairs had a very good face till the 4th of August, O. S. when, early in the morning, the enemy making a vigorous sally, drove the confederates from their works, and killed and wounded above 800 men, among whom were the Prince of Saxe-

(29) Sir John and his seamen scampered over the works so suddenly, that the French were struck with a panic.

(30) London Gazette, No. 4352. where there is an account of this expedition by authority.

(31) This dilatory march defeated the attempt, by giving the French time to strengthen the fortifications, as also for the arrival of the troops under de Fesse.

Gotha, and some officers of distinction. The next day, being the 16th of August, N. S. the fleet began to cannonade the town, and threw bombs in the night, which was continued till the siege was raised, and which obliged the French to sink all their capital ships, a distress that more than counterbalanced the whole expense of this service, great as it was (32). On the 6th his Royal Highness desired the Admiral would immediately embark the sick and wounded, and withdraw the cannon, in order to his raising the siege; his Royal Highness also informed him, that he purposed to decamp the 10th in the morning, and desired that the fleet might accompany the army as far as the *Var*. Accordingly, the very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as possible, and five bomb-vessels supported by the lightest frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under Rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort *St Lewis*, and notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the success that could be expected; by this means the land-army had time to quit their camp at *La Vilette*; which they did in five columns in great safety, the enemy having something else to do than pursue them: And as to any attempt afterwards, his Royal Highness put it pretty much out of their power, by marching in two days as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in six (33). Thus ended the famous siege of *Toulon*, from whence the Confederates hoped, and the French feared so much. Various reasons are alledged for the miscarriage of this enterprize, by the writers of those times, to whom we must refer, mentioning this one only, which particularly concerns our Admiral. It was said that Sir Cloudefley disgusted the Duke of Savoy, by detaining the payment of his subsidies, which were due on his passing the *Var*. But this report is apparently groundless, since the Admiral sailed the next day; and consequently he must either have paid the money, or his Royal Highness would not have stirred a foot further. Bishop Burnet too says *, that the Duke was afraid of getting to *Toulon* before the fleet; and in that case he would have wanted provisions: all our gazettes contradict this, and say, that if he had arrived there sooner he must have taken the place, and all the French magazines.

[U] *Nothing more of his ship seen.*] Besides the *Association*, the *Eagle*, Capt. *Robert Hancock* of 70 guns, and the *Romney*, Capt. *Will. Coney* of 50 guns, perished; the *Firebrand* fire-ship was lost likewise, but Capt. *Piercy*, the Commander, and most of the company were saved: The *Phoenix* fire-ship, Capt. *Samson* ran ashore, but was happily got off again. The *Royal Anne* in which Sir *George Byng* bore his flag, was saved by the presence of mind of the officers and men, who, in a minute's time set her topsails, when she was within a ship's length of the rocks. Lord *Durley* in the *St George* ran as great hazard, and was saved by meer accident; he struck on the same rocks with Sir Cloudefley, and that wave which beat out the Admiral's lights, set his ship afloat (34.)

(32) They had 46 of these then in the harbour, from 110 to 50 guns. London Gazette, No. 4357. where there is a list of them.

(33) London Gazette, as before.

* In the Hist. of his own Times, Vol. 11.

(34) London Gazette.

[W] His

the Bishop of Winchester, and several young gentlemen of quality. There is no saying how this unhappy accident fell out, or to whose fault it was owing; a report, indeed, prevailed, that a great part of the crew had got drunk for joy that they were in sight of land (uu). Sir Cloudesley's body was thrown ashore the next day upon the island of Scilly, when some fishermen took it up, and having stolen a valuable emerald ring from the finger, stripped and buried it. This ring being shewn about, made a great noise all over the island, and coming to the ears of Mr Panton, who was purser of the Arundel, he found out the fellows, declared the ring to be Sir Cloudesley Shovel's, and obliged them to discover where they had buried the body; which being done, he took it and carried it on board his own ship, in which it was transported to Portsmouth [W], conveyed from thence by land to London, and buried with great solemnity from his house in Soho-Square in Westminster-abbey (vv), where a fine monument of white marble was afterwards erected by the Queen's appointment, in order to do honour to the memory of so great a man and so worthy a subject (xx). Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the time of his death, was Rear-Admiral of England, Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of her Majesty's fleet; one of the Council to Prince George of Denmark as Lord High-Admiral of England, Elder Brother of Trinity House, and one of the Governors of Greenwich-Hospital; in all which stations he discharged his trust with the greatest honour and integrity. And as in his publick character he was an accomplished sea-officer, one who had the glory of his Queen and the good of his country at heart; so, in all relations of private life, as husband, parent, or master of his family, he conducted himself with such prudence, wisdom, and tenderness [X], that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her Majesty expressed a very particular concern for the loss of him, and was pleased to tell Sir John Leake, when she made him Rear-Admiral of England, that 'she knew no man so fit to repair the loss of the ablest seaman in her service (yy).'

Sir Cloudesley married the widow of his friend and patron Sir John Narborough, by whom he left two daughters, coheiresses; the eldest of which married Lord Romney, and the other Sir Narborough d'Aeth, Bart.

[W] His body was transported to Portsmouth.] So Dr Campbell; but the writer of the Secret Memoirs tells us, p 121. that after being embalmed, it was conveyed to Plymouth in the Salisbury, where it lay in the citadel in state, 'till by Lady Shovel's orders it was carried for London; when the hearse was attended by the Mayor and Aldermen in their formalities to the limits of the corporation, the soldiers of the garrison being under arms, the cannon of the place fired minute-guns, and all other honours were done to his memory which his worth and merits could deserve from a grateful people; and that upon it's arrival in London, it lay in state at his house in Soho Square.

[X] In all relations of private life, as husband, parent, &c. he conducted himself with tenderness.] The writer of the Secret Memoirs observes, that the friendship he lived in with his Lady, and the regard he always shewed her was almost without a precedent, that he used her sons by Sir John Narborough with the same

tenderness as if they had been his own; that as he acquired his fortune by just and honourable methods, so he behaved himself piously in the disposal of it; that his mother and sister shared his happiness, and that the former, who long survived her husband, was alive in her own country, when these memoirs were written in 1708, attended with an equipage agreeable to the mother of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. That his liberality was not confined only to his near relations, the most remote branches of his family were sensible of the happiness of being allied to him; his friends, his domestics, his dependants, were very often obliged to his bounty; and merit, honour and courage always found in him both encouragement and protection; that the presents he made were so considerable, and conferred with that greatness of mind, as deserved the name of magnificences; and that proportioning his gifts to his own generosity, he often exceeded the expectations of the suitors (35).

(xx) The inscription is drawn up in a becoming plainness and dignity of stile; but her Majesty was very ill used as to the rest, especially in the figure of the Admiral, who, besides an intolerable nonchalance in the limbs, is represented with a full bottom periwig on his head, and his body in armour, an absurdity which is handsomely animadverted on by the Spectator, No. 26.

(yy) Burchet, Oldmixon, and the London Gazette.

(35) Secret Memoirs, p. 4, 126, 137.

S L O A N E [Sir HANS], Bart. an eminent Physician and Naturalist, and founder of the *British Museum*, was of Scottish extraction; his father, Alexander Sloane, being at the head of that colony of Scots which King James the First settled in the north of Ireland, where our author was born, at Killileagh*, April 16, 1660 (a). He discovered a strong inclination for the study of Natural History even in his infancy (b); which being encouraged by a suitable education, he applied those hours, which youth is apt to squander in trifling amusements, to the study of Nature and admiration of her works. At the age of sixteen he was seized with a spitting of blood, which interrupted the regular course of his studies, and confined him to his chamber for three years. He had already learned enough of Physic to know that such a malady was not to be suddenly cured; and his prudence directed him to abstain from wine and other liquors that were likely to increase the disorder. By this severe regimen, which he constantly observed, in some measure ever after, he was enabled to prolong his life beyond the ordinary bounds prescribed for the age of Man; being himself an example of the truth of his favourite maxim, that sobriety, temperance, and moderation, are the best preservatives, and the most powerful that Nature has vouchsafed to mankind (c). He had hardly recovered this first attack, when his desire of perfecting himself in the several branches of Physic, which he had chosen for his profession, led him to London; where he might receive those helps, that he could not hope to obtain in his own country. With this view, presently after his arrival in that metropolis, he entered himself as a pupil to the great Stafforth, an excellent Chymist, bred under the illustrious Stahl; and by his instructions he gained a perfect knowledge of the composition and preparation of the different medicines of that kind, which he was to make use of in the course of his future practice. At the same time, he studied Botany at the famous garden at Chelsey (d). He likewise assiduously attended the public lectures of Anatomy and Physic in London; and, in short, neglected nothing which

(a) Eloge de M. Sloan, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for 1753.

(b) See his Last Will, and preface to his Natural History of Jamaica, Vol. 1. ed t. 1707, fol.

(c) His Eloge.

(d) The garden had been then lately, viz. in 1673, prepared for this use by the Company of Apothecaries in London. Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. VI. at the end

(uu) It is very remarkable, that he called a Council at this day, and lay by, the weather being hoary, and yet sailed at night. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year.

(vv) Dr Butler preached his funeral sermon, which was afterwards printed in 4to.

* In the county of Down, of which his father was collector of the taxes both before and after the Irish rebellion, and after the Restoration was a Commissioner of Arroy. He died in 1666, at Killileagh. Baronetage of England, Vol. IV. under the article Hans Sloane.

had the least relation to his profession. But his most distinguished merit was that of a Naturalist; and it was this part of his character that introduced him early into the acquaintance of two, the most eminent persons in that way of the age, Mr Boyle and Mr Raye, and he was very careful to improve their friendship, by communicating to them every striking object of curiosity or use that fell under his observation. His intimacy with these two great men continued 'till their death; and his observations often excited their wonder, and obtained their applause (e). After four years severe study at London, Mr Sloane resolved to visit foreign countries for further improvement. In that view, he set out for France, in company of two other students [A]. Having crossed the water to Dieppe, they set out for Paris. In the way, they were elegantly entertained by the famous Mr Lemery [B], the father; and, in return, Mr Sloane obliged that eminent Chymist

(e) Letters between Mr Raye and his Correspondents.

[A] *He set out with two others.*] One of these companions was Mr (afterwards Sir) Tancred Robinson, M. D. and Physician in ordinary to King George I. whose life for some time run on in a parallel course to that of our author. While he was at Montpellier, he wrote a letter to Dr Martin Lister, dated August 4, 1683, concerning the fabric of the remarkable bridge, called Pont de S. Esprit, on the Rhine, which was read to the Royal Society, November 7. and afterwards printed in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 160, for June 1684; after his return, he was proposed a candidate, Nov. 12, 1684, and elected a member of the Royal Society on the 19th (1). In March 1685, he communicated to the Society, several *Observations on some boiling Fountains at Peroufa in Languedoc, and others in the kingdom of Naples*, which was also printed in their Transactions (2). He was intimately acquainted with Mr. Raye, with whom he kept a correspondence by letter (3). On the 25th of March, 1685, was one of the committee appointed to consider about engraving a new set of prints of birds and fishes, in the books of Mr Raye, and Willoughby, which were very ill done (4). The same year, on St Andrew's day, when the annual election is made of their officers, Dr Tancred Robinson, was chosen Secretary to the Royal Society, and elected into the Council (5). His continuance in the first post, happened by reason of some disturbances among themselves to be short (6); but he held his seat in the council several years, and communicated several useful papers to them. He became one of the Fellows of the college of Physicians, and practised in his profession with great applause in London; being at length knighted by King George I. who made him one of his Physicians in ordinary, as abovementioned (7).

[B] *He gave four phosphi to Mr Lemery, &c.*] That the reader may form a better judgment of our author's merit, at these early years; it will be necessary to give some account of Mr Lemery, as follows. This celebrated Chymist was born Nov. 17, 1645, at Rouen in Normandy, of which parliament his father was a Proctor, and of the reformed religion. His son, whose name was Nicholas, having received a suitable education in the place of his birth, was put apprenticethere to an Apothecary, who was a relation. But finding in a short time; that his master knew little of Chymistry, he left him, in 1666, and went to improve himself in that art at Paris, where he applied to Mr Glazer, then Demonstrator of Chymistry in the royal gardens. This however did not answer his purpose. Mr Glazer was one of those professors who are full of obscure ideas, and was also far from being communicative: Lemery therefore staid with him only two months; and then leaving him, resolved to travel through France, in quest of some better masters. In this resolution he went to Montpellier, where he continued three years with Mr Vernant, an Apothecary, who gave him an opportunity of performing several chymical operations, and of reading lectures also to some of his scholars. These lectures were very useful to him, and he made such advances in Chymistry, that in a little time he drew all the professors of physic, as well as other curious persons at Montpellier, to hear him; having always some new discoveries to instruct and entertain the most able among them. This raised his reputation so high, that he practised physic in that university without a Doctor's degree. In 1672, having made the tour of France, he returned to Paris, where he commenced an acquaintance with Mr Martyn, Apothecary to Monsieur the Prince, and making use of the laboratory which this Apothecary had in the Hôtel de Condé, he performed several courses of Chymistry, which brought him into the knowledge and esteem of the Prince. At length he provided himself with a labora-

tory of his own; and might have been made a Doctor of physic, but he chose to be an Apothecary, by reason of his attachment to Chymistry, in which he presently opened public lectures, and had so great an affluence of scholars (8) that he had scarce room to perform his operations. Chymistry had been, 'till this time, a science in which there was little truth, and that so buried under a multitude of falsities, as to be utterly undiscernable. Mr Lemery was the first that dissipated these affected obscurities, reduced the science to clear and simple ideas, abolished the senseless jargon of barbarous terms, and promised nothing which he did not actually perform. At the same time he found out some chymical secrets, which he sold to good profit (9). But in 1681, his life began to be disturbed on account of his religion, and he received orders to quit his employ. At this time the Elector of Brandenburg, by Mr Spanheim his Envoy in France, made him a proposal to go to Berlin, with a promise of erecting a Professorship in Chymistry for him there; but the trouble of transporting his family to such a distance, added to the hopes of some distinction that would be obtained in his favour, hindered him from accepting that offer, and he was indulged to read some courses after the time limited by the order was expired. But at length this not being suffered, he crossed the sea to England in 1683, where he was well received by King Charles II. who gave him great encouragement (10). Yet as the face of the public affairs there appeared not more promising of quiet than in France, he resolved to return thither, tho' without being able to determine what course he should then take. In these difficulties, imagining that the quality of a Doctor of physic might perhaps procure him some tranquillity; he took that degree at Caen about the end of the year; and repairing to Paris, had a great deal of business for a while, but did not find that tranquillity which he desired; on the contrary, the state of the reformed religion grew daily worse; and at last the edict of Nantz being revoked in 1685, he was forbid to practise his profession, as well as other Protestants. However, he read two courses of Chymistry afterwards, under some powerful protections; one course being for the two younger brothers of the Marquis de Ségnelar, Secretary of State, and the other for my Lord Salisbury. At length he sunk under the persecution, and entered into the Romish Church, in the beginning of the year 1686. This change procured him a full right to practise physic, but he was obliged to have the King's letters for holding his courses of Chymistry, and for the sale of his medicines, as he was not now an Apothecary: However, these letters were easily obtained, and what with his pupils, his patients, and the sale of his chemical secrets, he made considerable gains. Upon the revival of the Royal Academy of Sciences, in 1699, he was made Associate-Chymist; and at the end of the year became a Pensionary, by the death of M. Bourdelin. In 1707, he began to feel the infirmities of age, and had some attacks of an apoplexy, which were succeeded by some degree of an hemiplegia, but not so severe as to hinder him from going abroad, so that he attended the academy for a considerable time; but at length was obliged to discontinue his attendance; and being confined to his house, he resigned his Pensionary's place. He was struck with the last stroke of the apoplexy in 1715; which after seven days put a period to his life, on the 19th of June that year, at the age of seventy (11). We have the following books published by him. (1) A Course of Chymistry. (2) An universal Pharmacopœia. (3) An universal Treatise of Drugs. (4) A Treatise of Antimony, containing the chemical analysis of that mineral.

(8) Among other auditors, were Rohault, Bernier, Auzout, Regis, Tournefort, &c. all persons well known in the learned world. Dict. Portatif. by M. L'Advocat, second edit. Paris, 1735, under Lemery's article.

(9) Among others, he discovered a pleasant emetic, which worked more surely than the ordinary ones in use, as also a mesenteric opiat, with which he pretended to perform surprizing cures. He was also the only person who knew at this time how to make the *blank d'Espagne*, of which he made a great deal of money. Moreri, and L'Advocat.

(10) No doubt Sir Hans Sloane saw him at this time, and perhaps it was then too that he shewed him the phosphori mentioned above. It is certain the writer of the Eloge is far from being correct, especially in dates.

(11) Nicéron Mémoires les Hommes Illust. Tom. IV. p. 212 to 220. and Histoire de l'Académie des Sciences, for 1715.

[C] *He*

(1) Birch's Hist. of the Royal Society, Vol. IV.

(2) In No. 169.

(3) See Letters between Mr Raye and his Correspondents.

(4) Birch's Hist. as before.

(5) Ibid.

(6) See the article of W. Molyneux, remark [H].

(7) Annals of King George I.

Chymist with a specimen of the four different kinds of phosporus; of which, upon the credit of other writers, Mr Lemery had treated in his book, but had never seen any of them before. At Paris, Mr Sloane lived as he had done in London; he attended the hospitals, heard the lectures of Messieurs Tournefort [C], Du Verney [D], and other eminent masters; visited the learned of every faculty, who received him with particular marks

[C] *He heard the lectures of Mr Tournefort.*] With this celebrated French Botanist, Sir Hans had some connections, which are greatly to his honour, as will be seen by the following narrative. Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, was descended of a noble family (12), born at Aix, in Provence, on the 5th of June, 1656. Like Sir Hans, he discovered in his infancy an extraordinary passion for the knowledge of plants, and often truanted from the Jesuits college at Aix, where he was put to learn Latin, in order to go a simpling in the fields; so that he soon knew all the plants about that place. However, his parents designing him for the Church, put him to study divinity, and placed him in a seminary. But the destination of nature prevailed (13), and by the death of his father, which happened in 1677, becoming his own master, he quitted Divinity, and applied himself entirely to the study of Botany, Natural History, and Medicine. In this disposition, he run over the mountains of Dauphiné and Savoy, in search of the most curious plants; with these it was that he laid the foundation of his Herbal in 1678, and the following year he went to Montpellier for further improvement in Botany and Physic. Besides the excellent physic garden there, he went all about the country as far as the distance of ten leagues, often bringing back such plants as were unknown at Montpellier. From which university, he passed, in April 1681, to Barcelona, and ran over the mountains of Catalonia, and the Pyrenees; whither he was followed by the Physicians of the country, as well as young students, to whom he read lectures upon plants. This was a dangerous tour; he was often robbed by the Spanish miquelets, and had some very lucky escapes (14); to which purpose he used to hide his ryals in his bread, which being very black and hard, was left untouched, through contempt, by the rogues, who searched him very narrowly. In these wanderings he had once also a very narrow escape of losing his life. In a village of Perpignan, the house where he lay fell so suddenly, that he was buried in the ruins, and lay there two hours before he could be got out, and then much hurt. He returned to Montpellier before the end of the year; and making a visit to his own house at Aix, he placed in his Herbal all the plants he had collected in Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. In 1683, Madame de Venelle, sub-governante to the children of France, engaged him to go to Paris, where she introduced him to Mr Fagon, first physician to the Queen, who procured the place of Professor of Botany in the royal garden of plants, for him. This employ did not hinder him from making new excursions: He went again to Spain, and passed thence to Portugal (15); he also went to Holland, and even to England, where he acquired the esteem and friendship of the greatest Botanists at that time. During the course of these travels, Mr Herman, the celebrated professor of Botany at Leiden, being very aged, offered to resign that chair to him, with a promise of obtaining from the States of Holland a pension for him of 4000 livres; but Mr Tournefort declined it, and returned to France, where he was enrolled a member of the Academy of Sciences in 1691, by Mr Bignon the inspector of that Academy, who knew him only by fame (16). In 1694, he published his *Elemens de Botanique, &c.* which was printed at the Louvre, in 3 vol. 8vo (17). This piece, containing a new system of Botany, was attacked by Mr Ray (18), to whom Mr Tournefort replied in a Latin dissertation in 1697. The controversy was carried on with great politeness on each side; and the French Botanist in a piece subsequent to the dispute, made Mr Ray some high compliments, even upon his system of plants. In 1697, Mr Tournefort was admitted Doctor of Physic of the faculty at Paris, and the following year he published his *Histoire des plantes qui croissent aux environs de Paris, avec leur usage dans la médecine* (19). In 1700, by the express command of Lewis XIV. he went into Greece and Asia, where he observed a great number of plants; he designed to have passed into Africa, but the plague being then in Egypt, he returned from Smyrna to France, in 1702. In this voyage he was accompanied by Mr Aubriet, an able

Painter, and Mr Gundelscheime, an excellent German Physician (20), who had been sent by him from Paris, to Sir Hans Sloane, to view what he had brought from the West Indies; and Sir Hans sent him back with an account of the whole, together with a present, containing among other things, sixty very extraordinary ferns, of which he had duplicates (21). This was the occasion of Father Plumier's being sent to the West-Indies, as appears by the following passage in Labat. 'An English physician having published a book of the plants in America, in which were plates of more than sixty species of ferns, it was thought for the honour of this nation, [France] to send somebody who should make further discoveries; accordingly Father Plumier was pitched upon for this design (22).' The discoveries which Mr Tournefort had made in his travels in the East, furnished materials for his *Corollarium Institutionum reiberbaricæ*, which was published in 1703. After his return to Paris, he resumed the practice of physic, and followed it as much as his other employments would permit; but his business at the royal garden, together with that of the royal college, where he held the physic Professor's chair, added to the necessary attendance in the royal academy, took up a great deal of his time. He resolved also to write an account of his last grand voyage. So many employments were too much for his health, of which he was not sufficiently careful. And whilst he was in this bad way, he received a violent blow upon his breast, which he thought would prove fatal to him, as it actually did; and after languishing for some months, he died on the 28th of December 1708. Besides his collection of plants, he had got together a prodigious number of other curiosities of art, as well as nature, as figured stones, rare marcasites, extraordinary petrifications and crystallizations, metals, habiliments, arms, and instruments of war of foreign nations; so that the whole made a superb cabinet, which he bequeathed to the King, for the use of the learned. His books he left to the Abbé Bignon: The two volumes of his travels were printed at the Louvre in 4to, the first before his death, and the second after it, from the manuscript which was found entirely finished. We have also of his writing an answer to two letters written upon the subject of Botany, by Mr Philip Collet (23), besides three memoirs inserted in the History of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris (24).

[D] *Du Verney.*] This famous Anatomist, whose name was Guichard Joseph du Verney, was born Aug. 15, 1648, at Feurs en Forés, where his father being a Doctor of Physic, followed the business. Having gone thro' the usual classes of grammar learning and philosophy, he studied physic five years at Avignon, where he soon became noted for his skill in anatomy, and read lectures in it with great accuracy and perspicuity. In 1676, he entered into the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris; and applying himself to study the natural history of animals, he had a good share in the history published by Mr Du Hamel in Latin. He was chosen to instruct in Anatomy that Dauphin, who was grandfather to the present Monarch, Lewis XV. And in 1679, was appointed anatomy professor to the royal garden; when he travelled into Low Brittany, to make dissections of fishes, and the following year he was sent to the coast of Bayonne on the same business. On his return to Paris, he had a prodigious concourse of pupils to attend his lectures *. When he began to decline thro' age, he petitioned to be a Veteran, and his place was filled by Mr Petit, M. D. He died Sept. 10, 1730, aged 82 years. He never published any more than one piece, intitled, *Traité de l'organe de l'Ouïe*; A Treatise of the Organ of Hearing; which was enough for his fame: and immediately after it's first appearance in French, was translated into Latin, and printed at Nuremberg. He held a correspondence with several eminent foreign anatomists, by whom he was much esteemed. By his last will, he bequeathed all his anatomical preparations to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris (25).

(20) He was afterwards Physician to the King of Prussia.

(21) Sloane's Natural History of Jamaica, &c. Vol. II. in the introduction, p. 16, 17.

(22) Tom. IV. p. 24. in his Journal for the year 1697. Sloane's History of Jamaica, Vol. II. in the introduction, p. 16, 17.

(23) It is inserted in the Journal des Sçavans, for 27 of May, 1697, under the name of M. Chomel.

(24) Niceron, Tom. IV. p. 354 to 371. and Tom. X. p. 154, 155. and Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences, for the year 1708.

* One year, besides natives, there was reckoned 140 foreigners.

(25) Hist. de l'Academie Royale, de l'an. 1730.

(12) His father was Eroyer Seigneur de Tournefort, & d'Aimare de Fagoue.

(13) He was encouraged in it by the example of his paternal uncle, who was an able Physician in great esteem.

(14) For instance, these robbers once being moved with his tears, restored his coat, where there was some money tied up in a handkerchief; which having slipped within the lining, was saved, as one may say, out of the fire.

(15) In Andalusia, which is a country that abounds with palm trees, he tried to verify the common story, concerning the love between the male and female tree, but could find no certainty in it.

(16) Mr Homberg was entered a member at the same time; that celebrated Chymist was then First Physician to Philip grandson of France, and Duke of Orleans.

(17) Elements of Botany, &c. He published a Latin translation of it, intitled, *Institutiones Rei Herbaricæ*, in 1700, in 3 vols, 4to.

(18) See his article.

(19) I. e. The History of the Plants which grow in the Neighbourhood of Paris, together with their medicinal use. It was translated by Dr Martyn, and published in 1732, 2 vols, 8vo.

marks of esteem; and employed himself wholly in improving his studies. From Paris he went to Montpellier, and having letters of recommendation from Mr Tournefort to Mr Chirac (*f*), then Chancellor and Professor of that University; he found an easy access, through his means, to all the learned men of the province; particularly to Mr Magnol; whom he always accompanied in his Botanical excursions about the neighbourhood of that famous city, where he beheld, with pleasure and admiration, the spontaneous productions of nature in that happy climate; and he learned, under the instructions of Mr Magnol (*g*), to class them in their proper order. Here, having found an ample field for contemplation entirely suited to his taste, he took leave of his two companions, whom a curiosity of a different kind led into Italy, and spent a whole year in collecting plants (*b*). At the end of which, he travelled through Languedoc, with the same view, and passing through Tholouse and Bourdeaux, returned to Paris, where he made a short stay, and set out for England, in the latter end of the year 1684, with an intent to settle and follow his profession. Upon his arrival at London, he made it his first business to visit his two illustrious friends, Mr Raye and Mr Boyle, in order to communicate to them the discoveries he had made in his travels. Mr Boyle he found at home, but Mr Raye was retired into Essex; to which retirement, however, he transmitted a great variety of plants and seeds, which Mr Raye has described, in his *Historia Plantarum*, with proper acknowledgments. He continued his correspondence with Mr Raye, as has been already said,—till that gentleman's death [*E*], which happened in 1705-6. About this time our author became acquainted with the celebrated Dr Sydenham, who soon contracted so warm affection for him, that he took him into his house, and recommended him in the most earnest manner to his patients (*i*). He had not been long in London, before he was proposed, by Dr Martin Lister, for a candidate, to be admitted a member of the Royal Society, on the twenty-sixth of November 1684; and being approved was accordingly elected, January the twenty-first following. After which, we find him communicating several curiosities to the Society in 1685 (*k*). And in July, the same year, he was a candidate for the place of their Assistant-Secretary, but was obliged to give way to the superior interest of his competitor, Dr Halley (*l*). On the twelfth of April, 1687, the Doctor was chosen a Fellow of the College of Physicians in London [*F*]. And the same year his friend and fellow-traveller, Dr Tancred Robinson, having mentioned to the Royal Society the plant called *Star of the Earth*, as a remedy newly discovered for the bite of a mad dog; Dr Sloane acquainted them, that this virtue of the plant was to be found in a book called *De Grey's Farriery*; and that he knew a man who had cured twenty couple of dogs therewith. This was observed by him the thirteenth of July, this year, 1687 (*m*); and on the twelfth of September he embarked at Portsmouth (*n*) for Jamaica, with Christopher, Duke of Albemarle, who had been lately appointed Governor of that island (*o*): The Doctor attended his Grace in quality of his Physician (*p*), and they arrived at Jamaica on the nineteenth of December following (*q*). Here a new field was opened for fresh discoveries in natural productions, the prospect of which probably might be one motive for his undertaking the voyage. The medical world, however, had been deprived of the fruits of it, had not our author, by incredible application, converted, as we may say, his minutes into hours (*r*). The Duke of Albemarle

(*f*) At a meeting of the Royal Society, May 6, 1685, our author, then a member of that Society, observed to them, that all the *cerebrum*, and not the *cerebellum*, of a dog, had been cut out at Montpellier by Mr Chirac, and the cranium filled with earth, and the dog had lived 24 hours; but another dog, by cutting out the *cerebellum*, presently died. Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. 1V.

(*g*) Dr Sloane, at another meeting, Feb. 9, 1686-7, presented them from the author, Dr Magnol's *Botanicum Montspelianse*, lately published. *Ibid.*

(*b*) He seems to have been created M. D. at Montpellier.

(*i*) His Eloge, as before.

(*k*) Birch's History of the Royal Society, Vol. 1V.

(*l*) See an account of this election in the article of W. Molyneux, Esq; remark [*H*]. Dr Sloane had nine voices, and Dr Halley 25. Birch.

(*m*) Birch, *ubi supra*.

(*n*) On board the Assistance frigate of 44 guns; but going thence to Plymouth, weighed anchor there October 5. Sloane's Voyage to Jamaica, prefixed to the first volume of his Natural History, &c. p. 1.

(*o*) See his article, in this Work.

(*p*) In their passage they called at Madeira, where the doctor was consulted, and, among others, prescribed for one of the nuns in the abbey of Santa Clara, who had a small tumour upon the os pubis. Voyage to Jamaica, as before, p. 13. He also collected some curious plants here. See his Catalogue of Plants, &c.

(*q*) Sloane's Voyage, &c. as before.

(*r*) Eloge de M. Sloane.

[*E*] He kept a correspondence with Mr Raye, 'till the death of that gentleman.] Several of these letters are printed in the collection already referred to (26), and there are others among our author's MSS. deposited in the British Museum. The last from Mr Ray, which was written ten days before his death, closed the correspondence in the following terms.

Dear Sir,

The best of friends: These are to take a final leave of you in this world. I look upon myself as a dying man. God require your kindness expressed any ways towards me, an hundred fold: blefs you with a confluence of all good things in this world, and eternal life and happiness hereafter: Grant us an happy meeting in heaven.

I am, Sir,

eternally your's,

JOHN RAY.

Black-Notley, Jan. 7, 1704 †.

Postscript. When you happen to write to my singular friend Dr Hatton, I pray tell him, I received his most obliging and affectionate letter, for which I return thanks, and acquaint him, that I was not able to answer it, or. — Here his strength failed him, and he was obliged to break off abruptly.

[*F*] He was chosen fellow of the College of Physicians.] This election happened upon a very extraordinary occasion, the history of which is as follows.

At a meeting of the Society 19^o Octobris 1685^o.

The President, Sir Thomas Witherley, Knt. and one of the King's Physicians, having acquainted them, that of his knowledge a *Quo Warranto* was to come forth against their charter in the beginning of the next term. It was put to the vote, and carried *nem con.* that the college should themselves deliver up their charter, &c. into his Majesty's hands; which surrendry was subscribed by all the fellows present, and afterwards by others that were then absent; and an instrument was produced and sealed with the college seal, by the President, in the view of all present.

29^o March 1686^o.

The President acquainted the college, that it was the pleasure of their superiors, that the number of the fellows of the college, should instead of forty, be henceforth sixty, nay eighty.

12^o Aprilis 1687^o.

The *Diploma* of King James II. was brought to the college, and solemnly accepted by the President and Fellows, and thirty new Fellows were that day admitted; among whom were Dr (afterwards Sir) Hans Sloane, and Dr John Radcliffe (27).

Sir Hans afterwards took an opportunity of testifying his good opinion of Dr Radcliffe's merit. In order to express more emphatically his contempt of such persons as spend the best part of their time in 'niceties of language, and verbal criticisms, he observes, that one of this turn, would once needs persuade him that Dr Radcliffe could not cure a disease, because he had seen a recipe of his, where the word *Pilula* was spelt with // ||.

(27) From the college register. N. B. The reader is desired hence to supply an omission in Dr Radcliffe's article, where no mention is made of his being a Fellow of this college.

|| Introduction to the second vol. of the Natural History of Jamaica, p. xiv.

[G] Mr

(26) Viz. in note (*e*) above.

† Mr Raye died Jan. 17, 1704.

died almost as soon as he landed, and the Duchefs his consort determined to return to England, as soon as answers could be received to the letters she had sent to Court on that melancholy occasion. Dr Sloane could not entertain a thought of leaving her Grace in her distress, but whilst the rest of her retinue spent the time in preparing for their departure, he improved it in making his collections of natural curiosities; insomuch that, though his whole stay at Jamaica was scarce fifteen months (s), yet he brought together such a prodigious number of plants, that, at his return to England, Mr Raye was astonished, that one man could procure in one island, in so short a space, so vast a variety (t) [G]. On his arrival at London, he applied himself to the practice of his profession, and soon became so eminent, that he was chosen Physician to Christ's Hospital, on the 17th of October, 1694 (u), on the first vacancy, which he held 'till the year 1730; when, by his great age and infirmities, he found it necessary to resign. What is singular, and deserves the highest commendation, is, that though he received the appointments of his office punctually, because he would not set a precedent that should hinder those who might succeed him, yet he constantly applied the money to the relief of those who were the greatest objects of compassion in that hospital, that it might never be said he enriched himself, by the gains he made of giving health to the poor (w). He had been elected Secretary to the Royal Society, on the 30th of November 1693 (x), and entered upon the business of that office, by reviving the publication of the Philosophical Transactions, which had been omitted for some time. He continued to be editor of them 'till the year 1712 (y), and the volumes which were published in this period are monuments of his industry and ingenuity, many of the pieces contained therein being written by himself. In the interim, he published *Catalogus Planterum, quæ in Insula Jamaica sponte proveniunt*, &c. ceu, *Prodromi Historiæ Naturalis pars prima* [H]; which he dedicated to the Royal Society

(s) He embarked for England in Port Royal harbour, on board the Athlone frigate, March 16, 1688 9.

(t) See remark [U].

(u) From the register of that hospital.

(w) His Eloge.

(x) Communicated by Dr Birch, the present Secretary to that Society.

(y) He resigned the Secretary's place on St Andrew's day, 1712, and was succeeded by Dr Hally. 1b d. N. B. The festival of St Andrew, November 30, is appointed by the Society for the annual election of their officers.

[G] Mr Ray was astonished at the vast variety]

'When I first saw, says that gentleman, the author's stock of dried plants collected in Jamaica, and some of the Caribbee Islands, I was much surpris'd, and even astonish'd at the number of the capillary kind, not thinking there had been so many to be found in both the Indies.' Not Mr Ray only, but all the world here, was affected with the same astonishment; and surely every heart must burn with disdain at the injuries which this astonishment carried some selfish admirers to commit. 'When I returned, says Sir Hans, from Jamaica, I brought with me a collection of dried samples of some very strange plants, which excited the curiosity of people, who loved things of that nature, to see them, and who were welcome; 'till I observed some so very curious as to desire to carry part of them privately home with them, and injure what they left'. This made me upon my guard with them (28).'

[H] *Catalogus Plantarum, &c.*] To understand the full extent of this catalogue, it will be necessary to give the title at length, as follows: *Catalogus Plantarum quæ in Insula Jamaica, sponte proveniunt, vel vulgo coluntur, cum earundem synonymis et locis natalibus: Adjectis aliis quibusdam quæ in Insulis Maderæ, Barbadoes, Neves, & Sancti Christophori nascuntur; ceu Prodromi Historiæ naturalis Jamaicae pars prima.* We shall be able to form some judgment of the true merit of this piece, from the following account, with remarks upon it, communicated to the Royal Society, by Mr. Ray.

The author of this catalogue, says that gentleman, doth not present the reader with titles of plants collected out of other men's writings, or of which he had only seen dried specimens, but of such as himself saw growing in their native places: Among which, there are a great multitude of new and non-descript species, in one genus alone, viz those called capillaries no less than sixty; besides those lately published by Fa. Plumier, in his first volume of the description of American plants, which our author had observed and described long before that book came out †: and these not small and contemptible ones, such as are hardly distinguishable from plants of that kind already described, but of eminent stature and beauty; and some of them of so strange and exotic a form, that if delineated, they could not but invite and greatly entertain the spectator's eye. For first, he would be entirely delighted to see an arboreseent fern of a single woody stem, streight and undivided, bearing leaves only at the top, like a palm tree. Secondly, capillaries of all kinds, creeping on trees, or rocks on the ground, with wires, after the manner of Strawberries; or thirdly, capillaries, the top of whose leaves turning downwards, and touching the earth, take root, and put forth a new plant, so propagating their kind: or, fourthly, capillaries putting forth from the middle stem of their leaves, two shoots, each bearing a spike of flowers and seeds.

Secondly, the author in this catalogue, hath done great service at least to the inferior rank of Herbarists, in reducing and cutting short the number of species, which were unnecessarily multiplied. For observing that those who have published accounts or descriptions of America, for want of sufficient skill in Botany, and not being versed in describing plants, have given us such lame, imperfect, and obscure descriptions of such as they took notice of, and of the same tree or herb, many times under different names, that the compilers of general histories of plants, meeting with these descriptions, and having no other knowledge of such plants, than what they derived from them, have repeated one and the same species (found in far distant countries, by various observers, and differently described) once, twice, and thrice (nay some great authors sometimes even nine times) over, for different kinds. Now the number of plants being in nature so vast, 'tis pity to add to it more than there are in nature, making two or three of one, thereby both deterring and confounding the learner. To clear up these difficulties, and to reduce all to their proper kinds, no man can be well qualified, but he that hath a comprehensive knowledge of such plants as grow wild, or are commonly cultivated in gardens, here in Europe, and hath seen the non-descript Americans, or such as are here also known, growing in their natural places; and hath read, considered, and compared, what hath been written of them, either by such who have lived some time in those countries, and and published descriptions or natural histories of them, or by such as have made voyages thither, and given relations and accounts of their travels, and what they observed during their short stay there: All which qualifications concur in our author.

Thirdly, this work is of great use to those that are delighted in reading the relations and accounts of navigators and travellers to and in these parts, to inform them concerning the names of American and Indian plants; they will therein meet with, to what plants they belong, and where they may find exact descriptions, or characteristic notes of them; the author having with infinite pains and patience, read most part of the books of voyages and travels extant, referred to plants he met with therein, named or referred to their proper genera, or places under which they are ranked, and by which they are denominated and characterized by the most skilful and learned harbarists of the present, or immediately precedent age.

Fourthly; the author in this work hath cleared up and resolved many doubts and difficulties, and informed us of what plants are signified by many names, frequent in the mouths and writings of our own countrymen; of which before we were either ignorant, or in some doubt *.

Besides we are assured by this work, that there are some plants common to England and Jamaica; but the greatest

* Of this he gives instances in the dumb cane, logwood, the dilldoe-tree, the toddy tree, the prickly pear, the four-top, bonavists, and many others.

• Philosophical Transactions, No. 221. for June, July, and August, 1696.

(28) Natural Hist. of Jamaica, Vol. II. in the introduction, p. 16, 17.

† This Fern, who long since Botany has chief study, was sent by order of the French King, who gave him a pension, three voyages to the Antilles, and set out on a fourth, to examine the tree which bears the quinquina, or Jesuit's bark, but died in his passage at Port St. Mary near Cayenne, in 1706. Besides the piece here mentioned, he published another of the American ferns in 1703, in Latin and French, as also a third, intitled, *L'Art de Tourner*. After his death were found among his papers materials sufficient for six volumes, which were to be printed with his life prefixed, Marten.

(z) His Eloge. See also Dr Garth's article, remark [A].

(a a) Sir Hans's Last Will.

(b b) His Eloge.

(c c) In the preface he gives several excuses for this delay, one of which is, the trouble and time spent in ranging and cataloguing the dried specimens of plants collected by Mr Pettiver, which he says was the largest of any at that time, but greatly damaged for want of due care in preserving them.

(d d) His Eloge.

(e e) Baronnetage of England, as before.

* His Eloge.

(f f) Ibid.

(g g) He was chosen in the room of Dr Dawes, who resigned. From the college register.

(h h) In the room of Dr John Bate-man, who resigned. Ibid.

Society and College of Physicians. About the same time, he laid the plan of a Dispensatory, where the poor might be furnished, at prime cost, with such medicines as their several maladies should require; which he afterwards, with the assistance of the President and other members of the College of Physicians, carried into execution (z). Our author's thirst for natural knowledge seems to have been born with him, so that his cabinet of rarities may be said to have commenced with his being. He was continually enriching and enlarging it, and the fame, which in a course of years it had acquired, brought every thing that was curious in art or nature to be first offered to him for purchase. But these acquisitions increased it but slowly, in comparison of the augmentation it received in 1701, by the death of William Courten, Esq; a gentleman who had employed all his time, and the greatest part of his fortune, in collecting rarities, and who bequeathed his whole collection to Dr Sloane, on condition that he should pay certain legacies and debts with which he had charged it (a a). Our author accepted the condition, and performed the Will of the donor punctually; on which account there are some who do not scruple to say, he purchased Mr Courten's curiosities at a dear rate (b b). In 1707, the first volume of his *Natural History of Jamaica* appeared in folio, though the publication of the second volume was delayed 'till 1725 (c c). By this very useful as well as magnificent work, the *Materia Medica* was enriched with a great number of excellent drugs, not known before [I]. In 1708, the Doctor was elected a foreign member of the Royal Academy at Paris, in the room of Mr Tschirnaus [K], an honour of so much the more estimation, as we were then at war with France, and the Queen's express consent was necessary to his acceptance of it. In proportion as his credit rose among the learned, his practice increased with persons of condition: Queen Anne frequently consulted him, and in her last illness was bled by him (d d). On the advancement of King George I. to the throne, that Prince, on the third of April 1716 (e e), created the doctor a Baronet, an hereditary title of honour, to which no English Physician had ever arrived before*; and at the same time made him Physician-general to the army, which he enjoyed 'till 1727, when he was appointed King's Physician in Ordinary to his present Majesty King George the Second, and prescribed for the Royal Family 'till his death. He was particularly favoured by Queen Caroline, who placed the greatest confidence in his prescriptions (f f). In the interim, he had been chosen unanimously one of the Elects of the College of Physicians, June 1, 1716 (g g), and he was elected President of the same college, September 30, 1719 (h h); in which station he continued sixteen years (i i). In which time, he not only gave the highest proofs of his zeal and assiduity, in the discharge of his duty, but also, in 1721, made a present to that society of a hundred

(i i) He resigned on the 30th of September, 1735, and was succeeded by Dr Thomas Pellet. Ibid.

† Philos. Transf. No. 221. for the months of June, July, and August, 1696.

greatest part of these common plants, are such as grow in the water, or watery places; there being it seems a greater agreement between the temperature of the water than of the air, in these remotely distant countries †.

[I] *The college was enriched, &c.*] Dr Freind speaking of the particulars of which the history of physic carried down to the last century should consist, having directed the historian, who shall undertake that work, to observe some modern improvements in medicine and surgery, proceeds thus: 'On the former head, he should describe the famous composition of *Fracastorius's Diacordium*, and give a detail of the American drugs, which began to be improved among us in this period, and which have so much enriched the *materia medica*. Monardes, Piso, and Margrave, will furnish him with great supplies in this kind; but the most accurate description of the simples themselves, as well as of the things relating to their virtues in curing distempers, we shall find in that most elaborate work, lately published, for the honour of our country, by Sir Hans Sloane (29).

(29) Freind's History of Physick, Vol. 11. p. 388, 389. 5th edit. 1758.

[K] *In the Academy of Paris, he succeeded Mr Tschirnaus.*] This extraordinary person being frequently mentioned in the dispute about the mention of the method of fluxions (30), we shall, for the sake of such as are curious in those matters, give a succinct account of him. Enfrei Walter de Tschirnaus, for this was his name, was descended of a noble and ancient family, and was Lord of Kisslingwald and Stolzenberg, in Luface, where he was born on the 10th of April, 1651. His education was suitable to his birth; and after being instructed at home, having held a correspondence with Mr Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society, and the best masters in all the branches of literature, proper for a youth, he was sent by his father, at the age of seventeen, to finish his studies at Leyden, in Holland, where he distinguished himself by his genius for the mathematics, and natural history; but upon the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1672, he entered a volunteer in that army, and served in that quality for the space of eighteen months; when he was recalled home. Not long afterwards, a resolution being taken to compleat his education by travelling abroad; in that

(30) See *Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins, &c.* Lond. 1722, 8vo.

design he made the tour of England, Holland, France, Italy, and went as far as Malta; and was at Paris the third time, in 1682, when he opened the discovery of those caustics which go by his name, to the Royal Academy of Sciences; whereupon he was admitted a member of that society. He then made another visit to Holland, and finishing his treatise *de medicina mentis & corporis* (31), he left the manuscript with some friends there, and it was printed at Amsterdam in 1687, 4to. After his return to Saxony, he turned his thoughts upon improving optics: to that end, he obtained a grant of the Elector of Saxony King of Poland, to set up three glass works; which produced some extraordinary curiosities in dioptrics and natural philosophy, an account of which were inserted in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris*, for 1699, and 1700. Among others, he made a large burning-glass, which was purchased by the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, during the minority of Lewis XV (32). He also presented another to the Emperor Leopold, who thereupon offered to create him a free Baron, which honour he declined, and only accepted a present of his Imperial Majesty's picture, together with a chain of gold. In 1701, he went the fourth time to Paris, where he gave his attendance at the Academy, and read to them several new methods for improving the sublime geometry, or the geometry of curves, different from that of Mr Leibnitz's infinitesimals. He even produced an example of his new method in the evolution curves, but he never gave any demonstration of it, and it was universally rejected, as having no solid foundation. However, before his departure from Paris, he hinted to Mr Homberg his secret of making Porcelain ware, which has been since brought to so great perfection in his own country, and is at this day well known, and in the highest esteem, by the name of Dresden China. Upon his return home he became very uneasy in his domestic affairs, and continued so 'till his death, which happened on the 11th of October, 1708, occasioned by the gravel and stone. His last words were *triumph, victory*, apparently declaring death to be the great conqueror of all human evils (33).

(31) The chief object of this piece is the criterion of truth, which he makes to consist in clear ideas.

(32) There is a description of this glass in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris*, for 1709, p. 143. Dutch edition.

(33) Ibid. and *Memoirs de Trevoux*, for 1710.

[L] He

a hundred pounds *, and remitted a very considerable debt, which the corporation owed him, so far at least as to accept by little, and in such small sums, as was least inconvenient to the circumstances of their affairs (*kk*). Sir Hans was no less liberal to other learned bodies; he had no sooner purchased the manor of Chelsey, than he gave the Company of Apothecaries the entire freehold of their botanical garden there, in 1721 †, upon condition only that they should present yearly to the Royal Society fifty new plants, 'till the number should amount to two thousand [L]. He gave besides several other considerable donations for the improvement of this garden, the situation of which, on the banks of the Thames, and in the neighbourhood of the capital, was such as to render it useful in a twofold degree; first, by producing the most rare medicinal plants, and secondly, by serving as an excellent school for young Botanists, an advantage which he himself had drawn from it in the early part of his life. The death of Sir Isaac Newton, in 1727, made way for the advancement of Sir Hans to the Presidency of the Royal Society (*ll*). He had been Vice-President, and frequently sat in the chair for that great man; and, by his long connection with this learned body, he had contracted so great an affection for it, that he made a present to the Society of a hundred guineas, caused a curious bust of King Charles the Second, it's founder, to be set up in the great hall where it met, and, it is said, was very instrumental in procuring Sir Godfrey Copley's benefaction of a medal of five guineas value, which is continued to this day, to be annually given, as an honorary mark of distinction to him, who shall communicate the best experiments to the Society (*mm*); and being now placed at the head of it, he laid aside the thoughts of all further promotion, and applied himself wholly to the faithful discharge of the respective duties of the places he enjoyed; to answer, like an able Physician, the high opinion which the publick had conceived of him; to improve his mind with useful knowledge, and his cabinet with new curiosities, which he now found much easier to do than formerly, since he had taught feasting people to regard, as an object of commerce, those marine productions, which before they despised as useless and not worth notice. Add to this, the universal correspondence which he held with the learned in every part of the known world, who were fond of transmitting to him whatever they thought rare or curious, as they were sure that such kind of presents would always find from him a favourable acceptance (*nn*). In these laudable occupations, Sir Hans employed his time from 1727 to 1740; when, at the age of fourscore, he formed a resolution of quitting the service of the publick, and living for himself. With that view, he resigned the Presidency of the Royal Society, much against the inclination of that respectable body, who chose Martin Folkes, Esq; to succeed him, and in a publick assembly thanked him for the great and eminent service he had done them, and begged his permission, that his name might remain enrolled among the members of their Council as long as he should live (*oo*). In the month of January, 1741, he began to remove his library, and his cabinet of rarities, from his house in Bloomsbury, London, to that at Chelsey; and on the 12th of May following, having settled all his affairs, he retired thither himself, to enjoy in a peaceful tranquillity the remains of a well-spent life. He did not, however, pass into that kind of solitude, which excludes men from society: he received at Chelsey, as he had done at London, the visits of people of distinction; of all learned foreigners; of the Royal Family, who sometimes did him that honour; and, what was still more to his praise, he never refused admittance or advice to rich or poor, who came to consult him concerning their health (*pp*). Moreover, not content with this contracted manner of doing good, he now, during this retreat, presented to the publick such useful remedies, as the success had warranted during the course of a long continued practice. Among these is an efficacious receipt for distempers in the eyes [M], and his remedy for the bite of a mad dog (*qq*). Hitherto the great temperance of Sir Hans had preserved him from feeling the infirmities of old age; but in his ninetieth year he began to complain of pains, and to be sensible of an universal decay. He was often heard to say, that the approach of death brought no terrors with it; that he had long expected the

[L] He gave the physic garden at Chelsey to the Apothecaries company, &c. This garden was first established by the company in 1673, and having since that time been furnished by them with a great variety of plants, for the improvement of their members in the knowledge of Botany, Sir Hans, in order to encourage and promote an undertaking so serviceable to the public, generously granted to the company the inheritance of the said garden, being part of his estate and manor of Chelsey, on condition that it be for ever kept up and maintained by the company as a physic garden; and as an evidence of it's being so maintained, he directed and obliged the company, in consideration of the said grant, to present yearly to the Royal Society, in one of their weekly meetings, fifty specimens of plants that had grown in the said garden the preceding year, which were all to be specifically distinct from each other, until the number of two thousand plants be completed; which specimens, together with those that are to follow them in subsequent years, shall, by order of the Royal Society be carefully preserved for the satisfaction

of such curious persons as may have recourse to them. Accordingly the grant was accepted, and the condition has been faithfully performed by the company ever since (34). And in 1733 they erected, in the center of the garden, a marble statue of him, supported by a pedestal, on which is a Latin inscription, expressing his donation, and the design and advantages of it*. He is represented in full proportion, in a full bottomed peruke, and his Doctor's gown; and the likeness is striking. The whole was performed by Mr Rysbrack, and is admirably well executed.

[M] A receipt for distempers in the eyes.] The recipe is intituled *Unguentum Ophthalmicum Sloanii*, and is as follows.

R Tutii pp ʒj. Lapid. Hematit. pp ʒij, Aloes pp xii gr. Margarit. pp 4 gr. rub them in a mortar c. q. s. of viper's grease. To be used night and morning.

N. B. All cathartics, especially mercury, is hurtful in this case.

* See the table of benefactors, in the college.

(kk) The sum was 700 l. lent to the college, at 6 l. per cent. but half being paid off, a new bond was taken in 1716, at 5 l. per cent. for 350 l. which being also paid off in a very few years afterwards, Sir Hans on that occasion gave the college a noble treat, which cost him upwards of 40 l. From the college books, and private information.

† The title-deed bears date Feb. 20th that year. Communicated by Mr Denison, the present Cleric of the Company.

(ll) From the register of that Society.

(mm) His Eloge. See also the introduction to his History of Jamaica.

(nn) Ibid.

(oo) From the books of that Society.

(pp) His Eloge.

(qq) It is inserted in the London Dispensatory, under the title of *Pulvis antilyssus Sloanii*.

(34) Communicated by Mr Miller, the present keeper of the garden. See also the Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. VI. Part ii. by Eames and Martyn, at the end. N. B. The number of 2000 will be completed next year, 1761.

* A lecture is read in the garden, upon the medicinal plants, on the last Wednesday in every month during the six summer months. The present lecturer is Dr Wilmore. Communicated by Mr Miller.

[N] His

the stroke, and was prepared to receive it, whenever the great author of his being should think fit. The long expected moment at length arrived; after a short illness of three days he gave up his last breath, January 11, 1752. He was interred on the 18th at Chelsey, in the same vault with his lady (rr), the solemnity being attended with the greatest concourse of people of all ranks and conditions, that had ever been seen before on the like occasion [N]. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr Zachary Pearce, then Bishop of Bangor (ss), who forbore to enlarge upon the exalted qualities of the deceased, by reason of an express prohibition received from his own mouth before his death. Such was his piety, that he thought it a degree of profanation to debase, with the praises of human excellencies, the pulpit, which should be devoted to display to men the greatness of the Supreme Being, and to instruct them in his laws (tt). The writer of his Eloge having observed, that in his person Sir Hans was tall and well proportioned, proceeds to represent his character in the following colours; and tells us, that not only ‘ His manners
 ‘ were easy, free, and engaging, but that his conversation was sprightly, familiar, and
 ‘ obliging; that nothing could equal his courtesy to strangers; he was always ready upon
 ‘ the least notice to shew and explain to them his whole cabinet: once a week he kept
 ‘ open house for gentlemen of all ranks, particularly for his brethren of the Royal Society,
 ‘ who thought fit to visit him. The sad consequences of his death were severely felt by
 ‘ the poor, to whom he was every way a liberal benefactor. He was a Governor of
 ‘ almost every hospital in and about London. To each he gave a hundred pounds in his
 ‘ life-time, and at his death a sum more considerable. That whatever proposal had for
 ‘ its object the publick good might command his most zealous endeavours to promote it,
 ‘ he did all that he could to forward the establishment of the colony in Georgia of 1732,
 ‘ Foundling Hospital in 1739, and formed the plan for bringing up the children, which
 ‘ experience has shewn to be the best that could be devised. If he found duplicates of any
 ‘ book in his study, his manner was, to send one of the copies to the college of Physi-
 ‘ cians, if the book was medical, or to the Bodleian library at Oxford, if it treated on
 ‘ other subjects. He was the first in England who introduced into general practice the
 ‘ use of the Bark, not only in fevers, but in a variety of other distempers, particularly in
 ‘ nervous disorders, in mortifications, and in violent hæmorrhages. He frequently took
 ‘ it himself for the spitting of blood, to which he was always more or less subject. He
 ‘ likewise gave a sanction to the practice of inoculation, by inoculating two daughters of
 ‘ the Royal Family, which did more to establish that salutary discovery, than all the
 ‘ treatises that ever were written on the subject.’ Whatever censure may be passed upon
 some particulars, as so far drawn of this character, which the reader will bear in mind is
 the last finishing of Sir Hans’s Eloge, all the world must agree to the conclusion of it,
 wherein that writer observes, that he was extremely solicitous, lest his cabinet of rarities,
 which he had taken so much pains to collect, should be again dissipated at his death; yet
 was unwilling that so large a proportion of his fortune should be lost to his children,
 and he was equally grieved that his country should be deprived of the use of so valuable
 a treasure. He therefore bequeathed it to the publick, on condition that twenty thousand
 pounds should be made good by Parliament to his family: a sum, which, though large in
 appearance, was scarce more than the intrinsic value of the gold and silver medals, the ores
 and precious stones, that were found in it (uu) [O]. There was, besides his library,
 consisting of more than fifty thousand volumes, three hundred and forty seven of which
 were illustrated with cuts, finely engraven and coloured from nature, three thousand five
 hundred and sixty-six manuscripts, and an infinite number of rare and curious books.
 The Parliament accepted the legacy and fulfilled the conditions [P]. It is easy to perceive
 the

(rr) But there is no new monument for him, nor any additional inscription upon that of his lady.

(ss) Now Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, 1760.

(tt) His Eloge.

(uu) In his Last Will he declares, the first cost of the whole collection amounted at least to 50000 l.

(35) In the first paragraph of his Will, as printed in 1753, 8vo.

[N] *His funeral was attended with an extraordinary concourse of people.* In his last will he gives the following directions concerning his funeral. ‘ I will, that my body shall be buried in a decent manner in the church-yard at Chelsey, about noon, or at a convenient time of the day: And I will, that there be invited to my funeral all such persons as I shall leave in a list by me signed; or if no such list be left, then such persons as my executors shall know to have been my most intimate friends and acquaintance; and that they shall have rings of twenty shillings value given to each of them (35).’

[O] *Not more than the intrinsic value of the gold and silver medals, ores and precious stones in it.* The following list of these and his other rarities has been communicated to me.

Medals and coins, ancient and modern	—	22000
Antiquities, viz. ruins, instruments, &c. about	—	1125
Seals, &c.	—	268
Camea’s and intaglio’s, &c. about	—	700
Precious stones, agates, jaspers, &c.	—	542
Crystals, spars, &c.	—	1864
Fossils, flints, and stones, &c.	—	1275
Metals, mineral ores, &c.	—	2725
Earths, sands, salts, &c.	—	1035
Bitumens, sulphurs, ambers, ambergrease, &c.	—	399

Talcs, mica, &c.	—	—	388
Testacea, or shells,	—	—	5834
Corals, Sponges, &c.	—	—	1421
Echini, Echinites, &c.	—	—	659
Asteriæ, Trochi, Entrochi, &c.	—	—	241
Crustacea, or Crabs, &c.	—	—	363
Stellæ marinæ, &c.	—	—	173
Fishes and their parts,	—	—	1555
Birds, and their parts, of different species,	—	—	1172
Vipers, Serpents, &c.	—	—	521
Quadrupeds, &c.	—	—	1886
Insects.	—	—	5439
Humana & Calculi Anatom. prep. &c.	—	—	756
Vegetables, as seeds, gums, wood, roots, &c.	—	—	12506
Hortus ficcus, or volumes of dried plants.	—	—	334
Miscellaneous things natural, &c.	—	—	2098
Pictures and drawings, &c. framed.	—	—	310
Mathematical instruments.	—	—	55

[P] *The Parliament purchased it, and fulfilled the conditions.* The act for this purpose, which passed in 1753, is intituled, ‘ An act for the purchase of the Musæum or Collection of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. and of the Harleian collection of MSS. and for procuring one general repository for the better reception and more convenient use of the said collection, and of the Cottonian library, and

the advantage that will result to the publick from this immense collection. To have access to such a cabinet as this, is, in effect, to men of taste, like making the tour of the world, and

and additions thereto. In pursuance of this act, the sum of 300,000 l. was raised by a lottery, which abundantly enabled the parliament to compleat their whole design. According to which, besides the required sum of 20,000 l. paid for Sir Hans's collection; the Harleian manuscripts were purchased at the rate of 10,000 l. and the trustees of Sir Hans giving their consent to have his collection removed from his manor house at Chelsey, to any proper place within the cities of London or Westminster (36), that magnificent edifice, called Montague-house (37), in Russel-street, Bloomsbury, was also purchased at the rate of 10,000 l. To this house, not only the two last mentioned collections, but the Cotton library, with all the additions thereto, including that of Arthur Edwards of Hanover-square, London, Esq; bequeathed by his will in 1738 (38), were removed. By the said act, the following great officers of state and bishops, for the time being, are appointed trustees. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord high Chancellor, or Keeper, President of the Council, Privy-seal, Steward, Chamberlain, Lord-Treasurer, or first Commissioner of the Treasury, Lord High Admiral, or first Commissioner of the Admiralty, Bishop of London, the two Secretaries of State, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the two Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Master of the Rolls, Attorney and Solicitor General, the Presidents of the Royal Society and College of Physicians, besides two of the trustees for the Cotton library (39), the Duke of Portland and the Earl of Oxford; and upon their decease the Countess of Oxford and Duchefs of Portland, and their heirs: On the account of the Harleian manuscripts, Charles Lord Cadogan, and Hans Stanley, trustees for Sir Hans Sloane's collection, and their heirs after their decease, and some other noblemen and gentlemen who are incorporated by the name of Trustees for the British Musæum; the major part of whom, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, are a quorum; and these three, or any two of them, are empowered to make statutes and to chuse officers (40), and appoint their respective salaries; for and towards the payment of which, the sum of 30,000 l. is to be placed out to interest in the public funds; as also for the necessary expences, and repairs, and alterations of the Repository. In pursuance of these powers, the said trustees appointed the following officers, with their respective salaries, viz. Principal Librarian, salary 200 l. per ann. three under Librarians, salary 100 l. each, three Assistants, salary 50 l. each, and a keeper of the reading room, salary 50 l. besides a porter and a messenger, salary 40 l. each; one man, salary 30 l. and four women servants; and the whole collection being placed in proper order, the Musæum was opened for public use in 1759, when several statutes and rules relating to the inspection and use of it, were published by order of the said trustees; the substance of which is as follows.

The Musæum will be kept open every day, (except Saturday, Sunday, Christmas-day, and one week after; one week after Easter-day and Whitsunday; Good-Friday, and every public fast and thanksgiving day) from nine in the morning 'till three in the afternoon; but on Mondays and Fridays in May, June, July, and August, only from four to eight in the afternoon.

Persons desirous to see the Musæum, must, in writing, give in their names, condition, and places of abode, as also the day and hour they desire to be admitted, to the porter, before nine in the morning, or between four and eight in the evening, on some preceding day, which he will enter in a register, to be laid every night before the principal librarian, or, in his absence, before the under librarian officiating for him, and, if he shall judge them proper, he will direct the porter to deliver tickets to them, on their applying a second time for tickets.

No more than ten tickets will be delivered out for each hour of admittance; which tickets being shewn to the porter, he will direct the spectators to a room appointed for their reception, 'till their hour of seeing the Musæum be come; at which time they are to deliver their tickets to the proper officers of the first department. Five of the spectators will be attended by the

under librarian, and the other five by the assistant, in each department.

The tickets are for the admission of company at nine, ten, eleven, or twelve, in the morning; and at four or five in the afternoon of those days in which the Musæum is to be open at that time.

If application be made by more than can be accommodated on the day and hour they had named; the persons last applying will have tickets for any other day and hour within seven days.

If not more than five produce tickets for any particular hour, they will be desired to join in one company.

Persons prevented from making use of their tickets are desired to send them back to the porter in time; that others may not be excluded.

That the spectators may view the whole Musæum in a regular order, they will first be admitted to see the manuscripts and medals; then the natural and artificial productions; and afterwards the printed books.

One hour only will be allowed to the several companies, so that the whole may be inspected in three hours. Notice of the expiration of the hour will be given by the ringing of a bell. Each company must keep together in that room, in which the officer who attends them shall then be.

A catalogue of the printed books, manuscripts, and other parts of the collection, with proper references, will be deposited in each department.

If a spectator desires to see any book, or other part of the collection, it will be handed to him by the officer, if he shall think it consistent with safety; and it must be restored to its place before the spectator leaves the room; but no more than one such book, or other part of the collection, will be delivered at a time to the same company. The officer that attends the company, will give them any information they desire, relating to the part of the collection under his care.

The coins and medals, except such as the standing committee shall order, from time to time, to be placed in glass cases, are not to be exposed to view, but by leave of the trustees in a general meeting, or of the standing committee, or of the principal librarian; and will be shewn between the hours of one and three in the afternoon; but no more than two persons will be admitted to see them at the same time, unless by particular leave of the principal librarian; who in such case is required to attend, together with the officer in ordinary, the whole time: and but one thing will be taken or continue out of the cabinets and drawers at a time, which must be done by the officer, who must see it replaced before any person present goes out of the room.

If any person who hath a ticket, come after the hour marked in his ticket, but before the three hours allotted him be expired, he will, if he desire it, be permitted to join the company appointed for the same hour, on his removing into another department.

Any person may apply for a ticket in the manner abovementioned, as often as he pleases, provided that no one person have tickets at the same time for more days than one.

No children will be admitted.

No officer, or servant, must take any fee, reward, or gratuity.

With regard to Persons who desire to make use of the Musæum for study.

No one will be admitted to make use of the Musæum for study, but by leave of the trustees in a general meeting, or of the standing committee; and that for half a year only, without a fresh application. The names of such persons, with the dates of the orders, and their duration, will be entered in a book.

A particular room is allotted in which they may sit, and read, or write, without interruption, during the time the Musæum is kept open; a proper officer constantly attending in the room. They must give notice, in writing, the day before, what book or manuscript they shall desire to peruse the following day; which will be lodged in some convenient place in the said room, and will from thence be delivered by the officer of the said room; excepting, however, some books and

manuscripts

(36) The Parliament gave the manor-house at Chelsey, which by the Will was included in the purchase, to Sir Hans's trustees, to be disposed of as part of his other estates. It has been since pulled down, and a row of handsome houses built upon the site.

(37) So called, because built by the Earl of Montague, upon a lease of the site from the Earl of Bedford, who on this occasion sold to the Parliament the perpetuity of the whole premises, except a small corner of the yard adjoining to that of his own house, which he reserved to himself.

(38) He also left 7000 l. after the death of Eliz. Miles, to be laid out in the purchase of books and manuscripts, as a further addition to the Cotton library.

(39) Viz. Sam Burroughs and Tho. Hart, who had been appointed by the heirs male of Sir Rob. Cotton; and, upon their decease, the trust devolved upon France, widow of Francis Hanbury, Esq; heir-general to the said Sir R. Cotton.

(40) They are to present the person they chuse to the King, to be approved or rejected by him.

and having for their tutor a catalogue of thirty-eight volumes in folio and eight in quarto, containing a short description of each curiosity, with a reference to the authors that treat of it more at large. Sir Hans Sloane married, in 1695, Elizabeth, daughter of Alderman Langley of London, who died in 1724, after she had brought him one son, who died young, and three daughters, the youngest of which died also in her infancy. Sarah, the eldest, married George Stanley, Esq; of Poultons in the county of Hants; and Elizabeth, the second, married the Right Honourable the Lord Cadogan, Colonel of the second troop of Horse-Guards, and Governor of Tilbury-Fort and Gravesend.

manuscripts of great value, or very liable to be damaged, and on that account judged by the trustees not fit to be removed out of the library to which they belong, without particular leave of the trustees; a catalogue whereof is kept by the officer of the reading room.

Such persons will be allowed to take one or more extracts from any printed book or manuscript; and either of the officers of the department may do it for them, upon such terms as shall be agreed on between them. The transcriber must not lay the paper, on which he writes, upon any part of the book, or manuscript, he is using.

No whole manuscript, nor the greater part of any, must be transcribed, without leave from the trustees.

Every person intrusted with the use of any book, or manuscript, must return it before he leaves the room.

Any person engaged in a work of learning, who shall have occasion to make a drawing of any of the natural or artificial productions, or to examine it more carefully than can be done in the common way of viewing the Musæum, must apply to the trustees for particular leave for that purpose.

On any person having occasion to consult or inspect any book, charter, deed, or other manuscript, for evi-

dence or information, other than for studying, must apply for leave to the trustees. But if the case should require such dispatch as that time cannot be allowed for such application, the principal librarian, or the under librarian officiating for him, may grant such leave.

No part of the collections belonging to the Musæum must at any time be carried out of the general repository; except books, charters, deeds, or other manuscripts, to be made use of in evidence: And these must be carried by the under librarian or assistant of the department to which they belong, or by such other of the under librarians or assistants, as the trustees shall appoint; and he must attend the whole time, and bring it back with him; for which extraordinary trouble and attendance it is expected that a proper satisfaction be made him.

If any person shall behave in an improper manner, and contrary to the rules prescribed by the trustees, and shall continue such misbehaviour, after having been admonished by one of the officers, such person will be obliged forthwith to withdraw from the Musæum; and his name is to be entered in a book kept by the porter; who is ordered not to deliver a ticket to him for his admission for the future, without a special direction from the trustees in a general meeting. P

SMALRIDGE [GEORGE], a polite Scholar, a learned Divine, and a pious and devout Prelate, was born in the year 1663, at Litchfield in Staffordshire (a), where his father, Thomas Smalridge, followed the business of a Dyer with distinguished reputation (b); but his fortune not being sufficient to give his son that education, which his promising parts deserved, these found a patron in Elias Ashmole, Esq; his fellow-citizen, by whose direction the young genius was sent to Westminster-school [A]; where being chosen into the college, he presently became the delight and admiration of his school-fellows, by the sweetness of his temper, and the delicate turn of his exercises. At the age of seventeen, he repaid the kindness of his benefactor, in two elegant elegies upon the death of his friend William Lilly, the famous Astrologer [B]. On the 17th of May the following

(a) Inscription on his monument, where 'tis said, that he died in 1719, in the 57th year of his age.

(b) From private information.

[A] By whose direction he was sent to Westminster-school.] For this we have the same authority as for the foregoing particular, and it is countenanced, or we might say confirmed, by Mr Ashmole's Diary of his own life, where nothing is set down but such things as he had some especial concern in. There we find p. 66, the following independent article, 'May 17, [1682] George Smalridge was elected out of Westminster-School to go to Christ-Church in Oxford.' And if such a circumstance could stand in need of any further proof, the reader will find it in the motive for Mr Smalridge's writing verses upon the death of William Lilly the Astrologer, for whom it is well known Mr Ashmole had a particular friendship (1).

[B] He wrote two elegies upon the death of Lilly.] As these are the first fruits of our author's poetical talents in print, we should not do justice to his memoir if they were omitted.

In mortem Viri doctissimi Gulielmi Lilly Astrologi nuper defuncti.

Occidit atque suis annalibus addidit atram
Astrologus, qua non tristior ulla, diem.
Pone triumphales, lugubris Luna, quadrigas,
Sol mœstum picea nube reconde caput.
Nlum qui Phœbi scripsit, Phœbesque labores
Eclipsi docuit stella maligni pati.
Invidia astrorum cecidit qui sidera rexit;
Tanta erat in notas scandere cura domos.
Quod vidit, visum cupiit, potiturque cupito
Cœlo, et siderea fulget in orbe decus:

Scilicet hoc nobis prædixit ab aëre cometa;
Et fati emicuit nuncia stella tui.
Pallentem vidi faciem, gemuique videndo;
Illa fuit vati mortis imago sui.
Civiles timuere alii primordia belli,
Jejunam metuit plebs stupefacta famem.
Non tantos tulerat bellumve fameve dolores,
Auspiciis essent hæc relevanda tuis.
Incautum subito plebem nunc opprimit ensis,
Securos fati mors violenta trahit.
Nemo est qui videat moneatque avertere fatum;
Ars jacet, in Domini funera, merfa, sui.
Solus naturæ arcana reservare solebat,
Solut et ambigui solvere jura poli.
Lustrasti errantes bene fida mente planetas;
Conspectum latuit stellaque nulla tuum.
Desectos oculos pensarunt lumina mentis;
Tiresias oculis, mente sed Argus eras.
Cernere Tiresie poteras ventura, sed Arge
In fatum non poteras fat vigilâsse tuum.
Sed vigeat nomen, semper cum sole vigebit:
Immemor Astrologi non erit ulla dies.
Sæc'la canent laudes, quas si percurrere tentes,
Arte opus est, stellas qua numerare solet.
Hæreat hoc carmen cinerum custodibus urnis.
Hospes quod, spargens marmora rora, legat.

following year, 1682, he was elected from the school to a student's place at Christ-Church-college in Oxford (c); where having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts at the regular time (d), he became a tutor (e), and was the next year pitched upon, though so young, as very capable of taking a part, together with his fellow-collegians, Dr Aldrich and Mr Atterbury, in the Popish controversy against Obadiah Walker, Master of University-college [C]. In this engagement, he published, in 1687, *Animadversions on the*

(c) See the article of Arthur Maynwaring, Esq;

eight

(e) See below, in remark [d].
(d) Viz. June 15, 1686. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 228.

' Hic situs est dignum nunquam cecidisse Propheta.
' Fatorum interpres fata inopina subit.
' Versari æthereo dum vixit in orbe solebat;
' Nunc humilem jactat terra superba virum.
' Sed cælum metitur adhuc refupinus in urna,
' Vertitur in solitos palpebra clausa polos.
' Huic busto invigilent solenni lampade musæ.
' Perpetuo nubes imbre sepulchra rigant.
' Ille oculis movit distantia sidera nostris,
' Illum amotum oculis traxit ad astra Deus.'

Which long expected was, and might have still
Expected been, had not our nation's ill
Drawn from the heavens a sympathetic tear.
England has cause a second drought to fear.
We have no second Lilly who may die,
And by his death may make the heavens cry.
Then let your annals, Coley, want this day,
Think ev'ry year Leap-year, or if't must stay,
Cloath it in black, let a sad note stand by,
And stigmatize it to posterity (2).

(2) Both copies are printed in Lilly's Life.

To this he likewise added the following elegy in English, on the same occasion.

Our Prophet's gone, no longer may our ears
Be charm'd with music of th' harmonious spheres:
Let sun and moon withdraw, leave gloomy night,
To shew their Nuncio's fate, who gave more light
To th' erring world than all the feeble rays
Of sun or moon; taught us to know those days
Bright Titan makes; follow'd the hasty sun
Through all his circuits; knew th' inconstant moon,
And more inconstant ebbings of the flood,
And what is most unconstant, th' factious brood,
Flowing in civil broils. By th' heav'ns could date
The flux and reflux of our dubious state.
He saw th' eclipse of sun, and change o'th' moon,
He saw, but seeing, could not shun his own.
Eclips'd he was that he might shine more bright,
And only chang'd to give a fuller light.
He having view'd the sky and glorious train
Of gilded stars, scorn'd longer to remain
In earthly prisons: Could he a village love,
Whom the twelve houses waited for above?
The grateful stars a heavenly mansion gave
This heav'nly soul. Nor could he live a slave
To mortal passions, whose immortal mind,
Whilst here on earth, was not to earth confin'd;
He must be gone, the stars had so decreed,
As he of them, so they of him had need.
This message 'twas the blazing comet brought,
I saw the palefac'd star, and seeing thought
(For we could guess, but only Lilly knew)
It did some glorious hero's fate foreshew;
A hero's fallen whose death, more than a war
Or fire, deserv'd a comet; th' obsequious star
Could do no less, than his sad fate unfold,
Who had their risings or their settings told.
Some thought a plague, and some a famine near,
Some wars from France, some fires at home were fear'd.
Nor did they fear too much, scarce kinder fate,
But plague of plagues besel th' unhappy state,
When Lilly died. Now swords may safely come
From France or Rome, Fanatics plot at home.
Now an unseen and unsuspected hand,
By guidance of ill stars may hurt our land,
Unsafe because secure. There's none to shew
How England may avert the fatal blow.
He's dead, whose death the weeping clouds deplore,
I wish we did not owe to him that shower

[C] He took a share in the Popish controversy.] Mr Wood, speaking of the publication of Church Government, P.V. observes, that the zealous men of the Church of England, then in the University, perceiving that Mr Walker would cut their own throats at home (as they said) were resolved to answer whatever he published (3). In pursuance of this resolution, extraordinary diligence was used by Dr Aldrich (4) and Mr afterwards Dr Atterbury, in executing that design, and in the same spirit Church Government, Part V. coming out, in May 1687, Mr Smalridge published his Animadversions upon it, in June following; in the introduction to which, having mentioned the Answer of Dr Aldrich, he gives the following reasons for his own undertaking this task. 'I should not, says he, have thought myself obliged to answer the extravagant singularities of a private fancy, such especially as are not likely to do any mischief to the public, and such I esteem the notions of this pamphlet, which is too perplexed for a common reader's understanding, and too sophistical to impose upon the more intelligent. But considering the false and scandalous reports that are of late so industriously spread about the nation, as if Oxford converts came in by whole shoals, and all the University were just ready to declare [in favour of Popery]. I have just reason to believe that this pamphlet was designedly printed at Oxford to countenance those reports, for no doubt the Popish presses were at the editor's service. The secret is, these papers are to pass, with unwary people, for a specimen of the University's government; much such a one indeed as the tile was, which Hierocles's scholars brought to market, for a sample of the house he had to sell. Now there are divers aggravations of this foul play, which make it yet more insupportable; as where 'tis said, *Why is this question now revived, which the members of our Church have of late so carefully declined, out of pure respect to those ears, which, if it be possible, they are not willing to offend. Or why are we of the University attacked in our own quarters, and so desir'd to own a truth, that we can neither in honour nor honesty decline an answer, tho' we are well aware with what design the scene of the Controversy is laid in Oxford. Or how can we brook this usage from our companions, our own familiar friends, with whom we have taken sweet counsel together, and walked in the House of God as friends* (5). This piece was published, as has been said, in May (6), and how exactly our author, whose tract followed it in June, has kept to the same lore, appears from his epistle addressed to the University reader, where he observes, 'that the hopes of our enemies abroad have been entertained, and the sollicitude of our friends awakened, by the news of our Oxford converts daily flocking into the bosom of the Romish Church. But we hope all men are by this time convinced, that they deserve as little consideration for their number, as they do regard for their accomplishments. No one needs to be alarmed at the desertion of six or seven members, who shall consider their dependance on one, who, by the magazines which he had stored up against us, shews that he has not now first changed his complexion, but only dropped the vizor.' This is sufficient for a sample, for to trace him through every instance of the contrast, would be to transcribe both. Mr Atterbury's piece followed

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 616.

(4) See his article; as also that of Dr Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

(5) Psalm lv. 14, 15.

(6) The imprimatur is dated May, 19, 1687.

eight *Theses laid down, and the Inferences deduced from them, in a Discourse intituled, Church-Government, Part V. lately printed at Oxford* [D]. Thus early did he distinguish himself in a point of so much serious study, as was the defence of his Prince's supremacy against the papal usurpations, when urged to it by his regard for the honour of the university. Neither did he fail of giving the highest entertainment to that elegant feat of the Muses, by his admirable poetical talents, when a suitable occasion invited him. The *Musæ Anglicanæ* cannot boast a more exquisite performance, than the *Austro Davisiana* of Mr Smalridge, published first in 1689, 4to. The same year, July 4th, he proceeded Master of Arts (f); not long after which, he entered into Holy Orders, and about the year 1692 was appointed Minister of Tothil-Fields-chapel, Westminster (g). In 1693, he was collated to a Prebend in the church of Litchfield (h). In 1700, he took his Doctor's degree in Divinity (i), and frequently supplied the place of Dr Jane, then Regius-Professor of Divinity at Oxford, with great applause [E], 'till the Professor's death in February

(f) Wood's Fasti, col. 223.

(g) It is in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of the abbey.

(h) He was admitted June 12. Willis's Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 442. Dr Lloyd was then Bishop of that see. Mr Whiston was ordained Priest the same year by his Lordship, when Dean Addison, Dr Chandler, afterwards Bishop of Durham, then his Lordship's chaplain, and Mr Smalridge, laid their hands upon him, jointly with the Bishop. Whiston's Memoirs, &c. p. 28. edit. 1753.

(i) Rawlinson's Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.

(7) It was intituled, A Vindication of the Spirit of Martin Luther, &c.

followed in the beginning of August (7), in the preface to which the same particulars are touched upon, but in such a taste and manner as makes them his own. By this last piece there seems to have been a fourth person engag'd in the common design, whose part was the defence of the Reformation, as appears from these words of the author. 'In the defence of our Reformation to come, it will be found, that the Considerer is no good historian; the Reasoner has proved him no good Catholic; the Animadverter no good subject; and all together no good Disputant; so that I have no new side of him left to entertain the reader with.'

[D] *Church Government, Part V.* The whole title runs thus: *Church Government, Part V. A Relation of the English Reformation, and the Lawfulness thereof examined by the Theses delivered in the four former Parts.* But it seems these four had not been published. This was a very extraordinary mystery, which lay fully open however to ridicule and raillery, and did not escape our Animadverter's notice. 'Nor is it, says he, any wonder, if that arguer does not convince, who uses, for principles, conclusions drawn from premises which the world never saw, and then assumes such things as every one acquainted with history is able to contradict. Certainly his University readers will not be very fond of the conclusion of that syllogism whose major proposition is a *petitio principii*, and minor, a downright falsehood in matter of fact; they no doubt are surprised to find consequents come before their antecedents, and Church Government, Part V. to have slipped into the world somewhat immaturely, methinks, before the other four (8).' Mr Wood, who informs us (9), that this piece was wrote by Abraham Woodhead, and was the first that was printed at the press which Obadiah Walker had set up in the back part of his lodgings, as Master of University college, observes that it had the print of King Alfred cut in a wooden border prefixed to the title. So minute a particular appears to be trifling and contemptible at first sight, but upon looking into the book will be found very pertinent. The Antiquary therein apparently had his eye upon that part of our young animadverter's piece, where he urges the editor with the authority of Mr Spelman's book *de Vita Ælfridi*, written as he observes by the author in English, but published in Latin by the Master of University college in Oxford, in the name of the *Alumni* of that society. This author, speaking of the laws made by King Ælfrid in causes ecclesiastical, makes the following inference from them. These laws do therefore deserve our particular observation, because from them it is evident that the Saxon Kings, Ælfrid and Edward, were of opinion that they had a supremacy as well over ecclesiastical persons as laymen, and that the Church which was within their dominions, was not out of their jurisdiction, or subject to a foreign power, and exempted from the laws of their country, as *Becket, Anselm*, and others afterwards, fiercely contended (10). Again, from King Alfred's laws it is evident, either that the Roman supremacy was not yet risen to that height as in after-ages, so as to lessen the jurisdiction of Christian Princes, or if it was, yet King Alfred did not subject himself so far to it (11). Nay, so far was King Alfred from paying any such subjection, that we are told he found out a way to ruin and destroy that universal empire which the Ro-

(8) Animadversions, p. 4.

(9) In the article of Abraham Woodhead, as before.

(10) *Vita Ælfrici*, lib. ii. paragr. 12.

(11) *Ibid.* lib. ii. par. 98.

manists in those dark ages had newly founded, and were hastening to finish, which is spoken in reference to his restoring the second commandment expunged out of the decalogue according to the canons of the second Nicene council (12). From which one instance it is plain, that, contrary to the pretensions of our author, King Edward the Sixth was not the first that took upon him to reform liturgies. Mr Smalridge concludes thus, 'These passages cited I take to be some of the *perperam scripta* which the publisher of that life mentions in the preface (13). And accordingly we find that whatever is advanced against the papal authority in the text, is qualified in the comment; and it is plain that King Alfred was a greater adversary to the power of the Pope, than his *Alumnus*, the Annotator. So that it is matter of great surprize to find him appear in the frontispiece of this treatise of *Church Government*, who was so great an enemy to the anti-regal designs of it.'

[E] He supplied the place of Divinity Professor with applause.] As to one principal part of this office, presiding in theological disputations, his epitaph is full evidence, and we have the following instance that he performed another part, of presenting and creating Doctors in that faculty, with no less merit. May 6, 1706, he presented the famous Dr Grabe, with this elegant speech.

'Insignissime Vice-cancellarii vosque egregii Procuratores!

'Præsento Vobis Reverendum hunc Virum Dominum Johannem Ernestum Grabe, Patre, Avo, Abavo, Theologiæ Professoribus, prognatum; gente atque educatione Borussia; diuturni apud nos hospitii necessitudine, ac propensissimo erga Ecclesiam Anglicanam studio, nostratem; Eruditionis suæ fama ac nominis celebritate Universi literati Orbis, Civem. Verum iis ingenii doctrinæ, et virtutis, ornamentis insignem, ut ex Absentis laudem nulla satis longa foret oratio; Ea vero animi modestia ut præsens reformidet etiam brevissimam. Id sane nec absque singulari Dei Opt. Max. providentia ornatissimo huic homini evenit, ut quo olim die illum philosophiæ magistrum & doctorem summo omnium applausu salutavit Academia Regiomontana, eodem jam die post emensas unum et viginti annos in celsissimo hoc theologiæ dignitatis gradu pari studio collocaret Academia Oxoniensis. Nihil in laudem vestrum magis cessurum; Nihil Academiae Francofurtensis, cui solennem hunc instauratis diem, magis gratum, a Vobis proficisci potuit, quam eximius hic honos in eum virum collatus, quem illa, utpote regi suo præ cæteris egregie charum, maximi habet, quem ad professoriam suam cathedram haud semel vocatum nobis pœne invidet, quem hodierno præcipue die absentem requirit, minores aliquanto agens triumphos, quod hoc tantum ingenii lumen desideret.

'Quæ vero lætissimum hunc virum ad Angliam invensam primum impulit, eadem adhuc apud Nos detinet, amicissima erga ecclesiam nostram voluntas, & summa Episcopalis Ordinis Reverentia. Primævæ nimirum Antiquitatis Indagator sagacissimus, eam divini cultus solemnitatem, quam sùs descripsit *Justinus*, eam doctrinæ puritatem quam ab omni heresæos

(12) Lib. ii. par. 5.

(13) His words are, *Errores auctoritatis retinimus, & perperam scripta medicari potius quam tollere malimus.*

labe

February 1706-7, when his worthy deputy was strongly recommended to the Queen for his successor by the university, who had been witnesses of his just pretensions to it, but he was obliged to yield to the tide of party, which carried it to his competitor [F]. He had now long been distinguished by his discourses from the pulpit; and in consequence thereof, on the twenty-ninth of January 1707-8, he was chosen Lecturer of St Dunstan's in the West (k), London. He had entered very early into an intimacy with Dr Francis Atterbury at school; and this, by a concurrence of sentiments and studies, afterwards grew into the most sincere and hearty friendship; of which he gave an illustrious proof in 1710, when being a Member of the Lower-House of Convocation, he steadily promoted his friend's advancement to the Prolocutor's chair, and presented him to the House on that occasion in a remarkable elegantly turned panegyric (l) [G]. He continued also

(k) From the vestry book of that parish.

(l) It was printed soon after.

• labe vindicavit suis itidem *Irenæus*; eam denique
• ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ formulam quam sapissime in
• Patrum monumentis expressam legerat, nativa sua
• puritidine apud nos etiamnum vigere facile per-
• spexit. Et cum antiquam matrem diu diligenterque
• quæsitam hic tandem invenerat, in illius sinum recipi
• vehementer gessit; in illius amplexu lubens hæret.
• Erit autem aliquando dies, nisi vana nos spes fallat,
• & quod ardentissimis votis optamus, id etiam futurum
• credulimur auguremur; erit, inquam, aliquando
• dies, cum optimus hic Vir in patriam redux primi-
• tivam ecclesiæ hierarchiam apud suos hæud ulterius
• desideraverit; cum augustissima nostra regina, eccle-
• siam Anglicanam, quam domi materno affectu mover,
• quam sanctissimis moribus exornat, quam amplissima
• munificentia locupletat, quam assiduis precibus Deo
• commendat, quam adversus omnes omnium undequa-
• que holum impetus incolumem, & dum ipsa fuerit
• sospes, sospitem usque & gloriosam fore, eccei sponde-
• mus; in Confederatas etiam gentes præpollenti sua
• apud illos gratia hæud frustra commendatam transmi-
• tere studuerit. Cum, Anna hortante, Augustus Bo-
• rufforum Rex, pro summa sua adversus ecclesiæ re-
• formatas benevolentia, ad augendum ipsarum decus
• et robur, venerabilem Episcopatus ordinem intra sua
• regna stabilierit; ad quæ regiam ipsius majestatem
• in hunc ipsum fortasse finem divina evexit Providentia.
• Cum Frederico, inter cæteras ab ipso pace & bello
• præclare gestas, quas & præfens ætas laudat, & sera
• laudabit posteritas, id etiam in non exiguum ipsius
• gloriam cesserit, quod antiquam Apostolicam Episco-
• porum in Ecclesiâ gubernanda prærogativam suis au-
• spiciis restituerit; cum eruditissimum hunc virum,
• singulari ipsius favore jam pridem insignitum, Episco-
• pali Mitra ornaverit: Vestra interim laurea, Acade-
• mici, in præludium tantæ dignitatis hodie ornandum,
• eam vicissim eximia sua pietate et sere incredibili
• doctrina magnopere ornaturum.

[F] He yielded to the tide of party, &c.] We have already shewn (14), that the carrying of this matter against our author, was made a point by the Duke of Marlborough and his Duchefs also, at the head of the Whigs*. The Duchefs expressly tells us, that Dr Smalridge was put up by the Tories, a blot it seems that entirely obliterated all his pretensions to a right of expectation superior to his competitor, by having supplied the place many years with great applause, as Deputy to Dr Jane, which in reality was so far from being now of any service to him, that it even help'd to aggravate his crime, the memory of Dr Jane being particularly odious to the Whigs at this time on many accounts, as will appear from the following sketch of his life. This Gentleman was son of Joseph Jane of Lelkard in Cornwall, Esq; Member for that borough in the long Parliament under Charles the First, but upon their violent proceedings against his Majesty, he retired to Oxford, sat in the Parliament there in 1643, and was one of the Commissioners in Cornwall for the King the following year (15). Upon the decline of his Majesty's affairs, he was a great sufferer, compounded, as is thought, for his estate, and went abroad, where he wrote ΕΙΚΩΝ ΑΚΑΛΑΣΤΟΣ, or, the Image unbroken, *A Persepective of the impudence, falsehood, vanity, and prophaneness, published in a Libel, intituled ΕΙΚΩΝΑΚΑΛΑΣΤΗΣ* against ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ; printed in 1651, in a small character 4to. His son Dr William Jane was born at Lelkard about the year 1644, and, being bred at Westminster-school, was thence elected student of Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1660; proceeding regularly to take his degrees in arts, he entered into holy orders, became Lecturer of Carfax church in Oxford, Chaplain to Dr Compton, Bishop of London (16), Prebendary of St Paul's, Bachelor of

Divinity in 1674, and installed Canon of Christ Church in 1678. The following year he proceeded Doctor of Divinity as a Compounder, and on the 19th of May, 1680 was admitted Regius Professor of Divinity. In 1685, he was nominated, by King James the Second, Dean of Gloucester (17), with which he held the Precentorship of Exeter (18). Upon the arrival of the Prince of Orange at Hungerford, in his march to London, he was one of the four Delegates sent by the University of Oxford, to offer his Highness their plate, which, though refused by the Prince, yet the Doctor took that opportunity of asking for the bishopric of Exeter, void by the translation of Dr Lamplugh to the see of York, but was prevented by a promise before made of Exeter to Dr Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol (19). However, Mr Wood tells (20), us he was made Chaplain to King William, and it is certain was one of the Commissioners appointed on the 13th of September 1689, by his Majesty, to review the Liturgy in order to a Comprehension, tho' he never sat in it; and November 21 following, he was elected Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation against Dr (afterwards Archbishop) Tillotson, then Dean of St Paul's (21). It was said that he was much disgusted at the ill success of his application for a bishopric, and ranged among the malcontents of King William's reign (22). However that be, it is certain that he lived some years after Queen Anne's accession to the throne without being advanced higher in the Church, dying on the 5th of February, 1706 7 (23). Mr Wood gives us the titles of two sermons of his, besides those already mentioned in print, all in 4to. As also another piece intituled, *The present Separation self-condemned and proved to be Schism, &c.* London 1678, 4to. He is the supposed author of *A Letter to a Friend, containing some Queries about the new Commission for making Alterations in the Liturgy, Canons, &c. of the Church of England*, published in October 1689, in a single sheet 4to. He is likewise said to have viewed before it went to the press, and made some corrections in a piece of *Abraham Woodbead*, intituled, *An historical Narration of the Life and Death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, &c.* Oxon, 1685, 4to. published by *Obadiab Walker*, who struck out Dr Jane's corrections when it was in the press (24). Dr Jane is charged moreover with having a chief hand in penning the Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford, passed in that Convocation in July 1683, then presented to and approved by King Charles II, but burnt by the hangman in pursuance of an order of the House of Lords, in 1710 (25).

[G] In an elegant panegyric.] Having represented his friend as a person fit for the post in every respect, he begins with his character as a scholar; in which respect he recommends him to their choice as one that was a stranger in no branch of literature; had been long and success fully exercised in most arts and sciences, and was most accomplished and perfect in the most perfect kinds of learning: *Vir in nullo literarum genere hospes in plerisque artibus & studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maxime perfectis literarum disciplinis perfectissimus.* He then proceeds to his conduct in controversy, a delicate point, and it is touched with a delicate hand, duely balanced between his friend's honour, and his own integrity. He allows him to have been too severe in treating his antagonist; but alledges, that this was not to be imputed to any principle of ill nature, envy, or pride, but to a temper of itself too warm, or perhaps to a degree of passion, easily pardonable in a soldier, who fought for every thing that was dear to him, in a son endeavouring to rescue his mother from injury and violence. But, adds he, if there be a greater number of excellencies in his writings; if he has treated of sub-

(17) Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 1049, 1050.

(18) Birch's Life of Tillotson.

(19) Life of Dean Prideaux, p. 65, 66. Lond. 1748, 8vo.

(20) Ubi supra. And there is a sermon of his preached before the King and Queen at Whitehall, in Novemb. 1692. printed at Oxford, 1692, 4o.

(21) The writer of Dean Prideaux's Life tells us, he was supported by the interest of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester. p. 55. as before.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 174.

(24) Ath. Oxon. col. 615.

(25) Gen. Hist. of England.

(14) Under the article of Dr Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury.

* Dr Smalridge had particularly incurred their displeasure, by signing, with Sir T. Croffe and Paul Jodrell, the paper mentioned in the article of Mr Maynwaring.

(15) The King lodged six nights together in his house at Lelkard, in Aug. 1644. and one night in Sept. following; at which time the Earl of Essex was defeated and forced to fly to Plymouth. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1030.

(16) He preached the sermon at the consecration of Dr Compton to the see of Oxford, on the sixth of December, 1674, which was printed immediately at London in 4to. in 1675, according to the Printers computation.

also firm in the same connexions the following years, but without suffering himself to be drawn into the violence and rage of party disputes, either upon State or Church subjects [H]. In this amiable disposition of pursuing mild and persuasive methods, he entertained a friendly correspondence with Dr Samuel Clarke and Mr Whiston [I]; and was very serviceable in moderating the heat of the proceedings in Convocation against them [K]. In the same spirit he proposed a conference with the former upon the subject of the Trinity, which was accordingly held at the seat of Thomas Cartwright, Esq; of Aynho, in Northamptonshire, about the year 1712 [L]. But, however commendable so peaceful a conduct

jects in themselves arduous, useful, and agreeable; if he has confirmed them with the strongest arguments; if he has pressed them upon the minds of his readers, by a pure and perspicuous style: it is reasonable that he should receive the applause due to learning, from men of letters; from the eloquent, the honour due to eloquence; *Si quid forte asperius, si quid ardentius, si quid liberius effuderit, Lector paulo humanior, id non odio, non livori, nec arrogantiae, tribuet; sed aut ingenio suapte natura aliquantulum preferendo, aut fortasse iracundiae, in milite pro aris focusque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuria et vi matrem suam eripiente, facile ignoscenda. Quod si plures in illius scriptis effulgeant virtutes; si res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas; si eas validissimis argumentis firmaverit; si puro et dilucido sermone in ipsis legentium animis inscripserit; eruditorum apud eruditos, eloquentiae apud disertos, suus constet honos.*

[H] *Without the rage of party disputes*] For this we have the authority of the famous Sir Richard Steele, who cannot be suspected of partiality to him. We find that justly admired writer, thus describing Dr Smalridge in the Tatler (26), under the feigned name of Favonius. He introduces it according to the affecting turn and manner of those papers, by an account of a visit he made to a friend of his, a Lady of great worth, who lay then on her death-bed. 'At the door I met Favonius, not without a secret satisfaction to find, that he had been there. I had formerly conversed with him at this house; and as he abounds with that sort of virtue and knowledge, which makes religion beautiful, and never turns the discourse into the violence and rage of party disputes, I listened to him with great pleasure. The discourse chanced to be upon the subject of death, which he treated with such a strength of reason, and greatness of soul, that instead of being terrible, it appeared to a mind rightly cultivated altogether to be contemned, or rather to be desired. As I met him at the door, so I saw in his face, a certain glowing of grief and humanity, heightened with an air of fortitude and resolution; which, as I afterwards found, had had such an irresistible force, as to suspend the pains of the dying person, and the lamentations of the nearest friends, who attended her.'

[I] *He held a fair correspondence with Dr Samuel Clarke and Mr Whiston.*] The latter of these, in his Historical Memoirs of the former, tells us (27), that his acquaintance with Dr Smalridge commenced about the same time as it did with Dr Clarke, that is, about the year 1697. How soon our author became acquainted with Dr Clarke, is not certain, but it must have been some time before the year 1709; when Mr Whiston having translated the *Apostolical Constitutions* into English, desired Dr Clarke to revise it; who having done so, and corrected the whole, finding about ten or twelve places, which he hesitated about, recommended it to the translator, to go to their great and common friend Dr Smalridge, (they are Mr Whiston's words) for the last correction of the more difficult places; who accordingly examined and corrected the version in every one of those places. Mr Whiston further informs us here, that in the advertisement to the first volume of his *Primitive Christianity revived*, where this fact is mentioned without naming the two persons, Dr Smalridge is understood by a very learned and judicious person. He also intimates afterwards (28), that all the four volumes of the last-mentioned book, were communicated to our author before they were printed, and expressly declares, that upon committing his fourth volume to him, he was pleased to peruse it with great care, and confessed, says Mr Whiston, that I had therein acted very uprightly, and that my quotations were fair and just; and that whereas a friend of his had suggested to him, that he thought some passages were omitted in antiquity, that seemed to make against

me; he upon comparing, found that I had not omitted them, but that they were all in my papers.'

[K] *He was serviceable in moderating the heat of the proceedings in Convocation against them*] We shall begin according to the order of time, with Mr Whiston, who informs us, that about the same time that Dr Smalridge had his manuscript papers [of *Primitive Christianity revived*] he once went down to him [at Westminster] and desired him to go with him to the Archbishop of York, Dr Sharp, in order to try whether they could not find out some way for a fair examination of his papers before they were printed; 'which, says Mr Whiston, I earnestly endeavoured.' He replied, 'that there was nothing to be said against examination, nothing to be said against it; and, accordingly, he went along with me to the Archbishop's house in Petty-France, Westminster, immediately. But the Archbishop not happening to be at home, there were no further steps taken at that time (29).' After Mr Whiston's affair came before the Convocation, Dr Smalridge, being appointed one of the committee for that purpose, was not wanting to give intimations of his good intentions towards his deliverance, by declaring openly, upon the reading of his letter to the Convocation, in that committee, that it would be harder to come at him now than before; and, by declaring openly, in Convocation, against the current of the House (30), that it was his private opinion, that he should be heard before he was censured. With regard to Dr Clarke, the same hand informs us, that Dr Smalridge, then a Bishop, and in the Upper-House, dropped some words before-hand, that as to other of Dr Clarke's metaphysical notions about the Trinity, he did not think it necessary to proceed to their condemnation; provided he would but truly declare he believed the real eternity of the Son of God. That as the Bishop's opinion was chiefly regarded by that House, so Mr Whiston thought it had great weight with Dr Clarke, in inducing him to draw up that declaration of his opinion, which he had laid before the Bishops, on the second of July, 1714. The first article of which runs thus: 'My opinion is, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal, incomprehensible, power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was likewise eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal, incomprehensible, power and will of the Father.' Which produced a resolution in that House to proceed no farther upon the extract laid before them by the Lower-House; so that, concludes Mr Whiston, as Dr Smalridge in some measure assisted my escape from that Convocation, so was Bishop Smalridge the principal occasion of Dr Clarke's escape from the other (31).

[L] *A dispute about the Trinity with Dr Clarke, &c.*] Mr Whiston, who is still our informer, tells us, that the conference was proposed by our author in order to the conviction of Dr Clarke; and, continues he, if any person was able to convince upon that head, it must have been Dr Smalridge, who had fully considered my fourth volume, and was a thorough master of those original books of Christianity whence the arguments were to be taken, and who wanted no sagacity or good will to enforce them. However adds he, the Doctor failed of success; and, on the contrary, the company were generally satisfied, the evidence on Dr Clarke's side was greatly superior to the other (32). Now granting this to be a fair representation of the issue of this dispute; our author's reputation is in no danger of being hurt by it, when it is considered who made up the generality of this company, probably Mr Wals, then Rector of the parish, and Mr Cartwright's chaplain, and Mrs Cartwright, who we are assured was never absent nor unconcerned at such conferences, both of them pre-
judiced

(26) No. 110. In the preface to the 4th volume, he expressly tells us, that Favonius is intended for Dr Smalridge.

(27) P. 16. edit. 1748, 8vo.

(28) In p. 140, 141.

(29) Ibid. p. 141.

(30) Ibid. p. 56.

(31) Ibid. from p. 56 to 65.

(32) Ibid. p. 5

a conduct might be in the eyes of all the sober part Christians, yet there were not wanting those who took great offence at it, and some of these even carried their resentments so far as to charge him with leaning towards Arianism [M], inasmuch, that a little before his death he was brought under a necessity of vindicating himself from that calumny [N].
In

judged greatly in favour of Dr Clarke's notions; and as to the Doctor himself 'tis well known how utterly inconvincible he was, maintaining his doctrine to the last, against all conviction.

[M] *He was charged of leaning towards Arianism.* Mr Whiston was apparently a great means of bringing him under this character, since he every where represents him, throughout his memoirs of Dr Clarke, in this light; upon too fond a desire to have one, whom he looked on as the most excellent man in the nation, of his side. The strongest proof he offers for his conjecture, is seen at the conclusion of his account of the just mentioned conference at Aynho; which, after declaring the allowed superiority of Dr Clarke's evidence, runs thus: 'And whether Dr Smalridge did not himself something feel it, I cannot certainly tell. So far I think will appear hereafter, that excepting his condemnation of the gross Arians, whom neither Dr Clarke nor I ever supported, he after this chose rather to refer to others, who had managed the Athanasian cause, than ever to enter directly into it's vindication. Nor did he escape the suspicion of being himself inclinable to what has been of late called Arianism, especially at Oxford, as will hereafter appear (33).'

By these last words, Mr Whiston refers to a postscript at the end of these Memoirs; where he tells us, that when in his second appendix to the Historical Preface, p. 33, 34, 35. he said, 'that proposition from the Upper-House of Convocation, which condemns, as hereby, his affirming, that *the one God of the Christians was not the three Persons taken together, but God the Father only*, was owned not to be heretical by more than one of the Lower-House, he meant by Dr Smalridge and Dr Cannon; and agreeable to this, we are afterwards told, that when his first volume of *Primitive Christianity revived* had been perused by Dr Smalridge, he confessed to Mr Whiston, that he had proved, that so far as our present records go, the Holy Ghost was not called God, nor invocated in the three first centuries; though he thought Basil had given good reasons, why we might venture farther. Our author's sentiments of this performance of Mr Whiston's, he frankly declared, in the following most friendly letter to himself.

' Sir,

' I did not send for the books sooner, because I had rather have them bound than in sheets. I pray God the publication of them may not do that disservice to our holy religion, which I am persuaded you are far from intending. It seems to me much more likely, that unbelievers should thereby be strengthened in their infidelity, than that those whom you suppose mistaken, should be induced to reform the opinions which you take to be erroneous. There is one suffrage in our Liturgy in which you will heartily join with us. That it may please God to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived. This is the prayer of

' Your faithful friend,

Nov. 22, 1711.

' and servant,

' George Smalridge (*).

Again, says Mr Whiston, ' some time after the publication of the then Bishop of Bangor's famous sermon, and about the time of the publication of my Scripture Politicks, I waited upon Bishop Smalridge; and, among other things, desired, that his Lordship, of whom both parties had so good an opinion, would do something to bring us out of that disorder in which we then were; and particularly, that he would please to write a little book, to recommend a fair and impartial review of Christian Antiquity to the world, in order to the correction of such errors and practices as might have crept into the Church, since the first settlement of Christianity, which recommendation would, I believed,

' have a very good effect. His Lordship's answer, as near as I can remember the words, and that with great emotion of mind, was this: Mr Whiston, I dare not examine; I dare not examine; for if we should examine and find that you are in the right, the Church has then been in an error so many hundred years; yet, as Mr Whiston concludes, when I asked him how he could say so and still be a Protestant; he replied, Yes, he could (34). Thus we see how ill the parts of this story hang together; and such trash would not have found a place here, but as it gives an opportunity of satisfying such as perhaps may be unacquainted with that odious part of Mr Whiston's conduct, in retailing and misrepresenting private conversation in favour of his own principles; a most mischievous kind of falseness and treachery, of which no man was universally esteemed less capable than he, at the time when these tales, concerning Dr Smalridge, have their date; and, consequently, no man more capable of doing mischief by them. For which reason, it will not appear incredible, that he was a great means of bringing the suspicion of Arianism upon the Bishop; which, however, in the issue turned to his advantage, as will be seen in the following remark.

[N] *Under a necessity of vindicating himself from that calumny.* To set this part of our author's life in a full light, it is necessary to observe, that in 1719, there was a design among the Anti-Athanasians, as they called themselves, to petition the Parliament for a legal Toleration. Dr Clarke was consulted, and approved the design, and Mr Whiston was the chief promoter of it. Upon this occasion, a paper was drawn up and printed in order to be distributed to the Members of Parliament, to the following purport:

' Whereas, in an Act of Parliament, 1. Gul. & Mary, for the exempting Protestant Dissenters, &c. from diverse penalties, &c. there are several restrictions and limitations, by which many of his Majesty's peaceable Protestant subjects are still left incapable of receiving the benefit of such exemption, &c. Therefore, for the quieting the minds of all such his Majesty's good Protestant subjects; be it enacted, &c. That every Protestant Dissenter from the Church of England by law established, who shall make and subscribe the declaration against Popery, and take the oaths in the said Act mentioned; and who shall, instead of any other declarations and subscriptions therein required, declare and subscribe his unfeigned assent to, and his belief of, the Holy Christian religion, as contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and in the Creed, commonly called the Apostle's Creed, shall have the full benefit of the said exemptions, as if he had made all the declarations and subscriptions therein hitherto required; any thing in the aforesaid Act, or in any other Act, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding (35).'

This attempt, though abortive, yet made a very great noise, and being particularly disgustful to the generality of the Clergy, who were most zealous for preserving the present establishment unaltered, in this respect, some of these judging, that such a bold attempt could not be thought of without some particular encouragement, were prompted to look whence it might possibly come, and in that humour presently cast their eyes upon Bishop Smalridge, who, it was well known, had often expressed a good opinion of Dr Clarke and Mr Whiston, especially as to the piety and uprightness of their intentions for the service of religion, and frequently declared his dislike of all violent measures against them. These murmurings reaching the ears of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Bishop of Winchester, who had a great respect for his brother of Bristol, his Lordship took the liberty of acquainting him with them: in answer to whom, Bishop Smalridge wrote the following remarkable vindication of himself, in a letter to that friend, dated from Christ-Church in Oxford, September 23, 1719.

' My

(34) Ibid. p. 140, 141, 142.

(33) Ibid. p. 52.

(35) N. B. No preachers or teachers, except Quakers, are at present tolerated by Law in England, without subscribing the 18, 11d, Vth, VIIIth, IXth, XIIIth, and XVIIth, of the XXXIX Articles of Religion.

* Ibid. p. 138.

(m) This, with eleven more, were printed and published by himself, in 1717, 8vo. addressed to the Vestry, &c. of this church, in Tothil-Fields, Westminster.

(n) Willis's Cathedral, Vol. I.

(o) See his letter to Bishop Trelawney, in remark [IV].

In 1711, he preached his farewell sermon at St Dunstan's (m), upon the resignation of that Lecturehip [O], being made Canon of Christ-church in Oxford, into which he was installed the fourth of September that year. Dr Atterbury was made Dean of that church the same day; and resigning the Deanery of Carlisle, Dr Smalridge succeeded him in that dignity, into which he was admitted on the third of November, and installed by proxy on the twenty-ninth of the same month. Upon the promotion of this friend to the Deanery of Westminster and Bishopric of Rochester, he succeeded him also as Dean of Christ-church, into which he was admitted on the eleventh of July 1713. To this Deanery, upon the translation of Dr John Robinson to the See of London, was added that of Bristol, of which Dr Smalridge was consecrated Bishop, the fourth of April 1714; and her Majesty appointed him her Lord-Almoner soon after (n). In this post he likewise served her successor, King George the First, the first Christmas after his Accession to the Throne (o). But still preserving that benevolent principle which constantly directed his conduct in all public affairs, never to join in the exasperating measures of any party, he became disagreeable to the Ministry, by refusing to sign the Declaration, which the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other Bishops, then in and about London, had drawn up on occasion of the rebellion in 1715 [P]; and soon after

was

‘ My very good Lord,

‘ Among the many proofs your Lordship has given me of your favour and friendship to me, none could be greater or more obliging than the generous concern you have shewn for my injured reputation; and I am very much surprized to hear that I should be suspected of Arianism, having never given, as I know of, the least ground for such suspicion. I have, from the chair (while I supplied Dr Jane's place) from the pulpit; when I have preached at the New Chapel [in Tothil-fields, Westminster]; and here at Oxford, on Christmas-day was twelve month; and on the same day at Court, when I was Almoner, the first Christmas after the King's accession; and in Convocation, when a censure past on Mr Whiston's doctrines, (whilst I was presbyter and a member of the Lower-House); and upon all other proper occasions expressed my sentiments about the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour, in opposition both to the Socinians and Arians. I did on Sunday last ordain some clergymen, and I examined them particularly as to the points controverted betwixt the Catholic Church and the Arians, and said what to me seemed proper to confirm them in the Catholic faith, and to arm them against the objections usually brought by the Arians. I have read over more than once, and, as well as I was able, have considered Dr Waterland's late book, and have in conversation signified my approbation of it, and recommended it to my friends as a substantial vindication of the received doctrines and confutation of Arianism.

‘ Trelawney, Nov. 16, 1719.

‘ This is a true copy of part of the Bishop of Bristol's letter to me; and without going deeper into it, is a sufficient vindication of him from the damnable but thriving heresy of Arianism.

‘ Witness my hand,

‘ Jonathan Trelawney.’

(36) Memoirs of Dr Clarke, p. 138, 139.

Mr Whiston, from whom we transcribe this (36), makes the following extraordinary remark upon it: N. B. *Whether Bishop Smalridge meant by Arianism the Eusebian doctrine, of late revived, is not here expressly said.* He must mean not explicitly or in *totidem verbis*, for surely, the Bishop's approbation and recommendation of Dr Waterland's book, as a confutation of Arianism, is clearly expressive of that meaning; but Mr Whiston was resolved not to see that meaning. A prejudice so obstinately blind is enough to make us read with caution, what he tells us afterwards he had from the Earl of Nottingham; viz. that in the other part of this letter, suppressed by the Bishop of Winchester, his friend, Bishop Smalridge, declared, the regard he had for some persons not of the Athanasian opinion; and his little approbation of at least the damnatory clauses in the Athanasian Creed; as also, this other N. B. That our Bishop seemed always to him [Mr Whiston] ready enough to give up the Athanasian creed; only he loved to put it upon another foot, says Whiston, than I should have done;

I mean, that it should be given up to the clamours of the Dissenters, who still made it's damnatory sentences an argument against Conformity to the Church of England. This, however, is much less incredible than what follows: ‘ I was also informed, continues this bigotted Anti-Athanasian, by an eye-witness, Sir Robert Clarke, that when he was once at Bristol cathedral on an Athanasian-Creed day; and not believing that Creed himself, had nothing else to do but to watch Bishop Smalridge's behaviour; he took notice, that he did not repeat that creed any more than himself (37).’ This carries an insinuation so injurious to the Bishop, and so utterly inconsistent with his constant behaviour at divine service at Oxford, where he made it his particular care to join with a full and audible voice in every part of the service requiring it, and often complained of a bad custom that had crept into the university, of not joining in the psalmody, (there being only a sermon besides) under a pretence of being more moved by listening to the sweet performance of the choristers in that part of the duty (38); that no excuse can be made for it.

(37) Ibid. p. 140.

[O] *His farewell sermon at St Dunstan's, &c.* This sermon was printed together with eleven more, by himself, in 1717, 8vo. and the volume is not scarce; yet there is one passage in it which it would be a kind of injury to the parish as well as to his memory, if this opportunity of doing justice to both was neglected. In the conclusion of his discourse, he addresses himself to the inhabitants thus: ‘ And now, my dearly beloved brethren, I most earnestly beseech you to call to remembrance all the dissuaves from impiety and sin, all the exhortations to holiness and virtue, which I have, through the course of my ministry, with much weakness and infirmity, but with an honest mind and a hearty concern for your eternal welfare, made unto you. That having by your own free choice set me to be your watchman, you would hearken to this last voice of the trumpet, this plain, this repeated, this final, declaration of one, who sincerely loves and regards you, and who has all the testimonies he could wish, more than he could expect, of affection and esteem from you, have it's due weight.’

(38) From my own knowledge.

[P] *He refused to sign the Declaration, &c. 1715.* The passage in that Declaration which he excepted to was this, ‘ We are the more concerned that both the Clergy and People of our communion should shew themselves hearty friends to the Government, on this occasion, to vindicate the honour of the Church of England, because the chief hopes of our enemies seem to arise from discontents, artificially raised amongst us; and because some who have valued themselves, and been too much valued by others for a pretended zeal, have joined with Papists in these wicked attempts, which as they must ruin the Church if they succeed, so they cannot well end without great reproach to it, if the rest do not clearly and heartily declare our detestation of such practices.’ This, he thought, was an unjust and invidious party-reflection upon some, whose loyalty was unquestionable. It has been said, that he was persuaded to take this step by Bishop Atterbury; but it is manifestly agreeable to his own principles and judgment. Though very probably they might act in concert upon this interesting affair,

was removed from the Almoner's place (p). However, it was not long before his true merit was particularly marked by her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, with whom he continued from that time in high favour till his death, which was occasioned by an apoplexy, on the twenty-seventh of September 1719, to the

(p) Tindal's Continuation of Rieu's History of England.

affair, as they always lived in the closest communication of counsels and friendship in points which nearly concerned either of them. The following letter is a conspicuous instance of this intimacy, in regard to Dr Atterbury's dispute with Hoadley, and is no less remarkable in it's contents.

To the Reverend Dr Smalridge.

Dear George,

I happened about a fortnight ago to dine with Mrs Astel. She spoke to me of my sermon (39), and desired me to print it; and after I had given her the proper answers, hinted to me, that she would be glad of perusing it. I complied with her, and sent her the sermon next day. Yesternight she returned it, with this sheet of remarks, which I cannot forbear communicating to you, because I take them to be of an extraordinary nature, considering they come from the pen of a woman. Indeed, one would not imagine a woman had written them. There is not an expression that carries the least air of her sex from the beginning to the end of it. She attacks me very home, you see, and artfully enough, under a pretence of taking my part against other Divines, who are in Hoadley's measures. Had she as much good breeding as good sense, she would be perfect. But she has not the most decent manner of insinuating what she means, but is now and then a little offensive and shocking in her expressions; which I wonder at, because a civil turn of words (even where the matter is not pleasing) is what her sex is always mistress of: she, I think, is wanting in it: but her sensible and rational way of writing makes amends for that defect, if indeed any thing can make amends for it. I dread to engage her, and leave the rest to an oral conference. Her way of solving the difficulty about swearing to the Queen is somewhat singular. You'll bring this with you to Henry Bridges's to-morrow. Perhaps I may call upon you between twelve and one, in order to our going thither together; if I were sure of your being at home, I would. But if I do, and find you are abroad, there is no inconvenience in it. I can follow you alone.

Friday noon.

Your's, adieu.

By the way, the Bishop's censure of Mrs Astel's rude way of expressing herself has happened to give much offence to the writer of her life (40), who has ranked her among the chief heroines of the three kingdoms; and, therefore, according to the general rule of such undertakers, who think it their business to assume the character of a Champion Knight, to defend their heroine's spotless worth against all opposers, will by no means allow her to be capable of such a defect; and even scruples not to retort the reflection upon the Bishop. So redoubted a champion, who enters the lists in defence of his mistress, professedly without knowing any thing of the particulars upon which the justice of her cause depends, needs not fear having any opponent. However, as Mrs Astel was undoubtedly an ornament to her sex, and has been mentioned as such before in the course of this work (41), the reader will naturally have a curiosity to know something more of her, which he may take as follows: She was born about the year 1668, at Newcastle in Northumberland, where her father, being a merchant, took care to give her a genteel education. Among other accomplishments, she was taught the French language, but having an uncommon bent and genius for literature, she afterwards learned Latin without a master. This being observed by an uncle, who was a clergyman, he undertook to be her preceptor, and by the help of his instructions she made a considerable progress in Philosophy and Mathematics as well as the languages. With this foundation, at the age of twenty, she left Newcastle, and went to London; where, and at Chelsea, she spent the remaining part of her life; prosecuting her studies very assiduously; so that, in a

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little time, she made great acquisitions in the fore-mentioned sciences; and turned over the best heathen moralists, and made herself mistress particularly of Xenophon, Plato, Hierocles, Tully, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Antoninus. Being now sensible of her own talents for learning, and feeling the advantage of it, in regard to the world's esteem, she ambitioned to raise the whole sex above their ordinary level, and endeavoured to inflame their minds with an ardor for knowledge as well as religion. In this view, she first published *A serious proposal to the Ladies for the advancement of their true and greatest interest: to which she added, some time after, A serious proposal, &c. the second part; wherein a method is offered for the improvement of their minds.* These books wrought so far upon a certain great lady, that she had a design to give ten thousand pounds towards erecting a sort of college for the education and improvement of the female sex. But the matter coming unluckily to the ears of Dr Burnet, he immediately went to the lady, and so powerfully remonstrated against it, telling her, it would look like preparing a way for the Popish religious orders, and would be reputed a nunnery, &c. that he intirely frustrated that noble design (42). We have already mentioned, under Mr Norris's article, her letters to him concerning the love of God, wrote in 1695, which were first occasioned by her meeting with his peculiar notions upon that subject in his *Practical Discourses upon various Subjects.* In 1696, she published *An Essay in defence of the female sex, in a letter to a Lady, written by a Lady.* This is a witty piece, and was reprinted soon after. In 1700, she published *Reflections upon Marriage;* in which she is thought to carry the birth-right and privileges of her sex a little too far. But in her excuse, this piece is said to derive it's birth from a disappointment which she met with in a marriage, not long before she undertook it; and as it did not please some nice palates, she printed a second edition, with this title, *Reflections upon Marriage: To which is added, A preface, in answer to some objections,* Lond. 1705, 8vo. As she was a great enemy to the sectaries, she took up the cudgels against Davenant's *Moderation a Virtue,* &c. And his *Essays on Peace and War;* in answer to which she wrote *Moderation truly stated; in a review of a late pamphlet entitled, Moderation a Virtue: or, The occasional Conformist justified from the imputation of Hypocrisy; wherein this justification is further considered; and, as far as is capable, justified.* As also, *A fair way with the Dissenters and their patrons; not written by L---y* or any other furious Jacobite, whether Clergyman or Layman, but by a very moderate Person and dutiful Subject to the Queen;* both in 1704, 4to. (43). She also wrote *An impartial enquiry into the causes of the Rebellion and Civil War in this Kingdom; in an examination of Dr Keune's Sermon, January 30. 1703-4; and vindication of the Royal Martyr,* Lond. 1704, in 4to. But her *chef d'œuvre* or master-piece is, *The Christian Religion as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England,* Lond. 1705, 8vo. (44). For several years before her death she constantly walked from Chelsea to St Martin's church in the Fields every Sunday, to hear a celebrated preacher †. She led a holy, pious, and evangelical life, and enjoyed a perfect state of health 'till a few years before her death, when having one of her breasts taken off for a cancer (45), this impaired her constitution, and she did not long survive it. After she was confined to her bed, she ordered her coffin and shroud to be made and brought to the bedside, and earnestly desired, that no company might be admitted to her, refusing even to see Lady Katharine Jones, her dearest friend. She died about the 11th of May, and was buried at Chelsea on the 14th, 1731. Her fortune was never large, and in the latter part of her life was so much reduced, that she was obliged to her friends for a great part of her support. Among others, Lady Elizabeth Hastings especially was very kind and generous to her, and once gave her a purse of no less than fourscore guineas (46).

(42) Ballard's Lives of Illustrious Women, under her article.

* L. fleay.

(43) While this was in the press, Davenant came out with a new edition of his *Moderation still a Virtue;* whereupon she returned immediately a very smart answer, afterwards added by way of preface to this book, which is very scarce.

(44) In this piece, she has taken to task Locke's notion of thinking matter, and shewn the mischievous tendency of his Reasonableness of Christianity, and the Lady's Religion. She has also made some remarks on Dr Tillotson's sermons upon the Eternity of Hell torments, which is mentioned by Dr Waterland, in his *Advice to a Young Student.*

† Probably Dr Trapp.

(45) The operation was performed by one Johnson a clergyman, and for that reason Lady Elizabeth Hastings had her breast cut off, in the same case by the same operator. Ballard, as before.

(46) Ibid.

(19) Apparently that sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy, against Henry's measures of Submission.

(40) Mr Ballard, who has given a copy of this letter.

(41) Under Mr Norris's article.

the great grief of his college, and the whole university of Oxford. He died at Christ-church, and his corps was interred in the isle, on the north side of the choir of that cathedral, where some years afterwards a handsome monument of white marble was fixed to a column, with an inscription in elegant Latin, as may be seen below [2]. He was united to Mr Nelson (whose epitaph he wrote) in a kind of congenial worth, especially in works of charity; wherein he so much abounded, that his widow and two children, a son and daughter, had been destitute of a support if the forementioned generous patroness, the Princess of Wales, had not provided for them, by giving the first a pension of three hundred pounds a year, and conferring a good benefice in the Church for the son, Mr Henry Smalridge, who having been bred at Westminster-school, was then a student of Christ-church and Master of Arts, and took Orders to qualify himself for receiving his worthy patroness's bounty (q). In 1724, the widow took an opportunity of expressing her grateful sense of these favours in a dedication to her Royal Highness [R], prefixed to a collection of sixty of the Bishop's sermons then published in folio; the second edition of which came out in 1727.

(q) Communicated by a gentleman well known to the family.

[2] *An elegant Latin inscription.* After giving an account of his birth, education, and preferments, it proceeds with his character, which being faithfully and impartially done, we shall insert as follows:

Erat vultu apertus & gravis; moribus simplex;
 In precibus fervens; in rostris disertus.
 Affuit ei in totius vitæ tenore constantia,
 In verbis fides; in colloquiis suavitas;
 In reprehendendo candor; in præcipiendo autoritas;
 In discernendo quid in quaque re statui oporteret
 Tam subactum iudicium,
 Ut alios facile secum ducere potuerit;
 Tanta vero modestia, haud raro ut maluerit sequi;
 Tanta in erratis aliorum ignoscendis humanitas,
 Ut etiam in iis, quibus maxime adversabatur,
 Quæsierit semper, quod laudaret.
 Talis cum esset,
 Quot sibi cognitos,
 Tot sui amantes, tot prope amicos habuit;
 Inimicum certe neminem.
 Lichfieldiæ natus est
 Oxonii obiit Ann. Dom. MDCCXIX. Ætat. LVII.

Maria
 Vidua ab illo relicta
 Marmor hoc
 Viri sui memoriæ
 Semper charæ, semper honorandæ,
 M. P.

[R] *A dedication to Her Royal Highness.* It begins thus: 'Your Royal Highness having so graciously taken into your protection, those whom the author of these sheets, now with God, hath left behind him; and having shewn a royal regard to his memory, when, with an unusual degree of goodness and tenderness, you condescended to comfort and cherish me, his desolate widow, in the extremity of my grief, I have been encouraged to hope you will descend to receive his works also under your patronage; and do now, therefore, offer them with this address to your royal hands. He never designed them for the press; and, therefore, I kept them concealed, till pressed by persons of judgment in these matters, I consented to make them public; and having done so, I am sure I should have been wanting in duty and gratitude, had I slipt such an opportunity of publishing at the same time, the great, the many, the various, obligations laid upon me and mine for benefits valuable in themselves, and more valuable as coming from your royal hands.'

P

SMITH [Sir THOMAS], Secretary of State to King Edward VI, and afterwards to Queen Elizabeth, was born March 28, in the year 1514 [A], at Saffron-Walden in Essex. His father was John Smith of that place, Gent. [B] and his mother Agnes Charnock, of an ancient family in Lancashire. He received his school-education, in all probability in his native town of Walden [C]; and in 1526, at the age of twelve or

(1) In the Commonwealth of England, near the end.

(2) Life, &c. as above, p. 2.

(3) AEs and Monuments.

(4) Annal. Eliz. ad ann. 1577.

[A] *Was born March 28, in the Year 1514.* That he was born March 28; we learn from the inscription under his picture, at the beginning of his Life by Mr John Strype. And that it was in the year 1513 or 1514, we learn from himself. For he says (1), that 'the eight and twenty of March 1565, he was in the one and fiftieth yeere of his age.' From whence Mr Strype wrongfully infers, 'that he must have come into the world in the year 1512 (2).' J. Fox is also mistaken, in assigning his age to have been three and thirty in 1551, according to which he must have been born in 1518 (3). Mr Camden is nearest the truth, when he says, that he dyed in 1577, in his grand climacteric (4). And therefore the inscription on his monument is wrong, which says, he had completed the 65th year of his age.

[B] *His father was John Smith of that place, Gent.* He was a person of good rank and quality, being High-Sheriff of the Counties of Essex and Hertford, in the year 1538. And he was also a man of considerable wealth, for the time he lived in; for, in one year, a° 1549, he purchased a Chantry in the Church of Long Ashton in Somersetshire, with other lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the counties of Somerset and Gloucester, which cost him 293l. 16s. 8d. And also the Guild or Fraternity in Great Walden lately dissolved, with divers other lands and tenements in Essex and London; for which he, with another

joint-purchaser, paid 531l. 14s. 11d.—In 1545, his coat of Arms was granted him by the principal King of Arms; or rather confirmed: For the patent specifies, That he was descended of honest lineage, and his ancestors had long continued in nobility and bearing of arms; and that it was Mr Smith's desire, that the King of arms would ratify unto him his former coat, and register it in the records of his office.—He was an old favourer of the Reformed Religion, in which he brought up his son Thomas from his youth. He lies buried in Walden church. By his wife, Agnes Charnock, he had four daughters, Agnes, Margery, Alice, and Jane, which two last married; and three sons, Thomas the subject of this article; John and George. John was the chief instrument and procurer of the new erection of the Corporation of the town of Walden, a° 1549, and of the foundation of King Edward's Almshouse there. George was a merchant in London; and his posterity inherit the seat of Hill-Hall, and other estates acquired by Sir Thomas (5).

[C] *He received his school-education, in all probability in his native town of Walden.* There was an old School there; which, after his advancement at Court, he got erected into a royal foundation by K. Edward VI. and endowed with two Mills, and an annuity of twelve pounds per ann. payable out of the manor of Willingale-Spain's in Essex (6).

(5) Life of Sir Thomas Smith by J. Strype, p. 2—7.

(6) Ibid. p. 7.

[D] *And*

or thirteen, was sent to Queen's-college in Cambridge: where he became so eminent for learning, that King Henry VIII. chose him one of his scholars; and, for his encouragement and better maintenance, allowed him a yearly pension, as was then customary (a). In 1531, he was chosen Fellow of his college; about which time, being incited by a laudable emulation, on account of the great honor and respect paid to Dr John Redman, newly returned from foreign universities with a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he closely applied himself to the reading of the best authors, such as Plato, Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Cicero. By his great diligence he acquired, in about two years time, a perfect skill in Greek, and was appointed, in 1535, to read the publick Greek Lecture in the university. Upon which occasion, observing the vicious Pronunciation of that elegant and harmonious language, he and John Cheke (b) consulted about reforming that error; and brought up a new way of pronouncing Greek, which at length came to be universally received (c) [D]. Besides his public Lecture, he also read privately in his college upon Homer's Odyssey. In 1536, he was made University-Orator, which place he filled with great applause. But, not satisfied with what improvements he could make at home, he set out upon his travels in 1539; in order not only to learn the foreign languages, but also to study in the universities of France and Italy, which then abounded with very learned Professors.

(a) The Life of Sir Thomas Smith, by J. Strype, edd. 1693, 8vo. p. 1—10. T. Fuller add., that it was by that King's direction Mr Smith was sent over, and brought up beyond the seas. *Worthies*, in Essex, p. 328.

(b) See above, the article CHEKE [JOHN].

(c) Strype, as above, p. 12, &c.

At

[D] And brought up a new way of pronouncing Greek, which at length came to be universally received.] Custom had established a very improper and false manner of sounding some of the Greek vowels and diphthongs: For, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ei*, *o*, *ui*, were all then pronounced as *ie* *ue*. This disparaged extremely the pronunciation of that fine language: 'When the reader had almost nothing else to speak, but mournful sounds, and that sniveling *i* (7).' He therefore and Mr Cheke conferred seriously about this matter. They perceived, that the vulgar method of pronouncing Greek was evidently false; it being absurd, that so many different letters and diphthongs should have but one and the same sound. And they found it difficult to teach that language well, by reason of this great confusion. They proceeded to search Authors (not having seen yet Dionysius Halicarnassens), in order to arrive at a certainty. But the modern writers little availed them: For they had not yet perused Erasmus's Book, *De reſta Latini Græcique Sermonis pronuntiatione*. Tho' they both observed these palpable errors, they could not agree among themselves; especially concerning the pronunciation of the letters *ii* *ue* and *u* *ψιλον*. They dreaded the Effects of an unusual Sound, which, by reason of its Novelty, would be both difficult and disagreeable. Soon after, having got Erasmus's Book, and Terentianus *de Literis, Syllabis, Pedibus, et Metris*, they began to reform privately the Pronunciation of the Greek, but did not venture to communicate it to any but their most intimate and familiar friends. When they had sufficiently accustomed themselves to this new method of Pronunciation, which they liked more and more by reason of its fulness and sweetness, they determined to make trial of it publickly. It was agreed that Mr Smith should begin. He read at that time Aristotle *de Republicâ*, in Greek, as he had done some years before. And that the Novelty of the pronunciation might give the less offence, he used this artifice; viz. Of letting, in his reading, now and then a word fall, uttered in the new correct sound: 'To the end, that if his Auditors utterly disliked it, he might defer his project for a while; or if they approved of it, he might briskly go on. At first no notice was taken of it; but when he repeated it oftner, they began to listen more attentively. Especially his pronouncing *ii* and *oi*, as *e* and *oi*, being frequently observed, they could not think it a slip of the tongue, but design; and laughed at the unusual sounds. He again, as though his tongue had slipped, would sometimes correct himself, and say the word again after the old manner. But when he did this daily, some of his friends came to him, and told him what they had observed in his Lectures. He owned to them, he had been thinking of something privately, but that it was not yet sufficiently digested, and prepared for the publick. Upon the rumour of this, many others came to him; whom he desired to have patience, 'till their ears were accustomed to the new sounds, and the prejudice of novelty worn off. And so by degrees he explained to them the whole reason of his new pronunciation. In his private readings upon Homer's Odyssey, he more plainly and openly shewed and determined the difference of the sounds. Many came, that they might

learn from him how to frame their mouths to utter those new and true sounds. And it is not to be expressed, with what greediness and affection this was received among the young scholars. The following winter, there was acted in St John's college the Greek play of Aristophanes called *Plutus*, in this new pronunciation, and one or two more of his comedies; when it was observed, that none of those who understood Greek thoroughly, or were accounted learned, shewed any dislike or opposition. This method of pronouncing was followed by John Ponet, Mr Smith's pupil, and successor in his lecture, afterwards bishop of Winchester; and also by Mr Roger Ascham, another of his successors, tho' he disliked it for a while; and even by Dr John Redman, public Professor of Divinity, a man of great learning and reputation (8). Thus by Mr Smith's unwearied pains and endeavours, was the Greek language restored to itself, as it was spoken when Greece was in its most flourishing condition. And by undeniable Authorities from Plato, Dionysius, Thucydides, and Demosthenes, he made out that he was in the right (9). Cheke, when he was appointed Professor of the Greek tongue, proceeded in the same method. But Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Chancellor of the university of Cambridge, dreading all Innovations, and observing that these endeavours of bringing in a new pronunciation of the Greek, came chiefly from persons suspected to be no friends to Popery; he made a solemn Decree against that way (10). Some time after, Mr Smith waiting upon the Bishop, entered into discourse upon that subject; and finding him immoveable, told him, in a mild and ingenious way, that for his part he could read both ways, the new and the old, that he might offend none for a matter of so small importance. Adding, that 'even Stammering deserved praise, if he that did so, would speak plainly, when there was occasion (11) according to that of the Apostle, I am debtor both to fools and wise.' Thus pleasantly did Mr Smith comply with the Bishop, and yet tacitly gave him a severe reproof for his obstinacy.—During the course of his Travels abroad, he recommended to all the Learned, with whom he conversed, his new way of Pronunciation, and endeavoured to establish it to the utmost of his power.—And, after his return home, in 1542, he wrote a long and eloquent Latin letter to Gardiner, wherein he argued with much freedom the points in dispute between them. In this letter, he shewed 1st what was to be called true and right in the whole method of Sounds and Pronunciation; retrieving it from the vulgar and current use, and proposing the Antients as the best and only pattern to be imitated in this case. 2. He compared the old and the new pronunciation with that pattern; that a judgment might be formed, of what was to be corrected, and what followed. 3. He explained and vindicated his past conduct in the whole affair of the reading of Greek.—During his embassy in France, in 1568, he caused this letter to be printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, under this title, *De reſta & emendatâ Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiatione*, 4to, together with his other Tract concerning the correct writing and pronouncing the English Tongue: Of which an account is given in the next note (12).

(8) This is our learned author's own account, in his book *De Linguae Græcæ Pronuntiat.* fol. 40, 41, 42.

(9) Life, by Strype, &c. p. 13—18.

(10) See the article: CHEKE [JOHN].

(11) Balbutire, modo idem, si quando usus sit, expedite loquatur, etiam laudi dandum est.

(12) Strype, as above, p. 20—34.

[E] S,

(7) Nihil fere aliud habet ad loquendum, nisi lugubres sonos, & illud flexibile *i*; as Mr Smith's own words are. *De reſta Pronuntiat.* fol. 47, 48.

At Padua he studied the Civil Law, and went out Doctor in that faculty. During the course of his travels he grew more and more confirmed in the truth and propriety of *that* Pronunciation of the Greek, which he had revived, and recommended it to several learned men (*d*). Coming home, a very accomplished person, he retired to his college: and in 1542, having taken the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law in Cambridge, he was made the King's Professor in that faculty. In which, as well as in other branches of literature, continuing to improve himself, he came to be reckoned the best scholar in the university, not only for Rhetoric and the learned Languages, but for Mathematicks, Arithmetick, Law, Natural and Moral Philosophy, &c. And in order to communicate his knowledge, he took pupils; among whom were, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and John Ponet, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. About this time, Thomas Goodric, Bishop of Ely, made him Chancellor of his diocese. As he had undertaken to reform the pronunciation of the Greek, so did he also make it his business to refine and polish the English, tongue; and wrote a treatise concerning the correct writing of it, and the true founding of the letters and words (*e*) [*E*]. Moreover he endeavoured to promote true Religion in the university, having been trained in the Protestant doctrine from his youth; and secured to the utmost of his power such as were exposed to persecution, in the latter end of King Henry the Eighth's reign (*f*). He was at least in Deacon's Orders, and had the Rectory of Leverington in Cambridgeshire of considerable value (*g*); and soon after the Deanry of Carlisle (*b*). A man of so good a disposition, and of such bright parts as Dr Smith was, could not but be welcome and necessary, to any Court; accordingly, upon the Accession of King Edward VI. he was taken into the Lord Protector Seymour's family, and made one of his Masters of Requests: And likewise Provost of Eaton-college; and Steward of the Stannaries, he being an excellent Metallist and Chemist. Growing rich from the profits of those many gainful employments, he purchased about that time several estates [*F*]. In 1548, he was advanced to the important office of Secretary of State; and knighted. The same year, in the month of July, he went Embassador with Mr Thomas Chamberlayne to Brussels (*i*), to the Emperor's council there [*G*]: and returned to England, in September, leaving Chamberlayne resident at

(*d*) Life, by Strype, &c. as above, p. 19—24.

(*e*) Strype, as above, p. 24, &c.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 35.

(*g*) Id. p. 37.

(*b*) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Er. Willis, E^q; Vol. I. p. 302.

(*i*) Mr Chamberlayne was his brother-in-law; having married his first lady's sister, Strype, Life, &c. p. 42.

[*E*] *So did he also make it his business to refine and polish the English tongue, and wrote a Treatise concerning the correct writing of it, &c.* He maintained, that the manner of *Writing* many of our English words, was both absurd and improper. As for instance; in these words, *Please, Sonne, Moone, To, Toe, Meane*, he said, those sounds are not comprehended, which we would express; and, in some of them, the syllables are stuffed with needless letters: Which letters by themselves have their certain natures, as he observed, and being joined after that manner, have not that force which they ought to have. And again, in other words, he took notice we had no Letters that expressed what we spake, and therefore he thought it necessary to have more Letters (13). So he framed twenty-nine Letters; whereof Nineteen were Roman, Four Greek, and Six English or Saxon. The Five Vowels he augmented to Ten, by distinguishing them into Long and Short, and making certain accents over, or on the side of, those that were to be pronounced long. He allowed no Diphthongs, nor double Consonants, nor any *E's* at the end of words not being founded. He was for throwing out entirely, and banishing from the Alphabet, the Letter *Q* as useless; *Ku* expressing the full power of *Qu*. for, without the vowel *U*. the letter *Q* is never written. And the same uselessness he found to be in the letter *C*. for it is always expressed either by *K*. or *S*. but he retained it in his Alphabet to serve instead of *Ch*. (14). Mr Strype caused this Alphabet to be engraved on a copper-plate, and placed it in the Appendix to Sir Thomas's Life (15). But, in all such pretended Reformatations of our Language, the best, and indeed only certain, Method, is, To trace back the several Words wherewith it is composed, to their Primitives, in the Anglo-Saxon, and other tongues; and to spell, or write them, as near as may be, according as they are in their respective Originals. But as for the writing of them as they are pronounced, it may perhaps suit the vulgar, and the pretty fellows of the age, but is really unworthy of persons that pretend to any literature, and understand more languages than one.

[*F*] *He purchased about that time several estates.* Namely, the manor of Yarlington in Somersetshire, then worth 30 l. *per ann.* which cost him 300 l. and the college of Darby worth 33 l. a year, which cost him 1000 marks. He also bought a house in Channon-row, Westminster; and one in Philpot-lane, London (16): And a house in Fleet-lane, with several other tenements. Afterwards he purchased also the manor

of Ankerwic in Buckinghamshire: and the reversion of Mont-halt, or Hill-hall, in Essex, which was the jointure of his second wife, made her upon her marriage with Sir John Hamden, Kt. her first husband (17).

[*G*] *He went Embassador with Mr Chamberlayne to Brussels, to the Emperor's Council there.* The design of that embassy, was, to provide against the Dangers apprehended from the French; who had possessed themselves of Scotland, and were a formidable enemy, and the more for being so near. Our Court therefore endeavoured to deprive them of the conveniency of the Ports of the Low-Countries, which were most commodious for Scotland. Sir Thomas obtained a promise from the Emperor's council, that they would not permit them to make use of those ports. But the promise was not duly observ'd; for in the latter end of the same year, both French and Scots came from Scotland, and landed at Dunkirk. This was one of the businesses of that embassy; but the chief end of it, was for raising soldiers in those parts, which they did to the number of 2000, and obtained the Emperor's leave to bring them over. There is in the Cottonian library (18), a letter of Sir Thomas to the Lord Protector Somerset, written during this embassy, which gives some account of it, and of the state of affairs in other parts, and may be acceptable to the reader. 'Tis as follows. *Pleaseth it Your Grace to be advertised,* That We received Your Grace's Letters the xiith of July, with the good news of the state of our Things in Scotland; for the which We most highly thank Almighty God, and your Grace. And as we do not a little rejoice at them ourselves, so we shall not fail to communicate them, as occasion shall occur, where it shall be convenient. And surely, they here have espials in Scotland as well as we, and be not ignorant of our affairs there. Nevertheless, as they pretend at the least, they be very glad to hear them of us. The rumour runneth here still, that Mr Chamberlain, and an Ambassador, came hither to take up men: And hereupon hath some offer been made unto us; but such as we could not like. Yesterday came to us a certain Almain, who brought to Yarmouth, I suppose, an ensign of footmen in the King's days that dead is: He liked so well his pay then, as he saith, he would gladly serve the King before any other Prince. We said, winter was now very near: Nevertheless, if he would write his offer, we would advertise your Grace, and know further your pleasure. He is, one Groning in Frizeland. What your Grace's pleasure shall be, that we shall

(17) Ibid. p. 226, 228.

(18) Galba, B. 12.

(13) De rella & emendata Linguæ Anglicæ Scriptione, fol. 2.

(14) Ibid. fol. 30—21, 29, 42. Strype, Life, &c. p. 27, 28.

(15) P. 5.

(16) Life, &c. p. 41, 225, 226.

at Brussels (*k*). About that time, he was concerned in the Reformation of Religion; and in redressing the Coin, which had been embased by the late prodigal tyrant King Henry the Eighth. In 1549, he was employed in an ecclesiastical commission, for the examination of Anabaptists and Arians; and in other commissions: and also appointed one of the Visitors of the university of Cambridge. Towards the end of that year, he seems to have been involved in his master the Duke of Somerset's troubles. He faithfully adhered to him as long as he could; and, to all appearance, lost his place of Secretary of State: for it is said in the King's Journal (*l*), that Mr Wotton was made Secretary: however, Sir Thomas was soon after restored again to that place. For, on the 30th of April 1551, under the name of Secretary, he was one of the persons appointed to go in the great and splendid embassy to Henry the Second of France, to treat of a marriage between that king's eldest daughter and King Edward VI (*m*). Thus he passed the too short reign of this amiable Prince in great reputation and prosperity. But upon Queen Mary's coming to the Crown, he was deprived of all his offices and preferments, and charged not to depart the kingdom. However, he behaved with so much address and prudence, that he had 100*l.* a year allowed him for his subsistence, and was shelter'd under the Pope's Indulgence [*H*]; being favoured by Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, and not molested by Boner Bishop of London. At Queen Elizabeth's happy Accession to the Throne, Sir Thomas was invited again to Court, and employed in settling the public affairs both in Church and State; particularly in revising and amending the book of Common-Prayer (*n*) [*I*]. He was likewise reinstated in his Deanery of Carlisle (*o*): but not in his late office of Secretary of State. In 1559, he was sent into France, with other Commissioners, when a peace was concluded between that Crown and England. And in 1562, he was sent ambassador into that kingdom, jointly with Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, where he demanded the restitution of Calais; but at length, without obtaining it, concluded a peace with France, in the beginning of the year 1564 (*p*). After the conclusion of that peace, he still resided in France, where he reviewed and corrected, and caused to be printed, Dr Haddon's Answer to Hierom Oforio's letter to Queen Elizabeth, admonishing her to return to Popery (*q*). He also finished there, or perhaps entirely composed, his treatise of 'The Commonwealth of England [*K*].' And, in the beginning

(*k*) Life, by Strype, as above, p. 44, 48. and his Historical Memorials chiefly Ecclesiastical, &c. Vol. II. p. 108, 109.

(*l*) See that Journal, in Collection of Records, at the end of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part. ii. p. 9.

(*m*) Strype, Life, as above, p. 48, 58.

(*n*) Idem, p. 59—73.

(*o*) Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 303. and Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725. p. 545, 546.

(*p*) Life, by Strype, &c. as above, p. 85—110. and Annals, Vol. I. p. 369.

(*q*) Life, p. 99—105, 119. and Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 422, &c.

' shall answer him, and all such, we require your
' Grace to know, so soon as conveniently you may.
' This man saith, If his request be too much, he will
' be content your Grace shall mitigate it as shall please
' you. He is of the land of Conte de Bury; and
' saith, He hath communicated the matter with *Scep-*
' *perius* [the Emperor's Admiral;] and he giveth him
' good comfort, that the Queen [Regent of Flanders]
' will give him license. Two Merchants of Antwerp,
' lately coming from August, [Augsburg.] saith, That
' there the Emperor compelleth every man to this *In-*
' *terim*; and that some of the cities grudging at it, he
' hath referred the Answer to Norenburgh: But that it
' is not doubted there, but that Norenburgh will do as
' the Emperor will have them. They shewed further,
' that the Emperor would have them build up their
' Monasteries again, and Abbeys, and all such things:
' And all standeth upon that answer of Norenburgh.
' Further, the Emperor hath already sent 4000 horse-
' men to lie about Strasburgh; and that he doth in-
' tend shortly to come thither, and to assay the Swit-
' zers. Nevertheless, they said, That at this Council
' was none of the Switzers, but only of B. [Berne or
' Basil.] They shewed also, that there was a saying,
' that the Emperor and the French King intended to
' part the Switzers between them, of agreement, as
' they said. But if that be, it is more like to make
' wars, than to have any long amity after that sort,
' &c. Thus having none other thing worthy of ad-
' vertisement to write to your Grace, I commit the
' same to Almighty God.

' Your Grace's

From Brussels,
July xixth

' Most bounden Orator

' and Servant,

' T. Smith.'

[*H*] And was shelter'd under the Pope's Indulgence.] For, in 1555, William Smythwick of the diocese of Bath, Esq; had obtained a very large Indulgence from Rome: Importing, that he, and any five of his friends he should nominate (excepting regulars), such as were married, and their children of both sexes should enjoy many extraordinary Indulgences, upon his petition to the then Pope, Paul IV. And the Bull ran for Indulgence to Smythwick, and his five friends and their

children, as was petitioned, *a quibusvis excommunicationis, suspensionis, & Interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis Sententiis, Censuris & Poenis, a jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis, &c.* i. e. ' From all sentences of Excommunication, Suspension and Interdict, and other Censures ecclesiastical upon whatever occasion or cause inflicted, Transgressions of any Vows or Commands of the Church, guilt of Perjuries, and of Homicide, whether casual or mental, laying violent hands upon any ecclesiastical persons, except Prelates *de præterito*, omissions in whole or in part of Fasts, Canonical Hours, Divine Offices, Penances enjoined: Also from all and singular their Sins, whereof they are contrite and confessed; altho' they were such for which the Apostolick see were to be consulted.' Many other Indulgences were granted by virtue of this Bull, ' as to have a portable altar, to receive the sacrament privately; in Lent, and in other fasting-times of the year, to eat eggs, butter, cheese, and other milk-meats, and flesh without scruple of conscience.' Smythwick chose Sir Thomas Smith for one of his *five friends* specified in the Bull, to be partaker of these privileges. And so it is expressed in an instrument, drawn and attested by Thomas Willet, publick notary; still remaining at Hill-hall. This, unquestionably, was a good protection to Sir Thomas, in those evil days*.

[*I*] Particularly in revising and amending the book of Common-Prayer.] Mr Strype thinks, that Sir Thomas was author of the Device for the Alteration, or Reformation, of Religion, drawn up in December 1558 (19): And which is printed in the Collection of Records, at the end of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part ii (20).

[*K*] He also finished there, or perhaps entirely composed, his treatise of *The Commonwealth of England.*] So we learn from the following passage, near the conclusion of that work (21).—' I have declared summarily as it were in a Chart or Map, the forme and manner of government of England, and the policy thereof, and set before your eyes the principall points wherein it doth differ from the policie and government at this time used in France, Italy, Spaine, Germany, and all other countries, which doe follow the civill law of the Romanes, compiled by Justinian into his Pandects and Code, not in that sort as Plato made his Commonwealth, or Xenophon his Kingdom of Persia, nor as Sir Thomas Moore his Utopia, being fained Commonwealthes, such as never

* Life, &c. p. 60, &c.

(19) Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725. p. 51.

(20) P. 327, &c

(21) P. 272, edit. 1635, 12mo.

(r) Life, &c. p. 115, 124.

(s) Ibid. p. 125, 126. and Camden Annal. Eliz. ad ann.

(t) Life, &c. p. 127—133. and Compleat Ambassador, p. 54.

(u) Annals of the Reformation, by J. Strype, Vol. II. p. 25. and Compleat Ambassador, &c. p. 51.

(v) Annals, &c. p. 351, &c. and Life, by Strype, p. 133—140.

ning of the year 1566, returned to his native country (r). In March 1566-7, he went again embassador extraordinary to France, to make a formal demand of Calais from the French (s). Returning to England in the beginning of May 1568, he made interest for the place of Chancellor of the Dutchy vacant by the death of Sir Ambrose Cave; but he did not succeed, it being given to Sir Ralph Sadleir. Vexed, it may be supposed, at this disappointment, and expressing too plainly his uneasiness, Sir Thomas was not employed the three years following: But retired to his country-seat, where he busied himself in rural diversions, and in acting as a Justice of Peace, particularly in punishing of witches; which was not much to his honour. In the beginning of the year 1571, he returned again to Court, and was admitted into the Privy-Council (t). The 24th of June following he was appointed Assistant to William Lord Burghley, in his office of Secretary of State (u). About this time, he was engaged in a project for transmuting iron into copper [L], which proved very expensive to him, and at last unsuccessful (w). In December 1571, he was commissioned to go Embassador into France, to make a firm Alliance offensive and defensive between that Crown and England; and also to treat privately about the match, between Queen Elizabeth and Francis Duke of Alençon. He went over to France about February 1571-2, and having successfully concluded his negotiation, returned to his native country in June 1572 (x). His Instructions are printed in the Compleat Ambassador (y). In April 1572, whilst he was abroad, the Queen conferred upon him the place of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; and, the 24th of June following, he was constituted Secretary of State, in the room of William Lord Burghley, made Lord High-Treasurer. Having obtained, the year before, a grant of a rich parcel of land called *the Ardes* in Ireland, he sent a colony thither in 1572, and endeavoured to settle it, at the expence of several thousand pounds [M]. The next, and indeed the last, memorable

(x) Anna's, p. 43, 48, 87, 89, 90, 105, 142, 164. Life, p. 141—156. and Compleat Ambassador, p. 152—159, 166—172, 180, 191—211.

(y) P. 154, &c.

‘ was nor shall be, vaine imaginations, fantasies of Philosophers, to occupy the time, and to exercise their wits: but as England standeth, and is governed at this day the eight and twenty of March, Anno 1565, in the seventh yeere of the Raigne and Administration thereof by the most religious, vertuous, and noble Queene *Elizabeth*, daughter to King Henrie the eighth, and in the one and fiftieth yeere of mine age, when I was Embassadour for her Majesty in the Court of France, the scepter whereof at that time the noble Prince of great hope Charles Maximilian did hold, hauing then raigned foure yeeres.’ This work is divided into three books. The 1st treats of the diversities of Commonwealths, or Governments; of the King, and the several ranks and orders of men. The 2d of the Laws of this realm in general; and of the Parliament, and Courts of Justice, &c. And the 3d of Appeals, Courts of Starre-Chamber, Wards and Liveries, Dutchy-Court, Court of Requests; of wives and children; Ecclesiastical Court, &c. It was first published in 1584, 4to, and again in 1621, 4to. in the old black Gothick character: and again in 1624, and 1635, 12mo. He wrote it in Latin, as well as English; and it is comprised in one of the Volumes of the *Republicæ*.

[L] *About this time, he was engaged in a project for transmuting iron into copper.* Being of a working brain, and a philosophical head, he engaged into a project of Alchimy, hoping to transmute iron into copper. Into this chargeable, but, as was hoped gainful business, he brought Secretary Cecil, who had also a philosophical genius, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and others. The first occasion of this business was from one Medley, who had by vitriol changed iron into true copper at Sir Thomas Smith's house at London, and after at his house in Essex. But this was too costly, as Sir Thomas saw, to reap any benefit from it. Therefore he proposed to find out here in England the *primum Ens Vitrioli*, and therewith to do the same work at a cheaper rate. Upon which, Sir Thomas, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and our Medley entered into a company under articles to find this out: namely, That Medley should be employed in this business, at the charge of the two others, 'till by the profit he should reap from the thing found out he might bear his proportion. The place where this was to be attempted, was in the isle of Wight, or at Pool, or elsewhere. But at Winchelsey he had made the first tryal, because of the plenty of wood. He received of Sir Thomas, and Sir Humfrey 101 l. a piece, for the buying of vessels and necessaries. They removed to Pool, thinking this *Ens* of vitriol to be there, and took a lease of land belonging to the Lady Montjoy of, of 300 l. *per annum*. For the payment of which, Sir Thomas with the other two entered into a bond of 1000 l. While these things were in this state, Sir Thomas went em-

bassador to France in 1572, and a quarrel then happening between Medley and Sir Humfrey (and Medley, gone to Ireland, being reported to be run away) the business lay asleep for some time. But Sir Thomas revived it at his return; tho' he found arrears of rent, and wages due to workmen, &c. to the amount of 200 l. and no copper nor any crocus of copper made. About December 1574, he persuaded the Lord Treasurer Burghley, and the Earl of Leicester, to enter into the Society; which they did, after due examination, and deposited each 100 l. towards carrying on the business. Medley was now removed to Anglesey, where was proper fuel, earth, and water, sufficient to do it for ever, or at least for a very long time. The things he undertook to do, were these: To make of raw iron good copper, and of the same weight and proportion, abating one part in six; as 600 tun of iron should by boyling make 500 tun of perfect copper. The liquor wherein the iron was boyled, to make copperas and allom ready for the merchant: which, keeping the price they then bore, should, of the liquor of 500 tun of copper, be worth 10000 l. that is, for every tun 2000 l. There appearing a great probability of success in the undertaking, Sir Thomas got a patent signed, in January 1574, for the Society, which was therein styled, ‘The Society of the new Art.’ But, after many delays and disappointments, all the hopes and prospects of great Gains vanished into smoke. Sir Thomas smarted in his purse for his chymical covetousness; Gilbert seems to have been impoverished by it; and Medley was beggered: the common end of most alchymists, and projectors (22).

[M] *Having obtained—a grant of a rich parcel of land called the Ardes in Ireland, he sent a colony thither, &c.* This is a rich and pleasant country, or *peninsula*, on the eastern coast of Ulster, and of considerable extent, lying well for trade by sea. It was formerly the estate of the Savages, an English family; one of which is famous for that stout and witty saying, ‘That he would not rely upon a castle of stones, but a castle of bones,’ meaning his own body. Afterwards the O'Neals took it out of their hands; but they being attainted of treason, Sir Thomas got a grant of that district from Queen Elizabeth (23): whereby he was to be Lieutenant-general there for war, and for the distribution of lands, orders, and laws in the matters pertaining thereunto. In a word, to obtain and govern the country to be won, following instructions and orders to him to be directed from the Queen and her council; and this for the first seven years. Afterwards the government of the country to return to such officers as the customs and laws of England did appoint, except the Queen should think him worthy to be appointed Governor thereof, as being a frontier-country. The right to remain only in him, as to the inheritance; the authority to muster and call together

(22) Life, &c. p. 133—140.

(23) Camden Britannia, Vol. II. col. 1403.

memorable action of his, was in 1575, when he procured an Act of Parliament for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the two colleges of Eaton and Winchester; importing, that, in all college-leases, a third part at least of the old rent should be reserved and paid in corn [N]; that is to say, in good wheat at the rate of six shillings and eight pence the quarter, or under, and good malt at the rate of five shillings the quarter, or under. About the year 1576, he began to be afflicted with a violent defluxion upon the glands of his mouth and throat; which having kept him in a decaying, consumptive, and wasting condition all that year, and part of the next, put an end to his life on the 12th of August 1577, in the 63d year of his age. During his lingering illness, he diverted part of his melancholy hours in looking over his papers and manuscripts [O], of some of which an account is given below. He was buried in the chancel of the church of Theydon-Mount, in which parish Hill-hall stands: and a handsome monument was erected to his memory [P]. By his will he gave all his Latin and Greek books to Queen's college in Cambridge, the place of his education; with a great globe of his own making: and a rent-charge of 12*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* [Q]. Notice is taken below, of the several pieces of his own composition [R]. Sir Thomas Smith was of a fair sanguine complexion; and had a calm

together his soldiers throughout the same country, and to dispose of them upon the frontiers, as he should see cause for the better defence of the country. His natural, and only, son Thomas Smith was joynd with him in the patent; and, under his conduct, he sent a colony thither, which did good service against one Sarleboy, and other Irish rebels. But Mr Smith being intercepted, in the beginning of the year 1573, by a wild Irishman, was thrown alive to the dogs, and destroyed (24). The settling of this colony cost Sir Thomas above 10000*l.* without his reaping any benefit from it. After his death the Ardes were lost to his heirs, being begged of King James I. by some of his Scottish favourites, particularly one Hamilton. And in vain did Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Smith petition the crown, after the Restoration, and the Revolution, for the recovery of so valuable an estate (25).

[N] He procured an Act of Parliament for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the two colleges of Eaton and Winchester; importing, that in all college-leases, a third part at least of the old rent should be reserved and paid in corn.] This is further explained in the act, thus. — 'To be delivered yearly upon days prefixed at the said colleges, &c. And for default thereof to pay the said Colleges in ready money at the election of the said Leases, after the rate as the best wheat and malt in the market of Cambridge, and in the market of Oxford, and of Winchester and Windfor, for the rents that were to be paid to the use of the Houses there, were, or should be, sold the next market-day before the said rent should be due, without fraud or deceit.' — T. Fuller saith (26), that 'Sir Thomas Smith was the chief procurer of the passing of this act, and is said by some to have surprized the House [of Commons] therein, where many could not conceive how this would be at all profitable to the Colledge, but still the same on the point, whether they had it in money, or wares. But the politick Knight took the advantage of the present cheap year, knowing thereafter grain would grow dearer, mankinde daily multiplying, and licence being lately legally given for transportation. At this day, much emolument redowndeth to the antient Colledges in each University by the passing of this Act, so that though their Rents stand still, their Revenues doe increase.'

[O] He diverted part of his melancholy hours in looking over his papers, and manuscripts.] Particularly, his book *Of the Value of the Roman Coins according to the English Standard.* This he had composed, when he was Secretary to King Edward VI; upon a question put to him by his fellow-secretary Sir William Cecil, viz. 'What was the ordinary Wages of a Soldier at Rome.' But he had lost it, as well as several others written by him in his youth. He remembered, he had sent one copy of it to Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, and another to Sir William Cecil. Upon searching the Earl's study, the copy sent to him could not be found. Wherefore Sir Thomas requested the Lord Treasurer Cecil, to look for his copy: especially he desired the Tables, which were exactly and plainly drawn up. For, searching among his old Papers, he could find the first draught of that Book, and the *Adversaria*; whereby he was able to fill up all the Chapters in a manner as they were at first: But the Tables, or any Draughts of them, he could not find. Therefore he prayed the Lord Treasurer,

in his letter dated April 22d, 1576, to look out the 'Book, especially the Tables.' His Lordship having found the book and Tables among his papers, sent them to Sir Thomas. Mr Camden, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth, calls this Treatise an exact commentary, worth publishing (27). The industrious Mr Strype made great enquiry after the compleat Book, but without success: at length he met with Sir Thomas's rude draught of it, in several Tables of his own hand-writing; of which he hath published a true extract, at the end of his Life of Sir Thomas Smith (28).

[P] And a handsome monument was erected to his memory.] At the top of it is this English Stanza

What Earth, or Sea, or Skies contain,
What creatures in them be,
My mind did seek to know;
My foul the heavens continuallie.

The rest of his Epitaph is in Latin, and so much of it as contains his character, is in these words. — *Juris civilis supremo titulo etiamnum adolescens insignitus; Orator, Mathematicus, Philosophus excellentissimus; Linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Gallicæ etiam & Italicæ callentissimus: Proborum & ingeniosorum hominum Factor eximius; Plurimis commodans, Nemini nocens; Ab injuriis ulciscendis alienissimus: Denique Sapientia, Pietate, Integritate insignis: Et in omni Vita, seu æger seu valet, intrepidus mori.* — i. e. 'Adorned with the degree of Doctor of the Civil Law, when he was but very young; A most excellent Orator, Mathematician, and Philosopher: Well skill'd in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Italian languages: A great favourer of good and ingenious men; Lending to many, hurting none; Free from all inclination to Revenge: In a word, remarkable for Wisdom, Piety, and Integrity: And all his life, whether well or ill, not afraid to dye.' —

[Q] And a rent-charge of twelve pounds seven shillings and four pence.] Payable out of the maner of Overston in Northamptonshire. Which he appointed to be thus disposed of; viz. Four pounds for a Lecture in Arithmetick: Three pounds for a Coemetry-Lecture: Four pounds seven shillings and four pence for two Scholarships; directing, that his own relations, or the Scholars from Walden-School, *cæteris paribus*, should be made his Scholars before any others: And the Twenty shillings remaining, for a yearly commemoration (29).

[R] Notice is taken — of the several pieces of his own composition.] Besides his two Treatises, *De rellâ & emendata Linguæ Græcæ Pronunciatione*; and, 'of the correct Writing and Pronouncing the English Tongue:' as also his book 'Of the Commonwealth of England;' mentioned above in Notes [D] and [E] — he wrote, *four Orations*, for and against Queen Elizabeth's marriage; thus intituled, 1. *Agamem*, or Wedspite, his Oration for the Queen's single Life. 2. *Philoxenus*, or Love-Alien, his Oration for the Queen's marrying with a Stranger. 3. Another Oration upon the same subject. 4. *Jenius*, or Home-friend, his Oration for the Queen's Majesty's Marrying with an English Nobleman, rather than any foreign Prince. Published in the Appendix to Sir Thomas's

(27) Annal. Eli-
zab. ad ann.
1577.

(28) Appendix,
No. V. p. 128,
&c.

(29) Life, &c.
p. 224.

(24) Camd. Bri-
tannia, ibid. and
Life, as above,
p. 176, &c.

(25) Life, p.
276—183, and
Appendix, p.
224.

(26) Hist. of the
Universitie of
Cambridge, p.
244.

a calm ingenious countenance, as appears by his picture hanging in the parlour at Hill-hall, said to have been done by Hans Holbein: which represents him with a round cap on his head, and in a Civilian's gown; a great ruby-ring upon his fore-finger, with a curious seal; (which ring is still preserved in the family,) laying one of his hands upon a globe (z). Mr Strype informs us, that he was one of the best scholars of his age; a great admirer of the Platonick Philosophy; a good Physician and Chymist; an excellent Mathematician, Astronomer, and Arithmetician; a cunning Politician; master of the Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and English languages; a great Historian, especially in the Roman History; a compleat Orator; well skilled in architecture, gardening, &c. And, as to his Virtuous accomplishments; he was a sincere Protestant; exemplary, for Truth and Integrity, for an inviolable love to Justice and Uprightness, a most unchangeable Faithfulness and Zeal to the concerns of his Queen and country. His life and manners were unreprouable; he was of a grave and yet obliging behaviour; a perfect stranger to the too common practices of Courts, Fraud and Falsehood, Flattery and Treachery, Vice and Debauchery. He was likewise of a resolute and active mind; and of universal Charity and Benevolence towards all mankind (a). He had two wives; the first was, Elizabeth daughter of William Karkek, or Carkyke, of London, Gent. and the second, Philippa, widow of Sir John Hamden: but leaving no issue by either of them, and his natural son being killed in Ireland as is above related, his estates descended to his brother George's son, Sir William Smith, who dyed in 1626, and whose posterity have enjoyed them ever since (b).

(z) Life, &c. as above, p. 176—204.

(a) Life, p. 211, &c.

(b) Life, by Strype, p. 42, 203, 211—236.

(30) No. III. P. 7, &c.
(31) P. 154, 166, 169, 176, 191—202, 230, 236, 238, 252, 253, 262, 274, 282, 299, 310, 315, 324, 333, 346.
(32) Edit. Oxon. 1703, p. 423.

mas's Life, by Mr Strype (30). — Several of his Letters to the Lord Burleigh, and Sir Francis Walsingham, are printed in the Compleat Ambassador, &c. (31). — One of his Letters to Roger Ascham, is printed among that learned and polite Writer's (32): who frequently makes mention of him in the most obliging and respectful terms. — Great many of his Dispatches and Letters are preserved in the Paper-Office: and some of his MSS. are dispersed, and remain in private hands. — Mr Strype says, that 'there

' is a Book printed in 1685. which some make him ' the Author of, namely, The Authority, Form, and ' Manner of holding Parliaments.' But, upon inspection, it appears only to be the second and third Chapters of the second book of his *Commonwealth of England*; prefixed to a little book, intit'led, *Arcana Parliamentaria*: ' or Precedents concerning Elections, ' Proceedings, Privileges, and Punishments in Parliament.' Lond. 1685. 12mo. C

SMITH [THOMAS], a learned English Divine, and author of several books, in the beginning of this century, and part of the last, was the son of Mr John Smith of Ail-hallows Barking, London (a), and born in that parish June 3, 1638 [A]. In the year 1657, he was admitted Battler of Queen's-college in Oxford, and soon after Clerk of the fame. Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts March 15, 1660 [B], and that of Master October 13, 1663 (b), he was chosen, in 1663, Master of the free-school adjoining to Magdalen-college: and, in 1666, he was made perpetual Fellow of that college. He was then remarkable for his great skill in the oriental languages [C]. In August 1668, he went as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey, Embassador to Constantinople [D], and returned thence in 1671. Five years after he travelled into France; and, after a short stay there, became Chaplain to Sir Joseph Williamson, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, with whom he continued many years, and was very serviceable to him, but at length was dismissed without any preferment, or reward (c). He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, October 29, 1671 (d). In 1677, he was solicited by Bishop Pearson, Bishop Fell, and Dr Lloyd then Dean of Bangor and afterwards successively Bishop of St Asaph and Worcester, and others; to return into the East by the way of Venice, in order to collect antient Manuscripts, especially of the Greek Fathers [E]; but the

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 1020.

(b) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 127, 151.

(c) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(d) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 195.

(1) No. V. p. 296.

(2) Vol. III. p. 128. note. and Vol. V. p. 138.

(3) Wood, Fasti, col. 127.

(4) Idem, Ath. col. 1020.

(5) No. 230. p. 527.

(6) Vol. I. of the 8vo edition, p. 21, &c. and of the folio edit. p. 11, 12.

[A] And born in that parish, June 3, 1638.] The time of his birth he expressly mentions in a letter to Mr Hearne, published by the latter in the Appendix to his *Collection of curious Discourses* (1). See also Mr Hearne's edition of Leland's *Itinerary* (2).

[B] Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, March 15, 1660.] He was recommended to the Chancellor of the university, by Dr Barlow the Provost of his college, for his progress in learning far beyond his age and standing, and therefore would be capable of a place designed for him towards his subsistence, if he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, for which he wanted a little time. Whereupon the Chancellor desired that he might be dispensed with, for the want of two terms, which was accordingly done (3).

[C] He was then remarkable for his great skill in the oriental languages.] And therefore was commonly called *Rabbi Smith*, and *Tograï Smith*; to distinguish him from others of his name in the university (4).

[D] In August 1668, he went as Chaplain to Sir Daniel Harvey embassador to Constantinople.] He wrote a journal of his voyage, which is inserted in the *Philosophical Transactions* (5). — Of Sir Daniel Harvey there is a good account, in the *Earl of Clarendon's Life* (6).

[E] In 1677, he was solicited ——— to return into the East by the way of Venice, in order to collect antient Manuscripts, especially of the Greek Fathers.] He hath given an account of that Proposal, in a Latin Letter to Mr Hearne; published by the latter in the Appendix to John of Glastonbury's *Chronicle* (7), an extract of which is as follows:

' ——— D. Pearsonus ——— consilio communicato
' Viris plurimum reverendis et doctissimis, D. Joanni
' Fello, Episcopo Oxoniensi, et D. Guilielmo Lloydio,
' Decano Bangoriensi, mox Episcopo Asaphensi, et
' jam Wigorniensis, aliisque, pari vetustissima primæ
' mæxæ Ecclesiæ monumenta, quorum meminerunt
' Eusebius, S. Hieronymus, et Photius, quæ hæcenus
' desiderantur, recuperandi, inque publicam lucem
' è reconditis recessibus, si forte ibi occulerentur,
' afferendi zelo, amore, et desiderio incensis, apud
' hosce præclarissimos Triumviros de idoneo homine in
' Orientem hac de re mittendo anno M.DC.LXXXVII.
' ferio deliberatum erat. Spes enim bonas alebant,
' S. Clementis * Romanas binas Epistolas integras,
' Epistolarum S. Ignatii Syllogen. à S. Polycarpo
' factam, una cum hujus ad Philippenfes Epistola,
' Acta Martyrii tum S. Ignatii, tum S. Polycarpi,
' Hegeppi Historiam Ecclesiasticam, Græcum librorum
' S. Irenæi

(7) Vol. II. p. 470.

* Qu. Romani.

the dangers of the voyage, and other considerations, made him decline that otherwise advantageous proposal (e). Having already given the world some monuments of his extensive learning [F], he published, in 1678, Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks: with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia [G]. And, in 1680, An Account of the Greek Church [H]; as also some other pieces soon after

(e) Vide Append. ad Johann's Constantinensis Chronica, Vol. II. p. 470, &c.

S. Irenæi adversus hæreses exemplar, Origenem, præsertim ἐπι ἀρχαῖς, aliosque quamplurimos incorruptæ antiquitatis libros, ex quibus ingens rei Christianæ lumen esset affulsurum, illic adhuc latere, idque quidem verisimillimum videri antea suggesteram. Ita autem de me bene sentiebant, quasi huic negotio qualiquammodo præstando non plane impar fuissem, me, tunc temporis sacro munere facellani apud D. J. W. [Williamson] alterum à primariis, uti pro more vulgari loquimur, Statûs Secretariis fungentem, propolitis lautis conditionibus, amplexu comæatu, invitarunt, ut Constantinopolim, unde ante sexennium redieram, remigrare vellem, si ex Venetiis compendiosam viam versus montem Athon, adscito in socium itineris aliquo Græco sacerdote, ingredi non liceret: deinde ut ad celeberrimas Asiæ Minoris urbes, puta Smyrnam, Nicæam, Nicomediam, et Ancyram, et denique in Ægyptum, tanquam hujus peregrinationis metam, me conferrem, Græcos codices supradictos, aliosque supparis ævi, si qui occurrissent, inspecturus, assignatis duobus tribusve pro mora extra patriam annis: interim se omnia fidei, industriæ, prudentiæ, imo et arbitrio meo relicturos lubentes profiterentur. Sed in hac re gravissima maxime momenti nihil erat subito et temere statuendum videbatur: imo longa et matura deliberatione opus erat. Stimulabant quidem ab una parte de re Christiana et literaria bene merendi desiderium; virorum clarissimorum, qui mihi optime volebant, consilia et suasiones; et insita quædam regiones, quas olim levi pede præterieram, iterum visendi, tum in novas, aliasque longinquiores, penetrandi curiositas: Sed ab altera parte multa intercessere, quæ singulas circumstantias sedatori animo perpendentem ab hoc incepto dimoverunt: cujusmodi erant, certa, in quæ me conjecturus essem, pericula; incommoda, eaque fere innumera, quasi ineluctabiliter subeunda, quibus sustinerendis, an vires suppetere, plane animo dubius hærerem; discrimen, idque non vanum, si qua ægritudine fatiscerem, mortis vix evitandæ, contra quam nulla ex arte medica remedia in media ista barbarie, quacum mihi conflegendum erat, peti possent; justa potius cujuspiam Ecclesiasticæ dignitatis, quæ me lætabat vir ille amplissimus, cui, neglectis aliorum patrocinii, me totum dederam, et ad quam, posthabito omni illicito indebitoque ambitu, aspirare fas erat, expectatio; importunæ Propinquoꝝ preces, ne me, qui tot pericula tam mari quam terra ex summa divina benignitate ægre evasissem, in extremum discrimen iterum dare præcipitem; maxime vero viri optimi et sapientissimi D. P. W. cujus consulta et responsa, tanquam oracula, revererebar, objurgationes, imo et exprobrationes, quod tam facilem patientemque aurem istiusmodi blandis compellationibus adhiberem: hæc omnia meditantem plane absterruerunt, magnumque ad deprimendam lancem, in æquilibrio pendentem, momentum et pondus attulerunt, ne huic honorificæ legationi suscipiendæ consentirem (8).

The substance of this relation is. That it was proposed, he should visit mount Athos, accompanied with a Greek Priest; and thence proceed into Asia-Minor, to Smyrna, Nicæa, Nicomedia, Ancyra, and into Egypt; in order to find out the two entire Epistles of Clemens Romanus, the Collection of St Ignatius's Epistles made by Polycarp, Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, Hegesippus's Ecclesiastical History, the Greek original of Irenæus against Heresies, several pieces of Origen, especially his treatise concerning Principles, &c. But the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, among barbarous nations, who had no physicians if he should have fallen ill; the discouragements and persuasions of his friends and relations; and the just expectation he had of good preferment from his patron Sir Joseph Williamson, prevailed upon him not to accept of this advantageous offer: tho' he was well disposed to serve in that respect the Christian world. — What he did not think fit to undertake, was afterwards effected by the late learned Archbishop Wake; who kept a Grecian Gentleman in pay, to

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search for Manuscripts in the East. By that means, his Grace procured several valuable ones, particularly a curious old Lectionary on vellum, containing the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles: and many others.

[F] Having already given the world some monuments of his extensive learning. He published, I. *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrasis, eorumque versionibus, ex utraque Talmude & scriptis Rabbiorum concinnata.* Oxon. 1662, 8vo. i. e. A Dissertation upon the Chaldeæ Paraphrasts, and their versions, taken from both Talmuds, and the writings of the Rabbins. II. *Syntagma de Druidum Moribus ac Institutis.* Lond. 1664. 8vo. i. e. A Treatise concerning the manners and customs of the Druids. III. Sermons. 1. A Sermon preached before the Company of Merchants trading into the Levant, at St Olave's Hart-street in London, June 2, 1668, on 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20. Lond. 1668, 4to. 2. A Sermon of the Credibility of the Myteries of the Christian Religion, preached before a learned audience, on 1 Tim. iii. the former part of the 16th verse. To which is added, An Appendix containing a Dissertation about the Authenticalness of that famous Text in St John's first Epistle. [Chap. v. 7.] Lond. 1675, 4to. — And, to bring in one view all the Sermons made public by him; he published, 3. A Sermon concerning the Doctrine, Unity, and Profession of the Christian Faith, preached in St Mary's Church in Oxford, on Ephes. iv. 5. To which is added An Appendix concerning the Apostles Creed. Lond. 1682. 4to. 4. A Sermon about frequent Communion, preached before the University of Oxford, Aug. 17, 1679, on 1 Cor. xi. 26. Lond. 1685, 4to. IV. *De Causis & Remediis Dissidiorum quæ orbem Christianum hodie affligunt, exercitatio Theologica in Rom. cap. iv. ver. 19.* Oxon. 1675. 4to. Printed afterwards among his *Miscellanea*, mentioned below: And translated by him into English, under this title, 'A Pacific Discourse: or, the Causes and Remedies of the Differences about Religion, which distract the Peace of Christendom.' Lond. 1688, 4to.

[G] *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion, and Government of the Turks, &c.* This book he wrote first in Latin, and published it in two Letters; with this title, V. *Epistolæ duæ, quarum altera de Moribus & Institutis Turcarum agit, altera Septem Asiæ Ecclesiarum notitiam continet.* Oxon. 1672, 8vo. Afterwards he added two Letters more, and made the title thus, *Epistolæ quatuor, quarum duæ de Moribus ac Institutis Turcarum agunt; & duæ Septem Asiæ Ecclesiarum & Constantinopoleos notitiam continent.* Oxon. 1674, 8vo. And understanding that a person was about translating them into English, he was necessitated to do it himself, with some few enlargements (9). The title of his book thus translated, is, 'Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks. Together with a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, as they now lye in their ruins: And a brief Description of Constantinople.' Lond. 1678, 8vo. It is very entertaining, and he has inserted several Greek Inscriptions in his Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia.

[H] *And in 1680, An Account of the Greek Church.* This also was written at first by him in Latin, and published under this title, VI. *De Græcæ Ecclesiæ bodierno Statu.* Oxon. 1676, 8vo. Reprinted, with additions and corrections, at London 1678, 8vo. There was inserted, at the end, An Account of the State of the Greek Church, under Cyrillus Lucaris Patriarch of Constantinople, with a Relation of his sufferings and death: and *Hymnus Matutinus*, taken from the Alexandrian MS. Gr. and Lat. He translated it afterwards himself into English, and intitled it, 'An Account of the Greek Church, as to its Doctrine and Rites of Worship: with several Historical Remarks interspersed, relating thereunto. To which is added, an account of the State of the Greek Church, under Cyrillus Lucaris Patriarch of Constantinople, with a Relation of his Sufferings and Death.' Lond. 1680, 8vo. In the Preface he observes, 'that you will here clearly see, with what great difficulties

(9) See his Preface.

(f) See above the article ROE [Sir THOMAS.]

(g) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 1020.

(h) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 221.

(i) Ath. ut supra. It is a very low and watry situation.

(k) An impartial Relation of the whole Proceedings against St Mary Magdalen College in Oxon. Printed in 1688, 4to. p. 2, 24, 36, 37, 39.

(l) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 1020.

(m) Vide Præfat. ad Catalogum Librorum MSS. Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ.

after [I]. In 1679, it was designed that he should be employed, in transcribing and publishing the Alexandrian Manuscript of the Greek Bible, in the Royal Library (f), and to have for his reward, as King Charles II. had promised, a Prebend of Westminster, or Canonry of Windsor; but that good design came to nothing (g). He proceeded Doctor in Divinity June the 22d, 1683 (h); and, on the 20th of December 1684, was presented by the President and Fellows of his college to the Rectory of Stanlake in Oxfordshire; which not liking, he resigned within a month (i). In 1687, when King James II. was endeavouring to compel Magdalen-college, in an arbitrary manner, to admit Antony Farmer for their President: our author and Captain Bagshaw, two of the Fellows, presented, April the 10th, a petition to the Earl of Sunderland President of the Council, wherein the college did humbly beseech his Majesty, either to leave them to a free election, or to recommend a qualified person. To which the only answer was, That his Majesty having sent his letter to the college, expected to be obeyed. Whereupon Dr Thomas Smith, with Dr Fairfax and Dr Pudsey, were for presenting a second address to his Majesty, before they proceeded to the election. And on the 16th of November, Dr Smith, and Mr Cheronock, were the only two Fellows, that submitted to the authority of the royal Commissioners and Visitors of the college, and acknowledged the justice of their proceedings. With whose behaviour therefore King James II. was so well satisfied, that they remained unmolested, when the rest of the Fellows were deprived (k). In January 1687-8, Dr Smith was presented to the Prebend, or Church, of Heytesbury in Wiltshire, by Dr Thomas Pierce Dean of Sarum. Notwithstanding his compliance hitherto with the Court, he would not sacrifice his Religion to them; for, in August 1688, he was deprived of his Fellowship by Bonaventure Gifford, the Popish President of Magdalen-college, because he refused to live there with the new set of Popish Fellows, being then senior Bursar. He was restored to his Fellowship, in the October following. But he lost it again July 25, 1692, as well as his preferment at Heytesbury, because he would not take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary (l). From that time, he lived chiefly in Sir John Cotton's family (m), in a studious and retired manner, and employed himself in publishing several books [K]. He

‘ the poor Eastern Christians struggle; against what
‘ mighty opposition they still maintain the profession of
‘ Christianity; and how the cross of Christ triumphs,
‘ notwithstanding the cruel mockings and insultings of
‘ the profest enemies of it; though it must be most
‘ sadly confessed, that several corruptions and errors
‘ in point of doctrine and superstitious rites and prac-
‘ tices in worship have crept in among them, to the
‘ great disadvantage, scandal, and dishonour of our
‘ holy Religion, which is hereby continually exposed
‘ to the censure and contempt of the Mahometans,
‘ who, dull and stupid as they are, do not pretend to
‘ examine the grounds and reasons of the Christian be-
‘ lief, but judge of the whole by such odd phantastick
‘ misrepresentations, and fortify their old prejudices
‘ every day more and more with fresh matter of dislike.
‘ ——— Though it is manifest to all, who understand
‘ antiquity, how much the *present Greeks* have in se-
‘ veral *Points of Doctrine* varied from the belief of
‘ their ancestors, and have corrupted the simplicity
‘ and purity of Religion by a mixture of odd Opinions
‘ and Fancies, they pretend notwithstanding, that
‘ their Tenents are agreeable to the Fathers, and that
‘ they follow the Traditions of the ancient Church.
‘ But without looking back much beyond this last
‘ century, whoever will compare the answers of the
‘ Patriarch Jeremias to the letters of the Divines of
‘ Wittenberg in the year 1576, with their Confession
‘ of Faith published in the year 1662, and with the
‘ Bethleemitick Synod held in the year 1671, will find
‘ such a vast difference between the modesty of that
‘ Patriarch, and their bold determinations, as will en-
‘ cline any sober and considering man to believe, that
‘ they have of late more than ever been wrought upon
‘ by the sly artifices and insinuations and under-hand
‘ dealing of the subtle emissaries of Rome, who watch
‘ continually over the poor Greeks, and take advan-
‘ tage of their *Poverty* and *Distress* to bring them to a
‘ further compliance, and in time, to a downright
‘ subjection. [viz. to the Church of Rome.]——
‘ This design of the Romanists, which has been carry-
‘ ing on for so many years, was soon discovered by
‘ *Cyrillus Lucaris* Patriarch of Constantinople, a man
‘ of great parts, and of an extraordinary courage, who
‘ was resolved to give a check and put a stop to it, as
‘ much as in him lay, and by degrees to reform those
‘ abuses and errors, that had prevailed among the
‘ Greeks, and introduce a stricter alliance and union
‘ of the Eastern Church with the Reformed Churches
‘ of Christendome. This drew upon him the indigna-
‘ tion of Urban the eighth, then Pope, and the Con-

‘ gregation of Cardinals *de propagandâ Fide*, as they
‘ speak at Rome, who knew no good could be done,
‘ while he sat upon the Patriarchall throne. And
‘ therefore finding, after several attempts to bring him
‘ over by fair means to relinquish his pretensions, that
‘ he was too stout and too honest to submit to their
‘ overtures and proposals, they made use of several
‘ evil arts to dethrone him; and in order thereunto
‘ blackened and defamed him with a thousand calum-
‘ nies, and pursued him with unwearied diligence
‘ and malice, and never desisted ’till they had got him
‘ strangled.’

[I] *As also some other pieces soon after.*] Namely,
VII. ‘ A Voyage from England to Constantinople.’
Printed in the Philosophical Transactions (10). VIII (10) No. 230,
‘ Historical Observations relating to Constantinople.’ P. 527.
Printed in the same Transactions (11). IX. ‘ An (11) No. 152,
‘ Account of Prusa in Bithynia; and the Observations P. 335. Octob.
‘ in Turkey continued.’ Printed in the same Transac- 1683.
tions (12). X. Conjectures about Under-Currents in (12) No. 155,
the Downs, at the Streights of Gibraltar’s mouth, and P. 431. Jan.
in the Baltick. Printed in the same Transactions (13). 1683 4.
XI. Miscellanies; *Miscellanea, in quibus continentur*, (13) No. 158,
1. *Præmonitio ad Lectorem de Infantum Communionem apud P. 564. 1684.*
Græcos. 2. *Defensio Libri de Græcæ Ecclesiæ Statu*
contra Objectiones Authoris Historiæ Criticæ, &c. 3.
Brevis & Succincta Narratio de vitâ, studiis, & mar-
tiryrio D. Cyrilli Lucaris, Patriarchæ Constantinop. 4.
Commentatio de Hymnis matutinis & vespertinis Græco-
rum. 5. *Exercitatio Theologica de causis remediisque*
Dissidiorum, &c. Lond. 1686, 8vo. Some of these
had been printed before. See Note [F] XII. ‘ The
‘ Life of St Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, a Carmelite
‘ Nunn. Newly translated out of Italian by the Reve-
‘ rend Father Lezin de Sainte Scholastique, Provincial
‘ of the Reformed Carmelites of Touraine.’ Printed at
Paris 1670. And now done out of French: With
a preface concerning the nature, causes, concomitants, and
consequences of Ecstasy and Rapture, and a brief discourse
added about discerning and trying the Spirits, whether
they be of God. Lond. 1687, 4to.

[K] *And employed himself in publishing several Books.*
After the Revolution, he published, XIII. V. Cl. Gu-
lielmi Camdeni, et illustrium Virorum ad G. Camdenum
Epistolæ. Cum Appendice varii argumenti. Accesserunt
Annalium regni Regis Jacobi I. Apparatus, et Commen-
tarius de Antiquitate, Dignitate, & Officio Comitum Mar-
rescalli Angliæ. Præmittitur G. Camdeni Vita. Scrip-
tore, Thoma Smitho, S. T. D. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ
Presbytero. Lond. 1691, 4to. i. e. Letters to and from
Mr Camden, with an Appendix. To which are added
Annals,

He died at London May the 11th, 1710 (n), and was buried, two days after, in St Anne's Church. His writings sufficiently manifest his universal learning; but his style, especially his Latin style, is somewhat intricate, and too full of long periods.

(n) Mr Hearne's edition of Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. p. 128. In note.

Annals, or rather Memorials, of the reign of King James I. And a Treatise of the Antiquity, Dignity, and Office of the Earl Marthal of England. With verses and epitaphs composed by Mr Camden. To the whole is prefixed Mr Camden's Life. XIV. *Miscellanea, in quibus continentur Responso ad nuperas D. Simonii in libro super fide Græcorum de dogmate Transubstantiationis cavillationes. Dissertatio, in qua integritas illius celeberr. loci 1. Epist. S. Johannis cap. 5. ver. 7. vindicatur. Defensio superius Dissertationis contra exceptiones D. Simonii in Criticâ Historiâ Novi Testam. Commentar. in 2 S. Petri.* Lond. 1692. 4to. XV. *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ. Cui præmittuntur Illustræ viri, D. Roberti Cottoni, Equitis Aurati & Baronetti, Vita: et Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ Historia & Synopsis. Scriptore Thoma Smitho, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero.* Oxon. 1696. fol. But had this Catalogue of the Cottonian Library been more particular than it is, it would have been much more useful; as Mr D. Casley has shewn, in his Catalogue of the Royal Library. XVI. *Inscriptiones Græcæ Palmyrenorum, cum Scholiis & annotationibus Edwardi Bernardi & Thome Smithi.* Utrecht, 1698, 8vo. i. e. The Greek Inscriptions at Palmyra, &c. XVII. *Clarissimi ac doctissimi Viri, Joannis Gravii, olim Astronomiæ in Academia Oxoniensi Professoris Savilianii, Vita: in qua de illius Studiis, Itineribus in Italiam, ad Constantinopolim, & in Ægyptum susceptis, et Libris editis ineditisque, fuscè disseritur. Scriptore Thoma Smitho, &c.* Lond. 1699. 4to. Reprinted afterwards in his Collection of Lives mentioned below. XVIII. *Admodum Reverendi & doctissimi Viri D. Roberti Huntingtoni, S. Theologiæ Doctoris, et Episcopi Rapotensis, Epistolæ. Præmittitur de ejusdem D. Huntingtoni vita, studiis, peregrinationibus, & obitu Γραμμματα. i. e. The Letters, and Life, of Dr Robert Huntington, Bishop of Raphoe. At the end of which is printed, Vita clarissimi & doctissimi Viri, Edwardi Bernardi, S. Theologiæ Doctoris, et Astronomiæ apud Oxoniensēs Professoris Savilianii. Subnectitur Veterum Mathematicorum, Græcorum, Latinorum, & Arabum Synopsis. Collectore D. E. Bernardo.* Lond. 1704, 8vo. i. e. The life of Edward Bernard, D. D. Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. To which is subjoyned a Synopsis of the antient Mathematicians by Dr Bernard. XIX. *Vitæ quorundam eruditissimorum et illustrium Virorum.* Lond. 1707. The Lives of certain very learned and illustrious Men. This Volume contains, The Lives of James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh; John Cosin, Bishop of Durham; Henry Briggs, Savilian Professor of Geometry in Oxford; John Bainbridge, and John Greaves, Savilian Professors of Astronomy in Oxford; Peter Young, Preceptor to King James I; Patrick Young, Library-keeper to King James, and King Charles the first; and John Dec, the mathematician. XX. *Ignatii Epistolæ.* Oxon. 1709, 4to. A new Edition of Ignatius's Epistles.

XXI. He kept a great correspondence with Mr Tho. Hearne; having writ to him, between Novemb. 9, 1703, and April 1, 1710, no less than a hundred and sixty eight Letters; the last of which hath been published by Mr Hearne, in the Appendix to his Collection of Curious Discourses (14), and is as follows.

(14) No. 5. p. 296.

' S I R,

' I write this to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 25. March. The Inscription in it I do not beleive to bee genuine (15): but of this I am not able to write more, by reason of the utter extinction of my right eye, and the weakness of my left: which forbids me to make use of it either in reading or writing for above four or five minutes at a time: which together with an inflammation in my other uselesse eye gives mee extreme great paine, and that continued: so that I am forced, to obtaine some kind of ease, to lye upon my bed a great part of the day. God grant mee patience under, and submission to his heavenly will. So that now at last there is like to bee a fatall interruption put to our correspondence, on my part at least: and therefore I would not have you give yourselfe the trouble of writing to mee, til you heare from me first, either by a short letter of my owne, or by the hand of a friend. In the midst of all my paine and anguish, I thanke God, I am not sick, and find no symptoms of approaching death upon mee: yet considering my great age, having now almost run out the threescore and twelvth yeare of my life (for I was borne 3. June 1638) I conclude I have not long to live, and that there may bee some unforeseen suddain change, which may carry mee off. My Br. told mee this weeke, that Mr Fisher acquainted him, that his kinsman, Dr Hudson, would bee in London very speedily. If so, desire him to come and visit mee: for I heartily desire to see him and discourse with him. I cannot hold out any longer. I conclude this, I feare my last, letter to you with my prayers to our gracious and mercifull God to blesse you with long life, vigorous healthe, and a perpetual use of your eyes. *Disce meo exemplo.*

(15) This inscription is printed in Vol. V. of Leland's Itiner. p. 137.

' I am,

' S I R,

London, 1 April,
1710.

' Your affectionate Friend,

' and humble Servant,

' Tho. Smith.'

C

SMITH [Dr JOHN], an orthodox Divine of distinguished learning, in the latter end of the last and beginning of the present century, was descended of an ancient family [A] of his name, originally seated at Durham (a) and was the eldest son of William Smith, Clerk, Rector of Lowther in Westmoreland (b), by Elizabeth his wife, the fifth and posthumous daughter of Giles Wetherell, of Stockton near Durham [B]. Our author was born at Lowther in 1659, on the tenth of November, and baptized the next day. As soon as he was fit to receive the rudiments of learning, his father took the pains himself of instructing him, and he had so happy a genius, that, in the fifth year of his age, he learned his Latin Grammar, and his Greek in the ninth. After which, by the unlucky advice of some friends, he was sent to Bradford in Yorkshire, to Mr Christopher Nefse, a leading man among the Presbyterians; where he mis-spent two years, having forgot almost

(b) His father, our author's grandfather, Matthew Smith, was a Counsellor at Law, and eminent both for his skill in the Law, and for his genius in Poetry, as appears by what he published that way. He suffered much in his estate, in defence of the royal cause. Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 223.

[A] Descended of an ancient family.] The first person we meet with of this family, which is recorded in the Herald's office, is Thomas Smith, who lived in the reign of Henry VI. he behaved with great valour in that King's expedition to Scotland, and in one of his engagements with the Scots broke his sword, which gave occasion to him and some of his posterity to assume for their crest the broken falchion (1).

[B] Daughter of Giles Wetherell of Stockton.] She was also niece to Sir George Marwood, Bart. (2), and

to Barbara Marwood, who married the grandson of Toby Matthews, Archbishop of York; families not only of good antiquity, but of considerable repute for their learning (3). N. B. Robert Wetherell, son of Henry and grandson of the abovementioned Giles, settled in Ireland, and was some time Mayor of Dublin, and possessed of a good estate there, his son Captain Wetherell was killed at the battle of Falkirk, January 17, 1745 (4).

(3) Thoresby's Topography of Leeds, &c. p. 21, and 515.

(4) Ray's Hist. of the Rebellion in Scotland, p. 252. in 12mo. His patron, Sir John Lowther, was buried there also the same day,

[C] His

(a) Dr Smith was descended of a younger branch at Knaresborough in Yorkshire. Blome's Britannia.

(1) Blome's Britannia, in the list of gentry for Yorkshire and Durham; Warburton's Book of Arms; and Map of London and Middlesex illustrated, edit. 1740. 8vo.

(2) Baronetage of England, under Marwood.

(c) See a further account of this gentleman, in the article of Dr Joseph Smith.

(d) This was an extraordinary Quaker, and did not hold human learning in such contempt as that sect generally do by principle.

* The family looked on this as a providential escape from the Scottish religion, to which his intended companion was proselyted, and became a Pastor to proselyte others.

(e) Carter's Hist. of Cambridge, under that college.

(f) Dr Smith wrote some memoirs of his Lordship, which are still extant in the family.

* Lord Lonsdale has since built a new church at a little distance from the site of the old one.

(5) See an account of him in Harris's Hist. of the Irish Bishops.

(6) His first wife was Margaret, fourth daughter of Conyers Lord D'Arcy.

almost all his Grammar rules. This loss, however, though not without some difficulty, was repaired by the care of Mr William Lancaster, some time Provost of Queen's-college Oxford (c); but he going, by the recommendation of Mr Smith's father, with Sir John Lowther's son, afterwards Lord Viscount Lonsdale, to Oxford, as his Preceptor, advised that this his young scholar should be committed to the instruction of Mr Thomas Lawson, by sect a Quaker, but an excellent schoolmaster, who grounded him well in the three learned languages (d). An early foundation of classical learning being thus laid, his father had some thoughts now of sending him to the university, but which he could not for some time determine. The nearness of the place, and the company of a young student who was going thither, recommended Glasgow in Scotland, and the day was fixed for the journey; but it proved so rainy and tempestuous a season, that his father would not then venture him from home. Thus the design of a Scotch education being laid aside *, Queen's-college in Oxford (where generally the youth of the two northern counties are admitted) seemed to bid fair for him. He was therefore sent for a short time to Appleby-school, and Dr Thomas Smith, then Bishop of Carlisle, as well as Archdeacon Musgrave, who had been both Fellows of this college, promoted his going thither. But neither did this scheme take effect; for a neighbour telling his father, that he was sending up two of his sons to St John's-college Cambridge, he was at last prevailed on to yield to the great desire of his own son to go with them [C]. Accordingly our author was admitted in St John's-college, June 11, 1674 (e). From his first entrance, he was much esteemed for his learning, his strict and exemplary life, and close application to his studies; by which means, he made so good a proficiency in the Sciences, that he more than equalled most of his contemporaries. He took his degree in Arts at the regular times, and, being always destined for the Church, was ordained both Deacon and Priest by Dr Richard Stern, Archbishop of York, probably as soon as his age would permit. In the latter end of 1681, he was called to Durham by the Dean, Dr Denys Granville, who had a great regard for his family, and esteemed him highly for his excellent endowments. He was first admitted a Minor Canon of that church, on the 20th of July, 1682, and on the 29th collated to the curacy of Croxdale; and to the living of Witton-Gilbert, July 1, 1684. He went in 1686 to Madrid, by the recommendation of Dr Granville, Chaplain to his nephew Charles Lord Lansdowne, afterwards Earl of Bath, on his Lordship's being made Ambassador to the Court of Spain. He returned home soon after the Revolution: when he had the misfortune to lose a curious collection of books, he had bought while abroad, which were cast away in their passage by sea, together with some sermons he had taken no little pains to compose, by which he was obliged to go to work again. In 1694, Dr Crew [afterwards Lord Crew], Bishop of Durham, who was a very good judge of men, and a great encourager of learning, constituted him his domestic chaplain, and ever after had a high sense of his discretion and prudence, insomuch, that he generally consulted him in all ecclesiastical affairs of moment. His Lordship also collated him to the Rectory and Hospital of Gateshead, on the 12th of June, 1695, and to a Prebend of Durham, September the 25th following, into which he was instituted the next day. Upon this promotion, he was created Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge in 1696, and was Treasurer of the church of Durham in 1699. His munificent patron (f) gave him also, July 28, 1704, the Rectory of his own parish, Bishop's-Wearmouth; where he not only repaired the chancel in a handsome and substantial manner, but built a very spacious and elegant parsonage-house, entirely at his own expence, besides what he laid out upon his prebendal house,

[C] His father went with him as far as York.] Here he took leave of his father, not expecting to see him in this world any more as he was then under a regimen for a dropsy and jaundice, occasioned by too hard study. He died soon after on St Andrew's day 1675 aged forty-five years, and was buried in the chancel of the old church * the 5th of December. He was a person of probity and piety as well as learning. The foundation of which he laid at Clare-Hall in Cambridge, where he was admitted July 15, 1649, under Mr David Clarkson, and so became a fellow-pupil with Archbishop Tillotson, who had a great regard and friendship for him. He was an excellent Grecian, and wrote, among other things, learned and useful notes upon Homer's Iliad and Odyssey. He was ordained Priest (being a Deacon before) April 17, 1654, at Southill-Hall in Yorkshire by Dr Henry Tilson, then Bishop of Elphin in Ireland (5), who being a native of Yorkshire, had retired thither upon the breaking out of the rebellion. In 1655 he was presented to the Living of Lowther, by Sir John Lowther, at the request of his kinsman and quondam pupil Sir Henry Marwood, Bart. of Bussy-Hall, in the county of York, who was then to have married a daughter of the said Sir John Lowther, to which family Sir Henry Marwood was nearly allied by Dorothy his second wife (6) daughter of Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart. and by the issue of Sir Henry's only son George Marwood, who married Constance second daughter and coheir to

Sir Thomas Spencer, Bart. of Yarnton in Oxfordshire, he had only one daughter and heiress Jane Marwood, the wife of Cholmley Turner of Kirkleatham, Esq; who became heir general to the considerable estate of the Marwoods. But the title was not extinct 'till the death of her kinsman Sir William Marwood, who died February 22, 1740, and was buried in the chancel of the church at Paddington in Middlesex, with two of the children of Joseph Smith, Esq; LL D. of Kidlington in the county of Oxford. A handsome marble monument is erected for them, and to the memory of the said Sir William. To return to Mr Smith. He was ejected from his living of Lowther among other loyalists, under the usurpation of Cromwell; but in consequence of the Bartholomew Act was instituted on the 10th of October 1662. After his death his widow removed with the family to Guisborough in Yorkshire, where she entered into a second marriage with Mr John Bell, a worthy Clergyman, who had been bred at St John's college in Cambridge, and was now Rector of Stainton, and afterwards of Horkstow in Lincolnshire. But unfortunately she did not survive this marriage above nine months, for being on a visit at her cousin Turner's, at Kirkleatham in Yorkshire (7); she died in August 1680, at the age of forty-three years, in childbed (8) of a daughter Elizabeth Bell, who afterwards married Mr Coulson, a gentleman of a good estate at East-Halton in Lincolnshire.

(7) Some time Knight of the Shire for that county.

(8) She was buried at Stockton.

house, and other instances which might be mentioned of a truly liberal and noble spirit. But his chief delight was in his books and in his study, by a too assiduous and indefatigable application to which, he greatly impaired his health, so that he began to decline about two years before his death, which happened July 30, 1715, in the 56th year of his age, after a fortnight's illness, occasioned by a weakness of stomach, grown unable to do it's office. He died at Cambridge, where he had been for some time, in order to finish an edition of the Historical Works of Venerable Bede; and his remains were deposited in the chapel of St John's college in that university, where a handsome marble monument is erected for him, with an elegant Latin inscription (g), wrote by his learned friend and Antiquarian Mr Thomas Baker, then Fellow of that college (b). But his character appears at length to advantage, in the following terms, by a friend; who observes, that he was very modest in striving for his secular interest, studying to deserve favours rather than solicit for them; that he took great delight in reading the Sacred Code, and took much pleasure in weighing and penetrating into the full force and true meaning of them, in which he paid always a religious regard and veneration for Primitive Antiquity. He was also a good Historian, and would talk of the most remarkable passages with great acuteness. He was well versed in the septentrional literature, and was likewise a good master of the French and Spanish tongues. The most considerable Antiquaries, both in England and Scotland, courted his correspondence upon the subject of Antiquities. In short, he was acknowledged a general scholar, having a fertility of genius, joined to an uncommon penetration and solidity of judgment, with a surprizing memory; so that he seemed to be born for promoting literature. He could say as pleasant things as any person when disposed to be facetious, and his mirth was always seasoned with gravity, and innocence. He delighted to converse with scholars, and was likewise of a communicative temper, the peculiar excellency of a learned man. He was a great encourager of young divines; so obliging to them, so ready to assist them, and so disposed to resolve their doubts, and scruples, that none went from him but with pleasure and satisfaction. In argument and disputation, no one less passionate or dogmatical; no one more happy in delivering himself in a way that both convinced and entertained. He was in all respects an ornament to the Church, and a blessing to the neighbourhood, especially to his brethren the Clergy, his whole conversation being sincere, honest, discreet, and profitable, and his whole life one entire piece and continued testimony of his piety and devotion towards God, and his friendship and charity to men, and of his humility and sobriety towards himself. His labours in preaching, catechizing, and other duties of his function, were extraordinary, and beyond most examples; and such a God-like disposition appeared in every thing he said or did, that he commanded respect and veneration from every one. He was never wanting in any of the duties or good offices of charity, being of a kind and sympathizing disposition to all under any calamity or necessity; and he was a very rare example of temperance, abstaining from all sorts of strong liquors, and a strict observer of the days of fasting and abstinence appointed by the Church. He imagined this great abstemiousness made his head clearer and better prepared for study, and which he thought too his constitution required: but in this he was mistaken; for by that, and too intense study, he broke the vigour of it. He left by Will several generous legacies; besides a kind remembrance to his surviving brothers [D], which, to use his own words, he *bequeaths to them*

(g) It is inserted in Stanton, and Le Neve, as also in Blome's Cambridge.

(b) He was ejected soon after.

as

[D] *A kind remembrance to his surviving brothers.*

He was at the head of ten brothers, six of whom besides himself lived to the age of maturity.

The second, William, was bred to Physic, which he studied at Edinburgh, and afterwards settling at Leeds in Yorkshire, practised there with great reputation and success. He died April 7, 1729, and was buried in St Peter's church at Leeds *

The third, Mathew Smith, of Newcastle Underline, was a Blackwell Hall Factor. He died February 21, 1721, and was buried at Bettley in Staffordshire.

The fourth, George Smith, B. D. who was much admired for his knowledge in polite literature, as also for his integrity and christian conduct of his life; was bred at St John's college in Cambridge, of which he was some time Fellow, and while Chaplain to Brigadier Meredyth's regiment in Flanders, he became acquainted with General [afterwards Earl] Cadogan, he staid a considerable time with his Lordship, who upon his being appointed Envoy and Plenipotentiary to the States-General in 1706, made him his Chaplain. He also attended his Lordship in the same character when he was sent Ambassador thither in 1716, and his Lordship being constituted General of all His Majesty's forces the year following, in the room of the Duke of Marlborough, appointed Mr Smith to succeed Dr Hare, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, as Chaplain-General to the army (9). While he resided at Ghent in Flanders, he married Anne, daughter to Colonel John Reddish of Skains, by Edenbridge in Kent, by whom he had issue Richard Smith, who was bred at Jesus college in Cambridge, and is now Rector of Burmarsh

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and Alkham in Kent, and George Smith, a merchant, who died at Bengal in 1735. Their father died at Kensington, April 17, 1725, and was buried at his living of Higham in Kent, in the church-yard adjoining to the East window, according to his desire where a handsome tomb is erected for him.

Fifth, Joseph Smith, the fifth surviving brother, went to Queen's-college in Oxford, where he became Provost, of whom hereafter.

Sixth, Benjamin Smith, a Student in the Inner-Temple, died in the twenty-seventh year of his age, December 6, 1699, by too assiduous application to the Law, and was buried in St Andrews Church, Holborn, London.

Seventh, Posthumus Smith, L.L.B. his youngest brother, became so eminent a Civilian, that he was early appointed Auditor to Lord Crew, and principal Register to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, as also Surrogate to Dr Brookbank Chancellor (10), and Commissary, and Official-General of that Archdeaconry. He died October 5, 1725, and was buried in the Cathedral of Durham behind the altar. He left issue one son John Smith of Durham, Esq; † and three daughters, Grace, Mary, and Elizabeth, by Mary, his wife, daughter to Sir George Wheeler, of whom a further account is given in remark [H]. Grace, the eldest, married her cousin-german, Francis Middleton, Esq; son of Ralph Middleton of Olferton, in the county of Durham, by Frances, his wife, daughter to Sir George Wheeler; Mary married Breams Wheeler of Durham, Esq; nephew to Sir George Wheeler; and Elizabeth, married John Bedford, M. D. of Durham.

(10) This gentleman was also Fellow of Trinity hall in Cambridge, where he died in 1723.

† He died unmarried, December 13, 1744; whereby his sisters became his heirs, and he was buried with his father.

* He married the daughter of John Harrison, Alderman of Leeds, and left issue one surviving son, William, now of Richmond in Surrey.

(9) Supplement to Pointer's Chronological History, p. 1058.

(i) By this marriage the families were again united.

(k) In his Historical Library, Part ii. p. 131. 8vo. edition.

(l) The writer of *Vitæ quorundam illustrium Virorum*, &c. See his article.

(11) The inscription is printed in Gent's History of Hull, and Le Neve.

(12) Masters's History of Corpus-Christi-college in Cambridge, in the Appendix, No. LIX. p. 84. edit. 1753. 4to. in note, by Browne Willis, Esq;

(13) Carter's History of Cambridge, p. 273. who tells us, Mr Baker had a good picture of Dr Ashton, which he much valued.

(14) He always bore a quick resentment of his ejection, and would never believe, but that the master, Dr Jenkins, might have screened him by connivance, as he had done in the preceding reign. This he expressed particularly, by writing in the blank leaves of all the books he gave to the college himself, *Socius ejus*.

(15) Browne Willis, as before.

(16) Jortin's Life of Erasmus, Vol. I. p. 550, 551. edit. 1758, 4to. Vol. II. came out this year, 1760, 4to.

as a token of the brotherly love he had for them from their cradle, and which he leaves with them at his grave. He married Mary, eldest daughter of William Cooper, of Scarborough, Esq; by his wife Philadelphia, fifth daughter of Henry Smith (i), of West-Herrington and Moreton-house; which Henry was half-brother to Sir George Baker, of Crook near Durham [E], by their mother Mary, daughter to Lionel Heron, of Chipchase-castle, Esq; who was married first to Oswald Baker, Esq; and after his death to William Smith of Durham and West-Herrington, Counsellor at Law; whence the said Mary Cooper was allied in blood to George Baker, Esq; the founder of six exhibitions in St John's-college Cambridge. By his marriage to this lady, who died in August 1728, Dr Smith had a very considerable fortune, and a fair issue to enjoy it: as 1. George Smith of Burnhall, Esq; of whom hereafter. 2. John, a Blackwell hall Factor, who died at Durham November 22, 1731. 3. Joseph Smith, Fellow of Trinity-college Cambridge, who died July 13, 1734, and was buried in All-Saints church at Cambridge. 4. William, who died very young a sudden death, being choaked with the core of an apple. 5. Another William, who was bred to the Common-Law, and settled at Newcastle; he died November 2, 1730, and was buried with his mother and brother John, in the church-yard of Durham cathedral, where a handsome tomb is erected to their memories. Besides his compleat and accomplished edition of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, which will be mentioned in the next article, our author published several Sermons, the titles of which are inserted below [F]; and several manuscript sermons of his were in possession of his son Joseph, which since his death have not been found. He had also made some progress in writing the Antiquities of Durham, for which undertaking Bishop Nicholson observes (k), he was the most proper person. He likewise furnished Dr Gibson with the additions to the Bishoprick of Durham, which are inserted in the last edition of *Camden's Britannia* by that prelate. He also supplied Mr Anderson with materials in the publication of his Historical Essay; wherein he shews, that the crown and kingdom of Scotland is imperial and independent [G]. Lastly, he communicated to Dr Thomas Smith (l) two manuscripts

[E] *Sir George Baker of Crooke.*] This gentleman, after having done and suffered much for his King and country, especially for gallantly defending Newcastle against the rebellious Scots, at last submitted to an unequal fate, unworthy of his great deserts on the fourth of August 1662, and was buried in the chancel of the great church at Kingston upon Hull in Yorkshire, where a monument (11) was erected for him in 1710, by his nephew Thomas Baker before mentioned.

This learned, ingenious, and industrious Antiquarian, was born September 14, 1656, at Lanchester in the county palatine of Durham (12), and being sent to St John's-college in Cambridge, was chosen Scholar and afterwards Fellow upon Dr Ashton's foundation (13), which he held 'till the accession of King George I. soon after which he was ejected for refusing to take the oaths to the government (14). However he kept his chamber in the college, and resided there as a Commoner-Master 'till his death, which happened on the second of July 1740 (15). He was buried in the ante-chappel of the college, and his various works printed and manuscripts supply the place of a monument. These are, 1. *Reflections upon Learning*, &c. which has gone through several editions, and is generally much esteemed, notwithstanding the censure passed upon it by a late ingenious writer. 'Baker, says he, in his *Reflections upon Learning* defended Erasmus, and attacked Le Clerc with a virulence, which one would not have expected from a man, who, as I remember was accounted, and who desired to be accounted a candid, genteel, and polite person. But party zeal guided his pen: *Tantum religio potuit!* Le Clerc gave him a short answer in the *Index* to the fourth edition of the *Ars critica* under the word Erasmus. — Baker hath one chapter upon *Metaphysics*, in which he hath made no mention of Locke; just as if a man should write the lives of the Greek and Latin poets, and only omit Homer and Virgil! He observed cap. 16, that there was little or nothing left for the sagacity and industry of modern critics; and thereby he shewed that he was no critic himself, and not at all acquainted with the true state of classical books, and particularly of Greek authors (16). There are several other shafts occasionally lanced at Mr Baker's book in the *Life of Erasmus*, which is confessedly formed upon the plan of Le Clerc, the writer's guide and master. Will not then his own words be retorted upon him? but party zeal guided his pen: *Tantum religio potuit.* 2. Mr Baker reprinted Bishop Fisher's funeral Sermon of Margaret Countess of Richmond, with a preface containing some account of the history

of learned men of his own college, which is observed to be excellent in it's kind, and makes us wish the remainder of it had come forth, as he seemed to give us hopes of in page 55, finished by the same masterly hand. He did however, carry on it's history through a succession of it's masters, from the foundation to the end of Bishop Gunning's mastership, which together with many other volumes (17) of those valuable collections he made towards a history of the University in general, he presented to his great friend and patron the late Lord Oxford (18), in whose Lady's custody they remained with many others of extraordinary value, to the no small regret of the learned, inaccessible, 'till they were lately purchased with the Harleian manuscripts, by the Parliament in 1753, and make now a very considerable part of the British Museum. The residue of his collections (19) Mr Baker bequeathed to the university, in hopes that a more favourable opportunity might offer, and more suitable encouragement be given to some other, for setting about so great a work (20).

[F] *His Sermons in print.*] These are, 1. A Sermon preached before the university of Cambridge, on Proverbs iv. 13. Lond. 1700, 8vo. 2. An Apology to Christians for the gospel and it's ministers, &c. on 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2. Lond. 1709, 4to. 3. A Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy upon their first solemn meeting at St Nicholas church in Newcastle, Sept. 10, 1711, on Exod. xx. 12. Lond. 1711, 4to. and reprinted the same year. N. B. He was the chief instrument in setting on foot this branch of charity. 4. A Sermon preached at the consecration of the chapel of Stockton, &c. on Math. xxi. 9. *ibid* 1712, 8vo. and reprinted the same year.

[G] *Anderson's Historical Essay, &c.*] Our author supplied him with the chief part of the large appendix to this book, containing copies of charters, and other writings relating to Scotland, in which, as he observes, that nation is much obliged to Dr Smith for letting them know where so many of their valuable deeds and writings are, which by their being carefully lodged at Durham, have escaped the repeated miserable fate, that most of their ancient charters and records have undergone, first, by the general havock and designed extirpation of their memory by Edward I. who carried off or destroyed all the marks of their antiquity and independency, as well as the rights of their lands that came into his clutches, with the famous library kept at Reslennet (21); next, by the burning of the city of Edinburgh by the English, under the command of the Duke of Lancaster; and afterwards by the destruction or transportation

(17) Viz. 23 vols in folio.

(18) The Treasurer's son, who gave him, if I mistake not, yearly for his life, an annuity of 60 l. Bishop Burnet also was a friend to him in the like way.

(19) Viz. 16 vols fol. and 3 4to. with several valuable printed books noted in his own hand.

(20) Masters's History of Corpus-Christi college, in the Preface, p. i, ii. and Sir Hans Sloane's article, in this work.

(21) See Spottwood's Church History, ad ann. 1300.

scripts of Bishop Cosins [H], one intituled, *A Vindication of the Orders of the Church of England*, against the exceptions and cavils of a certain Romish Priest of our nation; and the other, containing an *Answer to A Letter* inscribed to a Noble English Lady, *in Defence of administering the Eucharist to the Laity in one Kind only*, together with a *learned Epistle concerning the Sabbath*, of Dr Cosins, then Master of Peter-House college in Cambridge, to Dr Samuel Collins, Provost of King's college there in 1635, when there was a warm controversy in England upon that subject. All which, says Dr Smith, will deserve to be inserted in a new edition of Bishop Cosins's English Works, whenever such a one shall be published (m). In return for these favours, Dr Thomas Smith gave our author a manuscript, in his own hand-writing, of the proceedings against Magdalen-college, in King James the Second's time, and his opposition in that affair drawn up by himself: and it contains a more particular and authentick relation than has hitherto been published (n) [I].

(m) Preface to the last mentioned book, p. vii, viii. edit. 1707, 4to.

(n) Which monument is still in the family, and, as I am informed, a copy of it is in the hands of his nephew, Joseph Smith, Esq; B.L.D. of E. d. bington near Oxford.

portation of most of what was left by the Popish clergy at the Reformation; and lastly by the carrying of their records to London, in the late civil wars, and the disaster that befel them in their return.

[H] He gave Dr Thomas Smith two manuscripts of Bishop Cosins. This favour was procured from our author, by the intercession of Sir George Wheeler, his relation, and much esteemed and respected by him. This reverend and pious Knight was son to Colonel Charles Wheeler of Charing in Kent (22), whose father Thomas Wheeler, married the daughter of Sir Nicholas Gibbons of Charing. Sir George was born in 1650, at Breda in Holland *, and educated in Lincoln-college, under the learned Dr George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, but before he had a degree conferred on him he went to travel, and in the company of Dr James Spon of Lyons took a voyage from Venice to Constantinople through the lesser Asia, and from Zant to several parts of Greece to Athens and thence to Attica, Corinth, Boethia, &c. Some time after his return he made a present to the university of Oxford of several pieces of antiquity, which he had collected in his travels, whereupon the degree of A. M. was conferred upon him being then a Knight. Soon after he took holy orders, and about December 12, 1684, was installed into a prebend of Durham (23), on the promotion of Dr Denys Granville to the Deanry of that place. He was made Vicar of Basingstoke, and was afterwards presented to the rich rectory of Houghton le Spring by Bishop Crew his patron. He was created, D. D. by Diploma, May 18, 1702 (24). He published an account of his journey into Greece, in six books, in 1682, folio. He also published, *An account of the churches and places of assembly of the primitive Christians from the churches of Tyre, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, described by Eusebius, and ocular observations of several very edifices of churches, yet remaining in those parts, with a seasonable application.* Lond 1689, and we have a third piece of his, intituled, *The Protestant Monastery, or Christian Oeconomicks*, containing directions for the religious conduct of a family. It appears by this treatise, that he was remarkably pious and devout. It contains his thoughts on that subject of near twenty years before, being penned soon after his entrance (they are his own words) into the conjugal state, and he supposes seven years before his entrance into holy orders; though now much abbreviated and somewhat altered. He married Grace Higgons, daughter of Sir Thomas Higgons of Odiham in Hampshire, Ambassador to Venice, Leghorn †, &c. She died 1703, and was interred at Charing. Sir George died February 18, 1723-4, aged seventy-four (25), and being a true admirer of Venerable Bede, had several of his children buried hard by him, and ordered his own corps to be interred as near Bede's tomb as it conveniently could, without violating the sacred ashes. A marble monument with a long inscription in Latin is erected for him, by his son Granville Wheeler, in the body of the church, contiguous to the wall, behind which the body lies buried. Sir George built the chapel in Wheeler's street, Spittlefields, London, commonly called Wheeler's chapel, which is for the use of Mr Wheeler's tenants and inhabitants thereabouts. He died possessed of a considerable estate and fortune, and had a numerous issue of which four sons Thomas, George, Granville, and Charles, lived to maturity, besides seven daughters who all married. Thomas the eldest son married the daughter of Sir George Curtis, Lord of the manor of Otterden-place and Monkton in Kent, and dying in the life time of his father without issue, as did also George the second son, who was a Counsellor at Law, Gran-

ville the third son, some time of Christ college in Cambridge, and now D. D. became heir to his father. He has distinguished himself as a learned member of the Royal Society (26), and is no less esteemed for his abilities as a Divine, than for his great piety, which was the motive of his going into Orders. He is now Rector of Lake in Nottinghamshire. He married first, Katharine Maria, daughter to Theophilus, Earl of Huntington, and to his second wife Mary daughter of John Dove, Esq; by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and coheir of John Bridgeman, younger brother to Lord-Keeper Bridgman, but has issue only by his first marriage.

[I] *A manuscript, containing a particular account of the proceedings against Magdalen-college, &c*] A copy of this MS. being communicated to me, I shall gratify the reader with some extracts from it, wherein Dr Thomas Smith, the author, vindicates himself from several misrepresentations in the printed account of this affair. He begins his account thus:

'Hearing from Dr Ironside, then Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and others, that they had met with a report, that I had endeavoured to get the King's mandate for the Presidentship of the college, then vacant by the death of Dr Clerke; I replied, that I had as good a pretension (it may be without the least guilt of immodesty) as any other, and that I knew so well how the Presidentship had been disposed of by the Kings and Queens of England, that I saw no ill or indecency in such an application.'

He then proceeds to give a detail of the affair; that his friend and colleague, Dr Younger, came to his lodgings at Charing Cross, London, on Easter-Eve, March 26, 1687, and told him, he had received a message from Lady Shuttleworth in Lancashire, that her father Dr Clerke died at her house a few days before, and that this was a secret, and to be made use of accordingly; that Dr Smith told him, that the lady intended him, by this quick message, a particular kindness, and that he should by all means procure, by the interest of the Princess Anne, whose domestic chaplain he was, and is still, the King's recommendatory letters to the college, which would put the matter out of all doubt and question; but this being declined by Dr Younger, who advised him to use his interest in Court to procure it, and to take time by the foretop, he thereupon went to Thistleworth on Monday morning, March 28, to Dr Parker, Bishop of Oxford, with whom he had then, and several years before, an intimate acquaintance, to beg his interest with his Majesty. That the Bishop wrote a letter, which he gave him inclosed in another directed to his landlord, where he had lately lodged, dwelling in the Haymarket, telling him, that he must not know or enquire to whom it was directed. This, says he, if any thing, will be effectual. Nor, continues Dr Smith, would he ever tell me afterwards who the person was to whom he wrote, tho' I learned it not long after by a meer accident. After three or four days I went to Thistleworth a second time, to know what answer he had to his letter; for I was not to stir, or say any thing of the business, 'till I heard from him. He then told me, that he was not my competitor, notwithstanding the noise of the town, that the King would make him President. That the King expected the person recommended should be favourable to his religion, and then asked me what I would do, or could do therein? I replied, My Lord, I pray acquaint the King that if his Majesty shall please to recommend me to the College, I will make it my business to advance piety and learning, to make men dutiful and obedient to his person, and to promote true Catholic Christianity, and I hope, said I, the King will

(26) Some of his papers are printed in the Philosophical Transactions.

(22) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 1004.

* His parents were then exiles there, on account of the rebellion. See his epitaph. The words are, *ex stirpe generosa inter Cantuani oriundus, Bredæ tamen inter Batavos natus, parentibus ex regni causam exulanti-bus.*

(23) Willis's Cathedrals, Vol. I.

(24) Catalogue of the Oxford Graduates.

† She was grand-daughter to Sir Bevil Granville, whose son was created Earl of Bath.

(25) From his epitaph in the Antiquities of Durham-abbey, printed in 12mo.

will require no more of me, for this is all I can do. He answered me, this I assure you will not do. I said to him, then let who will take the Presidentship for me. I will look no more after it. After this I made no address in the least to any person, either in the Court or out of it, about this matter, as having been fully convinced by the discourse which I had with Bishop Parker, that all future attempts, as things then stood, would be vain and to no purpose.

April 5, I went over to wait upon my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. After dinner his Grace came to me standing by the window, and spake to me in these words. Doctor, will the Presidentship of your college fall into your hands? I answered, no my Lord, I don't expect it. I shall never agree to the conditions. He replied, what conditions? I said again in general terms only (without mentioning the discourse I had a few days before with Bishop Parker) I know very well what I say to your Grace; then said he, without asking any further question, well Doctor, I know you are an honest man, may you have your reward: if not in this world, yet God is a good paymaster.

Dr Smith then proceeds to give what he calls An Impartial Relation of the election of a President of St Mary Magdalen-college, Oxon. in April 1687, and the following visitation. In which he continues to vindicate his conduct from some misrepresentations in the printed account of that affair. In order thereto he observes, that when the college sent Mr Bagshaw to him at London, with their request to deliver their petition against the King's mandate, to admit Mr Farmer to the Presidentship. He was directed to deliver it to the Earl of Sunderland, which he complied with, though against his own opinion, being desirous to have delivered it to the King immediately*. That afterwards, upon the college citation of the Fellows to proceed to an election on the 15th of April, he went to Oxford, where at a meeting of the Fellows on the 15th in order to proceed to an election immediately, he declared his opinion for petitioning the King again as most prudent and dutiful, before they proceeded to an election, the King having interposed his royal pleasure and authority, which if it had not been done he readily acknowledged, that they not only might but ought to proceed to the election that very instant, according to the express letter of the statute in every particular. That the Vice-president as well as Dr Fairfax and Dr Pudsey, concurred with him in this opinion, but the majority appearing on the other side against such second petition, the election was made, and Dr Hough chosen President, and confirmed afterwards by the Bishop of Winchester their local visitor, though he, Dr Smith, did not give his vote for him. That it was thought necessary, in order to maintain this election, and to keep off the King's displeasure, to address the Duke of Ormond, whose chaplain Mr Hough, had the honour to be, that he would use his interest with the King, and intercede for the college. That a letter was accordingly drawn up, dated April 19, 1687, and sent to him in the country, of which, continues Dr Smith, I was wholly ignorant, much less did I subscribe it, though it appears by the very letter which the Duke of Ormond sent up to Court, that they very knavishly and basely foisted my name into the subscriptions of the Fellows, which forgery I did not discover 'till I read the letter with the subscriptions, printed by Dr Johnston in his vindication of the King's visitatorial power (27) about a year ago, which was matter of amazement to me. Besides they all knew if I had been spoken to, I should never have consented, several things contained in it being contrary to my express declaration and judgment. I did not vote for Mr Hough at all, either in the first nomination or after-scrutiny: but first named two others, and when the majority elected Mr Maynard and Mr Hough to be returned to the thirteen Seniors to chose one of them, I voted for Mr Maynard.

That about the 23d of April a letter written two days before the twenty-first, came from my Lord Sunderland, directed to the Fellows of the college, requiring us to give an account of what had passed at the election the week before, and whether the King's letter mandatory had not been delivered before the election of Mr Hough; to this an answer was framed, to which I told them I could not subscribe, nor approve of the case drawn up in several particulars alledged in it, and therefore I desired to be wholly unconcerned in it for the future as I really was in this

troublesome business, which might have been prevented by our petitioning the King a second time; and upon the reading both of the letter and case, I bid Mr Almont, our Steward and public Notary, take notice, that I disliked several things both in the one and the other; and before him, and in the presence of the Fellows in the Chequer publicly interposed my dissent. After this I refused to be present at other meetings which were had about petitioning the King, and the President accompanied by three or four of the Fellows went up on Wednesday the 27th of April to deliver it. Upon the 6th of June I desired leave of absence for some time and went to London.

Hearing of the intended visitation by the King's Commissioners, he returned to the college on the 14th of October. On Tuesday the 25th the Commissioners having received the King's letters mandatory for the admission of Dr Parker Bishop of Oxford into the Presidentship; they first asked Dr Pudsey whether he would install the Bishop by his proxy, and upon his refusal the question was put to Dr Smith, who read his answer as follows:

My Lords Commissioners, I answer with all humble and dutiful submission to the King's Majesty's authority and your Lordship's visitatorial power, that it is not in my power to do this. Your Lordships, who have deprived Dr Hough, and declared the Bishop of Oxford President, may install him. This method being altogether new and extraordinary, I cannot be satisfied how I can or ought to be the executioner of your Lordship's sentence. Besides, I beg leave to propose a short case to your Lordships, whether, and how I can install or give possession, without being impowered and authorized by a rule out of the High Court of Chancery or King's-bench for my security, if there were nothing of conscience in the case. The Chief Justice answered, that they, acting by authority under the Broad-Seal, had the power of those Courts. I humbly begged their pardon and demurred. Then the Commissioners installed the Bishop, after which, returning to the common room, they proposed this question to every Fellow, will you submit to the Bishop of Oxford now installed President, by virtue of the King's mandate, to which Dr Smith's answer was: I own from my heart, and acknowledge the King's supremacy; I do now, and always will pay all dutiful and humble obedience to his Majesty's authority, and this out of a principle of conscience and loyalty, as becomes a Priest of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England established by Law. I have made no exception to the legality of your Lordship's commission, nor to the exercise of it in this present visitation. I am ready and willing to obey *in licitis et honestis*, the President, whom the King has been pleased to constitute President, whenever he shall come and reside in the college (28).

Friday October 28. The Commissioners telling the Fellows that they had received an express that morning from London, wherein the King required, that the Fellows should acknowledge their disobedience, in contesting his authority, ordered that they should make this acknowledgment in a writing under their hands. In this affair, says Dr Smith, I was wholly unconcerned, as to any kind of obligation lying upon me, to join in such an address, who had been absent from the college, with statutable leave, during the heat of the contest (the Fellows refusing my advice for deferring the election, 'till the King had been petitioned a second time: which method, if it had been followed, had prevented all the troubles which fell upon the college). The Commissioners, upon my saying thus much, acknowledged that I was not obliged, nor was a subscription required of me (as is subtilly, but most falsely suggested, in the printed relation) (29); who was so far from being press'd, as is there said, that I was not so much as spoken to. But, however, after some little demurr, I went up to the hall, where the Fellows were retired to discourse with several of them, and interpose my advice. I told them, they might make their acknowledgment in such a form, as might neither displease the Commissioners, nor prejudice themselves; as that we are heartily sorry to have incurred your Majesty's displeasure; and that if, in the management of this cause, we have done any thing amiss tending that way, we humbly beg your Majesty's pardon; or to this purpose. I told them, moreover, that I would not accuse them, but that I was to defend myself; that in the management of the best cause, there might be misbehaviour and miscarriage, and therefore

* The reason for this will appear presently.

(27) P. 11, 12, 13.

(28) He says that, foreseeing what would happen, he had wrote these answers down in his pocket-book.

(29) P. 37, 38.

therefore I begged them, for God's sake, very earnestly, that they would consider what they had to do. But I not prevailing, they drew up a paper, which being subscribed, they went down with it to the common room, to present it to the Commissioners. As soon as it was read, the Commissioners said, it was not a paper to be offered: that they had offered more in a former address, which was read: and that it was not agreeable, but directly repugnant, to the submission made on Tuesday. The Bishop of Chester adding, that it was *protestatio contra factum*, Dr Bailey desired to explain himself as to the paper, that by the word submit, they only meant, that they would not oppose; and that as to owning the Bishop of Oxford President, they had no such design or meaning. This appeared to me, says Dr Smith, matter of astonishment, for that the submission was made after the Commissioners had installed him.

Reflecting upon this interpretation, I have said, continues he, several times to them, If we may fasten an interpretation upon words, contrary to their plain, obvious, and common sense and meaning, let us henceforward cease to condemn and preach against the jesuitical wicked doctrine of equivocation and mental reservation: and that if we now thought ourselves bound to observe the founder's statutes *ad literam* in every particular, and that we could not be dispensed with from them, as we have been dispensed with formerly in diverse instances, and especially about elections, we ought to take shame to ourselves, by a publick acknowledgment, that we have lain so long under those fatal errors, and do penance for our manifest and wilful perjuries.

After the general submission made by all the Fellows except, Dr Fairfax, and all the college besides, except the under-porter, both of whom were expelled, I observed, that there was great dissatisfaction taken by several at this their compliance, blaming them for leaving Dr Fairfax in the lurch; and besides, they were piqued by Mr Obadiah Walker and his party's upbraiding them, that they durst not stand it out: and it being commonly said in the town by the ordinary people, *Here is your Magdalen-college conscience*, besides other motives, they thought fit to evacuate their submission, by this equivocal interpretation.

Tuesday November 15 The same Commissioners came to town, being brought in by three troops of horse, and were lodged in the college.

That night I was sent for to the President's lodgings by the Bishop of Oxford, not knowing in the least that the Commissioners were with him, forbearing to visit him above once or twice at most, upon his taking possession of the lodgings, notwithstanding our intimate friendship many years before, which I then chiefly waded, to avoid all possible umbrage of me. I was surprized at the sight of them, where we had but little discourse, and that of indifferent things; only, before I took my leave, Baron Jenner took me aside, and asked me very seriously, Doctor, I pray tell me, when you delivered the petition of the college to my Lord President? I told him, upon the faith of an honest man and a Christian, that it was on Sunday the 10th of April. Afterward, the Bishop of Chester invited me to his chamber, and asked me the same question, which I answered word for word as before I did to Baron Jenner. He further asked, when I had my answer? I told him, on Wednesday the 13th of April, and that I would attest it upon oath, if there was any doubt or denial of it. This brought into my mind what the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Ironside, told me, that in a discourse the King was pleased to have with him, when he was in Oxford, in September, about our college, his Majesty aggravated the undutifulness and rudeness of the Fellows, in not petitioning him, and representing our case to him before the election. The Vice-Chancellor interposing, said, that he had heard we had done it: the King answered, Ay, after the election was over. This, continues our author, seemed demonstration, that the Earl of Sunderland did not deliver our petition in good time (30), and which I concluded fully was the reason, why Baron Jenner and the Bishop of Chester were so inquisitive to know the exact time from me.

The Bishop of Chester told me, that I had a great enemy in the Cabinet-Council, called just before they came away. I asked him who were present? He said, the Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Lord Privy-Seal, the Marquis of Powis, Father Peter, the Earl of Castlemain, and I think he said Bishop Leybourn. He

would not tell me who the Lord was, but left me to guess, as I did easily; but he said the King was pleased after all to say, that he was fully satisfied as to my behaviour.

In the interval between the Commissioners going away and return, I was soon convinced, that the Fellows were encouraged to persist in their opposition to the King by several great men at London; that they should be taken care of, in case they were expelled; that they would be looked upon as confessors for the Protestant religion, and such like plausible arguments, with which they were wrought upon; so that it was very easy to foresee, that, upon their non submission, the Commissioners came with full power to expel them.

Wednesday November 16. The Commissioners met in the common room, and the buttery-book being sent for afterwards, upon reading the King's mandate for the admission of Mr William Joyner, who had been Fellow of the college about forty years before, and lost his Fellowship by turning Papist, and Mr Job Allibon, brother to the Judge of that name, they were admitted and their names registred, both of them taking only the oath required by the founder. The names of all the Fellows were called over, and certificates were produced in behalf of several of the absent Fellows, which were read and allowed. Dr Younger was excused, upon the account of his attendance upon the Princess of Denmark. The names of the rest, who had not taken the like care to get themselves excused, were noted down. Soon after, the Bishop of Chester made a long speech, recapitulating the whole affair. All being ordered to withdraw but the Fellows, the Commissioners required such of them, and only such, as had contended with the King (for I was not so much as spoken to, much less pressed, as is basely and falsely suggested (31) in the printed pamphlet, intituled, (31) P. 37, 38. *An Impartial Relation of the whole Proceedings against St Mary Magdalen college in Oxon.* which is very partial and faulty in several particulars relating to me), to subscribe the following paper.

Here follows the petition, &c. as in p. 37. of the printed account. The expulsion being read soon after, Dr Smith then proceeds.

After the expulsion of my colleagues, which they had brought upon themselves, I being extremely concerned for them, resolved that very minute to go to London, and live there.

Accordingly he set out on Friday November 18, and staid at London all that winter, and part of the following year (32), till he was expelled from his Fellowship by Bishop Giffard, the then President, and Popish Fellows, and went down to Oxford a few days after, to remove his books, bedding, and other furniture of his chamber.

Upon my coming to town, continues he, I found the whole transaction of the affair relating to the college generally condemned, the King arraigned, as guilty of arbitrary government, in turning men out of their freeholds, the Commissioners loaded with calumnies, for executing the King's pleasure, and acting, as they said, against Law, in defence of a prerogative, which those revilers would not acknowledge due to the Crown, and myself bespattered with horrible, scandalous, and diabolical reflections; as that I was a Papist, or at least would soon declare myself such; that I had perjuriously violated my founder's statutes; and that by this compliance I was making my court to get preferments, and such like stuff. I confess it troubled me extremely to be thus calumniated, knowing that in the whole affair I acted according to my judgment and conscience; upon which I did not chuse to rely wholly, though I might have done it safely, knowing, from the registers of the college, what had been done in the like cases by our predecessors, and especially in Dr Walter Haddon's case, who was a lay-gentleman, and bred up in the university of Cambridge in the time of King Edward the Sixth; in that of Dr Bond, under Queen Elizabeth; of Dr Oliver, who was recommended by King Charles the First (though the King, then in Oxford, was assured, that the election would light neither upon Dr Oliver, or another of his Majesty's chaplains; the King saying, as I have been most credibly informed, that he would send his letters however); and in those of Dr Pierce and Dr Clerke, at which latter I was present*; and in the elections and admissions of Fellows (to the formalities of which we were as much obliged by statute), whenever the King thought fit to interpose his royal authority. Besides, I

(32) A letter dated January the nineteenth, had been sent to him by Mr Char-nock then Vice-President, citing him to come to the college; but he slighted the citation, and did not think fit to answer the foolish letter, (so he calls it) and left them to proceed against him as they pleased.

* In the case of Haddon the statutes were overruled, on account of the Reformation, as then established by act of Parliament. Life of Walter Haddon, prefixed to his Poemat. Lib. duo, Lond. 1592, 8vo. and as to Bond, Oliver, Pierce, and Clarke, they were or had been all Fellows of the college, and statutorily qualified. See Impartial Relation, &c. p. 21. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 280. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 858. So that none of these cases are like the present one, as is alleged by Dr Smith.

(31) This he had apprehended from the first, which was the reason of his insisting so much as he did, upon petitioning the King a second time, before they proceeded to an election.

say, not relying upon my own understanding, I consulted both divines and civilians as to my behaviour in this perplexed affair, whose judgment, which could be no ways biased, agreed with mine. Hereupon, to do myself right, and to vindicate my injured fame and credit, I found myself obliged to give a particular relation of my behaviour in the whole transaction, so far as I was concerned, either at the election or visitation, which I sent to my friend Dr William Lloyd, Lord Bishop of St Asaph, in a letter dated November 24; which satisfied his Lordship; who, as much as he disliked the exercise of the King's visitatorial power at that time, and the behaviour of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical affairs, and for visiting the Universities either at London or Oxford, did me the justice to vindicate me in the midst of all the clamours raised upon me (as did several other persons), whenever a discourse happened to be started about me. I, finding that the case was either through ignorance misunderstood, or through malice and design perverted, to run down the King and his authority royal, in interposing in college elections, and that not one in a thousand has a right notion of it, designed to publish that letter, to satisfy my friends, that I was not so black a criminal as some of my maligners represented me to be; and therefore consulted and advised with Bishop Lloyd, whether I ought not to lay open the whole affair to the view of the world, at least to publish the letter written to him; which he would by no means give way to, or advise me to do, adding, among other reasons, that hereby I should but gratify the Jesuits; and this afterwards was the opinion of Dr Thomas Tenison (33), whom, in Bishop Lloyd's absence, and by his particular desire, I now and then consulted upon some emerging difficulty.

(33) Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

I can justly say it, and I appeal to God Almighty, the searcher of all hearts, that in the course of my life, in matters relating to the publick, I have endeavoured to discharge a good conscience; and that, the Grace of God assisting me, I have abhorred, and, the same Grace assisting me, shall continue to abhor, a wilful and designed contradicting the lights and directions of my conscience, or doing any thing contrary to it, though it were to gain the best preferment in the Church, or to save my life. And as to the other crimination, of my being a Papist, or would at least become such, I need only appeal to all who know me intimately, both before and since, and to the several theological writings which I have published in Latin and English, in which I have defended the doctrine of the Church of England against the Papists, to render it absurd, false, and incredible. It was a grievous affliction to me, to be so unworthily reproached by my brethren of the Clergy: one of whom brake out in a coffee-house into scurrilous language against me, such as was fitter for a rude, ill-bred, and hair-brained porter, than a scholar, a gentleman, or priest. But I have lived to see this man especially (with several other of my severe censurers), notwithstanding their pretended zeal at that time, in the defence of the Church of England against Popery (which certainly is the duty of every honest and conscientious clergyman of this Church), renounce his oaths, faith, declarations, and formerly avowed principles, and swear allegiance to an usurper, and justify all the villainies of the late Revolution.

Our author then takes notice, that collections were not long after made for the expelled Fellows, and the news being sent over into Holland, with many aggravating circumstances, the Princess of Orange sent over 200*l.* to be distributed among them, as one of the Fellows afterwards told him. After which he proceeds thus:

That night [of November 24] having sent away my letter, by a sure hand, to Bishop Lloyd: in the morning a gentleman came to me to my lodging, telling me, that the King hearing I was in town, commanded me to come to his levee the next morning: which was extremely surprizing to me. Friday morning, November 25, I went to Whitehall. The King was then under the Barber's hand; several lords and gentlemen attending, as is usual. Soon after, the King admitted me to the honour of kissing his hand, and called me into his closet; where he said, he had heard well of me, and that I was a loyal and honest man. I answered, that I had endeavoured to do my duty to his Majesty, as became a loyal and honest man, for which I suffered a thousand reproaches. He bid me not to value them; and then he was pleased to tell

me, that he had a letter from the Bishop of Oxon, that the demies were mutinous. I said, that I had endeavoured to satisfy some of them, but I feared they were not to be wrought upon. The King was pleased to add these very words, The college has been mutinous and factious ever since my brother was restored. Some little discourse happened, about my having lived some time at Constantinople; and I thought fit to acquaint the King, that of late I had not been constantly resident in the college, but lived in London; which I thought proper to say, because I resolved to go down no more, while things continued in this disorderly condition. After this short stay, the King said, *Doctor, I thank you, I will stand by them who stand by me, you shall find it so*, or words to that purpose. I most humbly thanked his Majesty, and was dismissed (34).

(34) When he returned to his lodging, he set down this discourse while it was fresh in his memory.

Notwithstanding the King's gracious intentions, proceeds he, towards me, I never made any kind of application to his Majesty, either by Protestant or Romanist; and at that time dreaded preferment, as much as others were ambitious of it, and courted it; and scorned to make a visit to my Lord Sunderland, who, to make his court the better, had renounced his religion, and was premier minister (35); much more to the Jesuit Peters, whose face I never saw, but once *en passant*, though invited thereunto by one who had a considerable interest in them both; for though I might have pretended, with some tolerable kind of allowance, to a Prebend in the church of Windsor, which King Charles was pleased to promise me, or to a Prebend in Westminster, for which Archbishop Sancroft, of his own accord, without my request or suggestion, told me, that he would speak to the King [James] in my behalf; his Grace thinking it most agreeable for me to live in London, as well as others, who I saw advanced to great dignities in the Church: yet after that the troubles in the college had happened, I made it my business and endeavour to avoid it; and I thanked God heartily, that no preferment was forced upon me. So much do I prefer the credit and reputation of having acted according to my judgment in the affair of the college, before the best preferment which fell afterwards in the King's gift, though it had been the Bishoprick of Oxford, which not long after was vacant by the death of Bishop Parker; who being succeeded by Dr Giffard, titular Bishop of Madaura, in the Presidency, the college began to fill with Papists, and our author was expelled the third of August, 1688 (36).

(35) The Doctor intimates his opinion, that his Lordship influenced Father Peters in sending the twelve Popish Fellows to Magdalen, and expelling the Protestants, in the general design to embarrass the King's affairs, and render him more odious to his Protestant subjects. In which last sentiment our author was not singular.

But upon the address of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and several other Bishops, October 3, to the King to restore the President and Fellows. His Majesty, on the 12th of that month, ordered the Bishop of Winchester to settle the Society regularly and statutablely, which that Bishop shewed to our author and Dr Younger. In pursuance hereof, a citation was set up on the chapel gate, October 16, warning the President, Fellows, and all persons concerned to meet the Visitor there on the 2d of November following, by which time the Popish Fellows were ordered to be gone, which was a strain of the Bishop's civility to them. My Lord of Canterbury, and several others of great quality hearing of this delay, signified their just displeasure at it. Of which, the Bishop being sensible he hastens to Oxford on Saturday the 20th of October, anticipating the time prescribed by him in his instrument almost a fortnight, upon the security of which, continues our author, I staid in London. He was extremely blamed for deferring it, and might if he had pleased at first have gone directly to Oxford, where a great many of the Fellows upon the news of the designed restoration were come already, and the King knew nothing, but that he had before this time obeyed his orders, and restored the college.

(36) Upon this occasion, he went to the college, removed his books and furniture, and after staying three or four days in a private lodging in the town, returned to London, without taking any notice of any of the Popish Fellows.

But thus it happened. The King designing to have, on Monday the 22d of October, a great assembly of the Lords, Bishops, and Personages of great quality, dignity, and office, to satisfy them, and by them the whole nation, about the legitimacy of his son the Prince of Wales, and to obviate and confound the villainous and diabolical slander, which was most maliciously spread abroad among the people, by his implacable enemies, who were then designing his overthrow and deposition, that it was a supposititious child, among others, took particular care, that the Bishop of Winchester, of whose loyalty at that time his Majesty had a very good opinion, should be sent for to be present, and an express was sent to him accordingly to Farnham. But he being gone thence to Oxford, the express went after him, and delivered him the King's letter

letter

letter for his appearance in the council chamber on Monday. He not knowing the meaning and reason of the King's order delivered to him on Saturday night, was resolved to be gone early the next morning for London, without retorning the college. The Fellows hearing of his intended sudden departure went to St John's-college, where his Lordship lodged, and importuned him to restore them that morning, urging that the whole might be done in an hour or two's time; and upon his refusing to comply with their earnest request, they used very rude expressions towards him, which put my Lord into a very grievous passion, and he made his coachman drive away, as some of the Fellows told me.

On Monday about one o'Clock in the afternoon, I spoke to him in the gallery at Whitehall, and asked his Lordship when he would return to Oxford, he said on Wednesday. That afternoon I hired a couple of horses and a man, and went to Beconsfield that night, and the next day to Oxford. The Bishop got thither on Wednesday the 24th, and restored and resettled the college the next day in the morning, being the 25th.

In the pamphlets, which were soon after published, giving an account of the Revolution, and in order to the justification of the wickedness and villany of it, this accidental delay of our being restored, which is wholly to be imputed to the Bishop of Winchester, is horribly misrepresented, particularly by Mr Bohun, and afterwards by Mr Tirryl, and by the whole litter of envenomed lying scriblers, upon this idle, absurd, and forged pretence, that by the post just before the Bishop was sent for back, there came news, that the Dutch had on the 16th of the said month suffered much in a storm, and that they would not be able to sail 'till the spring, and that therefore the Bishop of Winchester was commanded to desist, and the order given to him for restoring the college was revoked, which was a horrible lye. The King knowing nothing all the while, but that the college had been restored, before he sent for the Bishop to be present in that august assembly, which was the only reason he was sent to, and not in the least to hinder or defeat the restoration of the college, as those villainous writers have most falsely and wickedly asserted. The Visitor returning in four or five days to Farnham, our author designed to return to London. But the President desiring him to stay to help settle the college, and make up the perplexed accounts of it, he complied. And, continues he, upon a diligent search and inspection, we found our writings and muniments safe the old gold in the Tower which we wanted, untouched and entire, the plate left as we left it, and nothing as I remember missing. But after the Visitor's departure I quickly found that I was an eye sore to several of my colleagues, who neither would nor could, it seems, forgive me for my behaviour at the election and visitation, which cast such a reflection upon them. And the King's affairs being now more and more embroiled, they grew insolent, many of them having gotten the victory over the King, and the whole nation, as they fancied, on their side; and being thus got again into possession of the college, some of the junior Fellows especially began to shew their malice and revenge upon me, taking occasion in the common room, or in the cloysters, to assault and abuse me with base, dirty, and opprobrious language, for my not joyning with them. All this I could easily have digested, 'till my old friend Mr Dodwel acquainted me, that he had just then heard that both President and Fellows, endeavoured to prepossess the Visitor when lately in town, with a design to expel me. This, I confess, put me out of all patience, and filled me with equally great trouble and indignation, and made me almost resolve, whatever the effect of this barbarous usage might be, to quit the college, (as the lesser evil of the two) where I had so many open maligners, and others, who seemed to carry all things fair with me, and treated me outwardly with respect, thus secretly to envy me*. Though I could not give an entire credit to Mr Dodwel's information, especially as to what concerned the President, whose pretensions of respect and friendship were never greater than at that time, and who, I hoped and believed, abhorred the very thought of being in that black design against me; yet I thought fit not to slight it, but the same day, October 31, I wrote to my friend the Bishop of St Asaph; it concerning me, both in point of reputation and interest, to prevent the mischief from falling upon me.

The pretence was that I had assisted Dr Johnston in the composition of his book, intitled, *The King's visitatorial power asserted*, &c. He mentioning me there with honour, and citing my diary (37) in three or four places. The case in short lies thus. I had made an acquaintance with this worthy, honest, and learned gentleman in the year 1671, at Pontefract in Yorkshire, where he then lived, and where I continued several days, taking a progress that summer with one of our Yorkshire Fellows into the north parts of England, which in all my perambulations I had not seen before, and whose friends lived in that town. This acquaintance quickly grew up into a strict and dear friendship, which was afterwards kept up by a correspondence of letters, during his stay in Yorkshire, and after his coming to live in London. The King being made acquainted with the loyalty and worth of this gentleman, and his great skill in the history, antiquities, and laws of England, and his industrious researches into old records, gave him a considerable pension, to render the loss of his practice as a Physician, (and certainly a learned and judicious one) which he could not if otherwise employed, attend with constancy and assiduity, less uneasy: and his chief province was to defend the rights and prerogatives of the Crown, which were then attacked by several little writers, with design to inflame the nation, under the pretence of liberty and property, against the encroachments of arbitrary power. These calumnies were levelled against the King, not so much for his being of the Roman communion (though of this they made great advantage, in order first to lessen him in the minds of the people, and turn their minds against him, and afterwards to abdicate and dethrone him) as for his being a King. For they were the same with which they had aspersed the King his father of blessed memory, who died a martyr for the Church of England. This gentleman then was to give a true and impartial relation of the Visitation of our college, and to that end had all the papers and register of the Commissioners, both in London and at Oxford, which related to that affair, put into his hands. He was so civil as to consult me about what concerned myself merely as matter of fact. I read several things out of my diary to him, and at the same time acquainted him particularly with what the Lord Chief Justice said, as I had put it down in my note-book; whose words I found in the prints, and in common discourse, to have been horribly perverted to his great prejudice and dishonour; and for the Doctor's further satisfaction afterwards, I gave him a copy of a declaration or two I made, which only concerned myself, which he has printed. But as to any matter of arguments, statutes, customs, usages, and practices of the college in other visitations, and the like, I never communicated to him one syllable, or gave him the least light: for if I had designed it, things had been urged in several particulars with greater strength and authority. But he mentioning in the close of his book, that a member of the college had written a tract upon that subject; it was presently concluded that I was the person. Tho' when I challenged the Doctor upon it, and desired him to acquaint me who that Fellow was, he told me that it was Mr Charnock, some of whose papers he had seen, whose name I told him he ought to have mentioned to take off all possible umbrage and suspicion from me. This silly and false suggestion was the only ground of the accusation secretly managed against me; which soon after fell, and I heard no more of it (38).

Our author proceeds to mention several particulars relating to Oxford, after the arrival of the Prince of Orange, and among the rest observes, that an association paper was signed by the Vice Chancellor, several Heads of College, and some of the Canons of Christ-Church (39), to stand by that Prince. But that Dr Turner, Dr Adams, Dr Bury, Dr Halton, Dr Mills, Dr South, &c. refused to subscribe it, as he was told by one of the non subscribers. Reflecting, says he, upon the horrible defection of these very heads of college, and others, who had been so zealous for the passing of the famous Decretum in a full Convocation 21 July 1683, and now renouncing that doctrine and their loyalty, and entering into a confederation or association in defence of the Prince of Orange, who came to pull the King his uncle and father-in-law out of his throne, and usurp his crown. I soon after vented my just indignation against such baseness and wickedness, in these following lines:

(37) So he calls this MS.

(38) He staid at Oxford 'till August 1, and then went to London. His suspension from his preferments, for refusing the oaths, taking place on that day, by the Act of Parliament for that purpose.

(39) Viz. On Wednesday, December 12. Prince George came to Oxford the same day; and the Princess [afterwards Queen] Anne, came thither on the fifteenth.

* So in the MS.

In associationem a quibusdam Academia Oxoniensis
Doctoribus initam.

Nuper sacrilegos infandi schismatis ausus,
Atque monarchomos, perculit Oxonia:
Oxonia antiquæ fidei, verique Magistra,
Regibus effuso sanguine fida suis
Unde hæc fluxa fides? hæc inconstantia morum?
Scottorum fœdus sic revocare decet?
Fallimur. En matrem non hæc infamia tangit,
Dediscunt pauci, quam docet illa, fidem.

The accounts of the college being pretty well settled, the Doctor went with leave to London about the middle of January, and soon after visited Lord Preston, to ask his advice about going to the King in France, in which he was discouraged by his Lordship. On the 12th of April, the day after the coronation, he went to Oxford, to preach before the university on Sunday following; and he did accordingly, and his sermon was printed soon after the news came of the dismal earthquake at Jamaica, under the title of, *A Discourse concerning Divine Providence, in relation to National Judgments*. London, 1693. But the licence could not be obtained from the Bishop of London's chaplain, before he had struck out two or three passages, which he said reflected upon the government. Our author had been ejected from his Fellowship at Magdalen-tide, 1692, but not before the following letter from Dr Hough, the President, and now Bishop of Oxford, was put into his hands on July 4, 1692, by Mr Shaw, to whom it was thus directed:

To William Shaw, Esq; at his house in St James's street.

' My dear brother,
' You have a neighbour on the other side of the street, Dr Thomas Smith, Fellow of this college, to whom I must beg the favour of you to deliver a message in the name of myself and this society, viz. that we desire he will come down to Oxford and take the oaths, or send us a certificate of his having done some time before the 22d of this month, otherwise we can no longer forbear to elect another person into

' his place. You may assure him, it is not without a great deal of reluctance we proceed to this extremity; but we have received a fresh command from the Queen, by the Judges of the Assize, requiring us to tender the oaths again to all such as have not taken them, and to execute the laws immediately upon such as refuse. I am,

' Dear Sir,

' Your most affectionate friend,

' And faithful servant,

' J. O. OXON.'

To this Dr Smith returned an answer the next day, in these terms:

' S I R,

' I desire you to give my thanks to the President for his civilities, which I shall always acknowledge; and withal to acquaint him, that I cannot come down to Oxford upon the account for which I am summoned; much less can I or shall I send a certificate, as I am required, preferring the peace of my mind and the satisfaction of my conscience before the enjoying of my Fellowship, which, for the sake of my principles, I am ready to lose and be dispossessed of: and that with the same (not to say a greater) willingness and alacrity as I was first chosen and admitted to it. That I wish all happiness and prosperity to the college: and that I shall, during the remainder of the time, which, by the good providence of God, I have to live, endeavour to serve it, as I may, and as I ought, to the utmost of my power.
July 5, 1692.

(40) N. B. To note (a) add, And Thoresby's Leeds, &c. who says, this family is remarkable for eminent men and learned writers. And to note (1) prefix, From tradition in the family. In note (3) dele families remarkable, &c. And in remark [C], note (8), for Stockton read Stainton.

The reader sees in this extract, several instances of those long periods that render this writer's style a little intricate, as is remarked under his [preceding] article. In which we shall take this opportunity of supplying some particulars there omitted. As that the Doctor was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and some time Keeper of the Cottonian Library. As also, that he left all his manuscripts, and some printed books, to Mr Hearne, who bequeathed them, by his Will, to Dr William Bedford, son of Hilkia Bedford, mentioned in remark [B] of the subsequent article (40).

(a) This name was given him in respect to his godfather, Sir George Wheeler, Knt.

(b) In 1736, he was a benefactor to the new buildings, then carrying on by his uncle at the college.

SMITH [GEORGE] (a), of Burnhall in the county of Durham, Esq; eldest son of the preceding, was born at Durham, May 7, 1693; and after laying a good foundation of classical learning at Westminster school, was sent to St John's-college in Cambridge. But he continued there only about two years, being removed to the sister university, and entered May 1, 1711, of Queen's-college, as well in regard to this being his uncle's college (b), as also for the sake of having the learned Mr Edward Thwaites [A] for his tutor, who was a friend and correspondent of his father; and being well skilled in the septentrional literature, was the means of this his pupil's becoming a perfect master of the Saxon language, in which his father also took some pains to instruct him. He afterwards removed to the Inner Temple in London, in the view of studying the Law; and he made a great proficiency in it, especially in the more genteel and historical branch, his fortune setting him above pursuing the lucrative part by practice, for which he also became disqualified by not complying to the government. This principle carried him into the Nonjuring Church, in which he took Holy Orders, and was made titular Bishop of Durham. He imbibed these notions from his uncle, the learned Mr Hilkia Bedford [B], whose daughter

[A] His Tutor Mr Edward Thwaites.] This gentleman, then Fellow of Queen's-college, was likewise Regius Professor of Greek in the university. Besides his accurate skill in the Greek and Latin tongues, as appears by his editions of Longinus and Ephraim Syrus, made himself a master of the ancient Septentrional languages. He supervised not only Dr Hickeys two books of those languages for seven years successively, while they were printing at the Theatre in Oxford, but gave the world the Saxon Heptateuch with King Alfred's preface, in a correct and beautiful edition, and encouraged Christopher Rawlinson, Esq; a gentleman of the college to publish King Alfred's Saxon version of Boethius *de consolatione philosophiæ*. Our Professor also published a short critical grammar, entitled *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica ex Hiccesiano linguarum Septentrionalium Thesaurò excerpta*, which is much esteemed. He did not long survive the publication of this ingenious performance. He had the misfortune by a fall from his horse to break his leg, which being cut off by a surgeon, who had not properly se-

cured the stump, an effusion of blood ensued in the night, when having no person with him, he with much ado got out of bed, and had the courage and resolution to sear it with his poker then in the fire. He died December 12, 1711, at the age of forty-four years, and was buried in Isley church near Oxford (1).

[B] Hilkia Bedford.] This famous Nonjuring writer was the second son of Helkia Bedford of Sibsey near Boston in Lincolnshire, (an ancient seat of the family) some time a merchant of London, by Mary his wife, eldest daughter to Richard Gardiner, Esq; of Thame in Oxfordshire, whose wife Anne was second daughter to William Plat of Highgate (2). The founder of several Fellowships and Scholarships in St John's-college Cambridge, Mr Bedford was born in Hosier-lane, London, July 23, 1663, and was burnt out of his father's house by the great fire in 1666. He was admitted of St John's college, Cambridge, November 4, 1679, the first scholar of Mr Plat's foundation, of which he likewise became a Fellow. He was afterwards introduced to the patronage of Heneage Finch, Earl

(1) See his monument, in Le Neve, Vol. V. p. 226.

(2) Son and heir of Sir Hugh Plat of Kirkeley castle and Bednal-green, author of a famous piece, intitled, The Garden of Eden, of which see some account in Sir Walter Raleigh's article.

daughter Christian, by Ellis his wife, second daughter to William Cooper, of Scarborough, Esq; he afterwards married; and she brought him a numerous issue, whereof only two daughters survived his death [C], which happened, after a very short illness, on the fourth of November, 1756. He was buried, according to his own request, in the church-yard joining to the chancel-wall of the church at Elwick, in which parish his seat of Burn-hall is situated. He is represented as an universal scholar. The Philosopher, it is said, found no science out of the reach of his comprehensive genius, nor the masters of polite literature any graces in the classics, which had escaped his observance. He was particularly knowing in Antiquities, and had a curious collection of that kind [D]. But he applied himself much to the study of controversial points, as appears by several excellent tracts which he published of that kind, to which, through his great modesty, he never put his name. One of the latest of these pieces is intituled, *Britons and Saxons not converted to Popery, in answer to a Popish book, bearing the title of England's Conversion and Reformation compared.* He also supplied Mr Carte with some materials for his History of England. But he is chiefly known in the republick of letters, by the edition of Bede's Historical Works (e), which was prepared for the press by his father, and published by this son at Cambridge, in 1722, folio, in a pompous manner, comprizing the venerable Father's Latin and King Alfred's Saxon version, compared with ancient manuscripts; as also all his other historical works, with variety of remarkable readings, and brief but learned and useful notes; to which is added, his Life and Character, with curious remarks, &c. according to his father's direction, and some few additions prefixed by himself. An Abridgment of Bede, with his Life and explanatory notes, translated into English from this edition, was published the following year in 8vo.

(e) See an account of this work, in Dr Hickes's Dedication to his Sermons, Vol. I. as also in Thoresby's Catalogue of MSS. in his Topography of Leeds, &c.

(1) Carter's History of Cambridge, as before.

(4) Salmon's Chronological Historian, under the year 1714. The real author of this piece was one Harbin, a nonjuring clergyman, and the preface was written by Theoph. Downes, once a Fellow of Balliol-college in Oxford. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 317. note (x), edit. 1753.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, by Hearne, Vol. II. p. 122. Mr Bedford also wrote the preface to Dr Hickes's Defence of the Miracle of the Thurnham Legion, published in 1714.

(6) He was appointed Nov. 27. 1726. From the register of that Hospital.

(7) From private information.

(8) The author of this book, Simon Dunelmensis, was a Monk, and Precentor of Durham, anno 1164. See Selden's article.

* Of a daughter that died soon after.

Earl of Winchelsea, to whom he was a constant companion and friend; but was deprived of his preferments in 1689, upon refusing to take the oaths to the new government (3). In April 1714, being tried in the Court of King's-Bench, before Lord Chief-Justice Parker, for writing, printing, and publishing, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted*, in answer to Dr Higden's *View and Defence*, he was sentenced to pay a fine of a thousand marks, to remain a prisoner three years, and to give security for his good behaviour during life (4). He likewise published an English translation, done by himself, from the French, of an answer to Fontenelle's History of Oracles; with a continuation of the same, in which is inserted a letter of Mr Baker, the Antiquarian and his fellow-colleague, to him; wherein that gentleman observes, that the translator had scarce finished one laborious task, when he found himself obliged to undertake another of more labour and less satisfaction. Mr Bedford also published the Latin life of Dr Barwick, which he likewise translated into English, with additions, and published it in 1724, 8vo. He also supplied Mr Hearne the Antiquary with Bishop Fisher's oration before King Henry VII. at Cambridge, anno 1507 (5). Our author had by his wife abovementioned, 1. Dr William Bedford, late Physician to Christ's hospital London (6), and register of the College of Physicians there, of which he was a Fellow and Censor, when he took the oaths as a qualification for that office (7). 2. Mr Thomas Bedford of Ashburn in Derbyshire, the editor of *Historia Ecclesie Dunelmensis* (8), published, with his notes, in 1732, 8vo. 3. Dr John Bedford, a Physician at Durham, who married to his first wife a daughter of William Davison, of Bemish in that county, Esq; sister to the lady of Sir Robert Eden of Westaukland. His second wife was Elizabeth, third daughter of Posthumus Smith, Esq; Commissary and Official-general of the Archdeaconry of Durham. He had also a third wife, Dulubella Horseman, one of the co-heiresses of Edward Horseman, of Stretton in Rutlandshire, Esq; but has issue only by his second marriage.

[C] *Whereof only two daughters survived him.* These were, 1. Anne, who married Anthony Salvin, Esq; of Croxdale and Sunderland-bridge in the county of Durham. 2. Elizabeth, who married Rowland Burdon of Newcastle in Northumberland, Esq; who was heir to his uncle John Reeve, Esq; of Great-Milton in Oxfordshire; she died in childbed * April 8, 1758, and was buried at Sedgfield, leaving issue a son, Rowland Burdon, born December 8, 1756. His grandfather, Rowland Burdon, married Martha, daughter of John Reeve, who was son to Mr Reeve of London, by Anne his wife, sister to Francis Nourse, Esq; of Woodcote in the county of Oxford, and became heir to his uncle Reeve, a rich Spanish merchant, who dying in November, 1757, worth about 100000l. left the best part of it to the said Rowland Burdon, his nephew, and the rest to his youngest nephew, John Burdon, Esq;

of Great-Milton. This family of Burdon, which came from Stockton near Durham, took the name of Rowland for three successions, from a marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Rowland Wetherell of Stockton; by which marriage there was a prior alliance to the family of the Smiths.

Our author, George Smith, Esq; had also a son, John Smith of Durham, M. D. who lived to the age of maturity. He was educated at Edinburgh, where applying himself to the study of Physic, he gave very extraordinary proofs of his abilities, of which he left a specimen, in a book he published, intituled, *Commentarius Medicus de aphthis nostratibus, seu Belgarum Spruv.* Lond. 1749, 8vo. He also published an elegant Latin thesis upon the theory of Physic, an exercise for his degree of Doctor in that faculty, which he took in November, 1747. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age. 1752, at Durham, and was buried in Little St Mary's church there, leaving issue an only son George, a minor, by his wife Anne, daughter of Nicholas Shuttleworth of Durham, Esq; a near relation of Richard Shuttleworth, Esq; of Gawthorp-hall in Lancashire, some time Member of Parliament for that county. The said Dr John Smith was a person of great merit, virtue, and skill in his profession, which skill was never more readily and attentively employed, than towards the comfort and relief of the poor. His sole delight, indeed, was in acts of benevolence and charity towards his fellow-creatures. But the character of this ingenious young gentleman is with great truth expressed in the following epitaph:

Would'st thou be told, O reader! whose remains
This peaceful grave in sacred trust contains,
Know it is one whose inoffensive plan
The good approv'd, and dignified the man.
Thro' whose just ways one gentle spirit mov'd,
In all respect'd, and in all below'd.
So in those lights that vary human life,
His duty pleas'd to parent, sister, wife;
To these a friend, to no man else a foe;
His humble mind ev'n merit blush'd to shew:
Thus lov'd enough, tho' not enough enjoy'd,
He hail'd those mansions oft his thoughts employ'd.
In life's gay spring bid the vain world adieu,
And left it's cares and fleeting joys to you (9).

(9) London Magazine, for 1752, p. 288, 331.

[D] *He had a curious collection of antiquities.* Among others, he was possessed of a curious antique pot, found in February 1756, in a field belonging to his estate. It contained 142 pieces of Scottish silver coin, about 300 years old, with which he was much delighted.

(a) This name was given him by Sir Joseph Williamson, who stood godfather at the font, being then on a visit to his friends at Bridekirk, where he was born.

(b) See his article.

(c) See his article.

(d) At this time he had a proposal of marriage made to him from Mrs Sidney, a maiden lady of good birth and fortune; but he declined it then, and she died of the small-pox soon after.

(e) The same favour had been granted to Sir Joseph Williamson, as it was also to Mr Tickel the poet, both some time Fellows of the college.

SMITH [Dr JOSEPH] (a), younger brother to the preceding Dr John Smith, became also an eminent Divine, and was likewise born at Lowther on the 10th of October, 1670, though not baptized 'till the 30th of that month. Losing his father at five years of age, his mother took him, with the rest of her family, to Guisborough in Yorkshire, where he received the first rudiments of Grammar learning: but in the latter end of the year 1681, by the advice of his eldest brother, who had been lately preferred at Durham (b), he was removed to the publick school in that city [A], under Mr Thomas Battersby, some time of Queen's-college in Oxford, a very diligent master; and, as the scholar had two qualities, inclination and genius, which can hardly fail of success, he made a suitable proficiency, and was thought very fit for the university at the age of fifteen. However, for further improvement, he was put under the tuition of Mr Francis Woodmas, then Minor Canon of that cathedral, a gentleman of distinguished learning, and a compleat master of the classics. This step, as well as his removal to Durham, was taken in compliance to the Dean, Dr Denys Granville, who now kindly invited him to his house, which he with pleasure accepted of; and it was of no small advantage to him in his future conduct: for here he received many useful instructions from this worthy patron, in whom he had also an excellent pattern of piety and learning set daily before his eyes. He continued at the Deanery 'till the Revolution; when Dr Granville, not being able to reconcile his conscience to the new government, followed his master King James into France (c). At his departure, he pressed this favourite youth to share his fortunes, giving him the strongest assurances to continue his kindness after their return (for that party much depended upon being recalled). But the young gentleman not being willing to run this risk, nor to lose the opportunity of an university education, which was become his most ardent desire, he resolved now to pursue it; and receiving an account of the arrival of his eldest brother from Madrid soon after, he went with this design to meet him at London. During his short stay at the metropolis, he found, in the room of Dean Granville, another patron in his godfather Sir Joseph Williamson; to whom being now first introduced, he met with a very kind reception. After a short stay (d), he took his leave of his godfather, and departed with his recommendation to Oxford, where he was admitted, May 10, 1689, a scholar upon the foundation at Queen's-college; and being placed under the care of Mr William Lancaster aforementioned, who was now become a noted tutor there, he imbibed such salutary instructions, and acquired such a fund of erudition both in divine and human literature, as rendered him an honour to the College and an ornament to the Church [B]. In 1693, being chosen a Taberder [C] of his college, he took his first degree in Arts in Michaelmas-term that year, and was intent on his studies, when Sir Joseph Williamson took him from the college, by constituting him his Deputy-Keeper of the Paper-office at Whitehall; and Sir Joseph being sent soon after a Plenipotentiary to Ryswick, Mr Smith accompanied him to that treaty [D] as his secretary. While he was abroad in this employ, the University created him Master of Arts by diploma, March 1, 1696. He was likewise elected in his absence Fellow of his college, October 31, 1698, though not in Orders; the want of which qualification, though ordinarily requisite, was dispensed with (e). He continued abroad some time longer with his godfather, making excursions, and visiting several foreign Courts, and observing the constitution and policy of each; upon which he left some memoirs in manuscript, as he did also of the Ryswick treaty: and he had a share in the publication of *The Acts and Negotiations, with the particular Articles at large of that Peace*. In the interim, he kept up a correspondence with several persons of high character and eminent learning, who were of his acquaintance, both at home and abroad, having an excellent talent at the easy and familiar epistolary style, as he was also peculiarly happy in expressing himself in conversation. These extraordinary accomplishments procured him an offer of being promoted in the Secretary's office, by his godfather, which his old friend and associate Mr Prior much persuaded

[A] *He was removed to Durham.*] Soon after his coming thither, an unlucky accident happened to him, which had like to have proved fatal. Being at play with some of his schoolfellows, jumping from one tomb stone to another, in the church-yard, he fell against one of the stones, and cut his skull near the temple very deep. That it was the cause of his left eye sinking a little ever after, which, as he advanced in years, became more perceptible.

[B] *An ornament to the college.*] He had the good fortune to be contemporary with Mr Tanner and Mr Gibson, both afterwards Bishops, and well known in the learned world; and an intimacy was now contracted between the three, which subsisted ever after. Bishop Tanner, in his Will, directed his executor to consult with Dr Smith and Dr Gibson, in conjunction with Dr Conybeare Bishop of Bristol, about a proper person to finish his edition of *Leland de Viris Illustr. & Bostonus Buriensis*; and Dr Gibson, in the publication of his *Quintilian*, and some other authors, engaged the assistance of Mr Smith, who afterwards reaped the fruits of his friendship, as will be seen in the course of this memoir.

[C] *He was now a Taberder.*] The name of Taberder, though lost every where else, still continues in use at Queen's-college, where part of the members of that foundation (1) were usually elected under twelve years of age, and distinguished by that name, from *taberdum*, a short gown they formerly wore, which was a coat without sleeves, or a coat of mail, not unlike that worn by the Heralds of Arms; the coat of arms of the wearer was embroidered on it, on which account vanity brought it into much vogue among the nobility and gentry. The famous Jeffery Chaucer takes notice, in his prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, of a well known inn on St Margaret's-hill, Southwark, noted by the sign of the Taberd.

[D] *He went with Sir Joseph Williamson to Ryswick.*] In the passage there happened such a storm, as put them into imminent danger of being shipwrecked in the river Maes. This incident is related, because it proved an occasion of Mr Smith's manifesting an extraordinary firmness of mind; while most of the company were trembling under the apprehensions of being every moment swallowed up in the gulph, he remained quite composed and resigned.

[E] *Dr*

(1) From a MS. of Dr Langbain, Provost of the college, in the Museum at Oxford. See also Langtoft's Chron. by Hearne, Vol. II. p. 656.

persuaded him to accept. He had also an offer from the Earl of Manchester, Charles Montague, to go with his Lordship as his secretary in his embassy to the Court of France, and another from Sir Philip Meadows, to accompany him in the same character, on his being appointed Envoy to the Court of Vienna. But he gave up all these hopeful prospects for the sake of the Church, to the service of which his pious disposition determined him to dedicate himself. In this resolution, soon after his return in 1700 to Oxford, where he was most welcome received by his friends, and much courted and admired by the politest persons of the university, he took Deacon's and Priest's Orders at Christ-Church, from the hands of Dr William Talbot, then Bishop of that see; upon which occasion he was often heard to say, that when he laid aside his lay-habit, he did it with the greatest pleasure, as looking upon Holy Orders to be the highest honour that could be conferred upon him; and it was not long before he had an opportunity of exercising his new function. Dr Timothy Halton, then Provost of his college [E], being also Archdeacon of the diocese, gave him the donative of Ifley near Oxford, which belongs to the Archdeaconry. At the same time, he appointed him Divinity-lecturer in the college; and how acceptable those favourite discourses, (for so they were called) which he read in the discharge of that office, were to his auditors, is still remembered to his praise. Upon Queen Anne's visiting the university in 1702, Mr Smith was pitched upon to address her Majesty with an oration; and in 1704, being elected Senior-Proctor of the university, he discharged that office with remarkable prudence and diligence, and constantly attended the disputations, and other exercises in the publick schools [F]. Dr Halton dying on the 21st of July this year, Mr Smith's friends proposed him for a candidate to the Provostship, but he declined it, and employed his interest, which was very great, in the behalf of his quondam tutor Dr Lancaster, who by that means carried the election, notwithstanding he had quitted his Fellowship some time before [G]. This gentleman, as well

as

[E] *Dr Timothy Halton, Provost of Queen's-college.* This gentleman was the son of Miles Halton, of Grey-stock in Cumberland, Esq; High-Sheriff of that county, and younger brother to Emmanuel Halton, of Wingfield manor in Derbyshire, Esq; a very good Mathematician and Algebraist (2). Dr Halton was extremely well qualified for so important a post as the Provostship of his college, as also for that of Vice-Chancellor of the university, which he filled with great honour in the most troublesome times, though upon that account he was very hardly prevailed on to undertake it; as appears by some letters from his friends, particularly Bishop Fell, Sir Leoline Jenkins, and Bishop Compton. We shall insert a copy of this last, which is in substance the same with the rest.

Dear Sir,

Give me leave, for the sake of the publick, to make a most unwelcome proposition to you, that you would be content to be Vice-Chancellor one year more; as you are, without a compliment, the most fit and able person. In good truth, this is not very kindly proposed; but the present juncture of affairs seems so earnestly to require it, that I could not contain. This request I hope you will oblige me in, and let me beg of you, in the freedom of friendship, and under the seal of it, to let me know, if any thing may be more particularly grateful to you than another, as some recompence for so great a trust and trouble. And in all things I would desire you to believe me,

Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and brother,

May 2,
1685.

Hen. London.

Dr Halton had very considerable preferments besides the Provostship, being Canon of St David's, Prebendary of Brecknock, and Archdeacon of Llanvais in the said county; as he was likewise Archdeacon of Oxford, he was Rector too of Charleton * upon Otmore, and many years Justice of Peace for Oxfordshire. His first step to preferment was his being made chaplain to Dr Lucy, Bishop of St David's, by whom he was promoted to the dignities in Wales, and he obtained the Archdeaconry of Oxford by the interest of Sir Joseph Williamson. As to his character, he was not only learned in his own profession as a Divine, but well skilled in the Common as well as Canon Law, and no less eminent for keeping up a strict regularity and discipline in the several publick stations to which he was advanced, without regarding persons, or courting favour or rewards †. He had something awful and austere in his look, but was of a humane, friendly, and generous,

disposition. He was a considerable benefactor to his college in his life-time, as well as at his death (3). His corpse was deposited in the old chapel, but has been since removed into the vault under the new one.

[F] *He was a prudent and diligent Proctor.* While he was in this office, he had the appellation of the handsome Smith, being tall and genteel, and of a comely and engaging countenance, in opposition to his colleague Mr Smith, of St John's-college, the junior Proctor, who had a swarthy complexion. Their diligence in attending the publick disputations provoked Mr Tickel's wit, who observed, *there was warm work at the schools, for that the two Smiths made his sparks fly.* In the exercise of this office, coming once to a tavern, he stepped into some company, one of whom happened to be a relation of Prince George of Denmark: upon our magistrate's admonishing them for some irregularity, they began to speak to one another in French disgracefully of him, for so abruptly intruding upon them. Hereupon Mr Smith acquainted them, in the same language, with the nature and duty of his office, which, with his polite address to them, as being foreigners, brought them to behave with much complaisance; so that they prevailed upon him to stay some time with them, and were so much pleased with his conversation, that they gladly complied with his invitation to spend the next evening with him in his college; and always after treated him with great respect.

[G] *Dr Lancaster had quitted his Fellowship some time before.* Upon that account, the election was disputed by his competitor Mr Thompson, who being an actual Fellow, appealed to the Archbishop of York, their Visitor (4). But his Grace confirmed the election, upon the opinion of his commissary, Dr Thomas Bouchier, who heard the cause. Dr Bouchier was likewise Regius Professor of Civil Law in the university, and had the reputation of being one of the ablest and most eminent Civilians of his time. This Provost, Dr Lancaster, was born at Bampton in Westmoreland, and educated at Queen's-college; was some time master of Barton school near Lowther (5), and afterwards became chaplain to Dr Compton, Bishop of London, whose kinswoman he married (6), and was promoted by him to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, as also to the vicarage of St Martin's in the Fields (7). But the Bishop's right of presentation being contested, Dr Gouch was nominated by the other claimant, *pendente lite.* However, the cause being determined in favour of Dr Lancaster, he was confirmed in the vicarage (8). He was some time Vice-Chancellor of the university (9), and had the offer of the Bishoprick of St David's, which he refused, being fond of a collegiate life, and intent upon carrying on the buildings of his college. He had been very early sent abroad, by the order and

(3) Particularly in his donation of an estate at Llanvais, which dropped to him while Archdeacon of Brecknock.

(4) See Mr Thompson's State of his Case, published in 1704, 4to.

(5) See the article of Dr John Smith.

(6) She was a daughter of — Wilmer of Sywell in Northamptonshire.

(7) On the promotion of Dr Tenison to the see of Lincoln.

(8) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. 1. p. 692.

(9) While he held this office, Clarendon's printing-house happened to be finished, and was leased out, together with the privilege of the university to print Bibles, &c. to Mr Basket, who obtained it chiefly by Dr Lancaster's procurement.

at

(2) See Flam-Head's article, and Foster's Mathematical Miscellanies.

* He rebuilt the greatest part of this parsonage-house in 1691, leaving only one wing standing, which had been erected by his predecessor Dr (afterwards Archbishop) Lamplugh.

† In that spirit he refused to sign the Association paper, to stand by the Prince of Orange, as is mentioned in the extract of Dr Thomas Smith's MS. p. 3731.

(f) This was the relic of that famous portable or moving tabernacle, erected by King James II. on Hounslow-Heath, and afterwards refounded here, for the convenience of the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood. Maitland's Survey of London.

(g) See the article of GREEN-VILE [Sir JOHN], in remark [P].

(b) Viz. A couple of handsome silver candlesticks, and his pocket-watch of gold, the case chased and set with diamonds, which his Lordship took from his bed's head, and presented it with his own hands.

(i) Catalogue of Oxford Graduates.

(10) This scheme was further pursued, by founding a professorship in modern languages in each university, to instruct young students there, with the same view, by King George I. at the advice of Lord Townshend, then Secretary of State.

(11) Dr Nicolson was sent at the same time to Vienna. See his article.

(12) This lady, Katharine O'Brien, Baroness Clifton, became the widow of Henry Lord O'Brien, in August 1678; and in December following engaged with Sir Joseph Williamson, then Secretary of State. She was sister and sole heir to Charles Duke of Richmond, and brought Sir Joseph large possessions in Kent and elsewhere, besides the hereditary stewardship of Gravesend. But by the match he lost the Secretary's place, thro' the means of Lord Danby, who had intended the Baroness for his son. Rapin's History of England, Vol. VII. p. 497. and Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 114.

(13) See an account of him in Phillips's Grandeur of the Law, 8vo. p. 173.

as his predecessor, proved a considerable benefactor to the college-buildings. In which spirit, he began to raise those on the south side, upon the benefaction of six thousand pounds left by Sir Joseph Williamson for that purpose; in procuring which considerable donation, Mr Smith had been very instrumental [H]: and, in return, Dr Lancaster, in 1704-5, presented him first to Russell-Court-chapel, and then to the Lectureship of Trinity-chapel, in Conduit-street Hanover-square (f); which were both at that time in his gift, as Vicar of St Martin's in the Field's Westminster. These promotions brought Mr Smith to town, and he was soon after appointed chaplain to Edward Villiers Earl of Jersey, Lord-Chamberlain, to whom he had the honour of being known at Ryswick, where his Lordship was one of the Plenipotentiaries. My Lord now took him into his friendship and intimacy, not only introduced him to the Queen, and gave him an opportunity of preaching several times before her Majesty, but obtained an actual promise of the first Canonry that should become vacant in the church of Windsor; which he most desired, as being nearest to his other preferments. But this and all other prospects in view from the same quarter were cut short by his Lordship's death. Mr Smith had also the misfortune to lose another view of promotion, by the death of William-Henry Granville, nephew to Dean Granville, and the last Earl of Bath of that family; to whom he was some time tutor, and read a course of lectures, some of which were upon points of religion, while his Lordship resided with his aunt, the Lady Auverquerque, sister to the Earl of Grantham. But having made two campaigns in Flanders, he died of the small-pox in May 1711 (g). Mr Smith attended him during his illness to the last moments, and received a token from him, as a memento of his esteem and affection (b); of which his Lordship had also, on many occasions, before given distinguishing proofs. The death of these two great and valuable friends, which happened so near together, was a very great concern, as well as disappointment, to our author. However, in the interim, having accumulated his degrees in Divinity, November 2, 1708 (i), he had been presented by his college, on the 29th of the same month, to the Rectory of Knights-Emham, and the Donative of Upton-Grey, both in the county of Southampton: soon after which, he resolved to perform his engagement, to marry Mrs Mary Lowther [I], niece to the late Provost Dr Halton, having

at the expence of King Charles the Second, upon the advice of Sir Joseph Williamson, then Secretary of State, to send some young gentlemen of parts and abilities to the courts of France, Germany, &c. in order to qualify them for ministerial offices abroad (10): Dr Lancaster was sent to Paris (11). He sided with the High-Church party in Queen Anne's reign, and was one of the bail for Dr Sacheverell. He died February 4, 1716, of the gout in his stomach, and was buried in the old church of St Martin's in the Fields. We have a sermon of his preached on Lam. v. 16. before the House of Commons, and printed in 1696, 4to. as also a Latin speech, spoken upon presenting Dr Jane, Canon of Christ-Church, to be Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, when that divine was chosen against Dr Tillotson in 1689.

[H] *Dr Smith was instrumental in procuring Sir Joseph Williamson's benefaction.* Upon some slight shewn by the college, Sir Joseph had made a Will, wherein he had given but little to his *alma mater*, having disposed of this intended benefaction there, towards erecting and endowing a college at Dublin, by the name of Queen's-college, the provosts whereof were to be chosen from Queen's-college in Oxford. But soon after his arrival in Holland with Mr Smith, being seized with a dangerous fit of the gout, he sent for his secretary, who had before reconciled him to the place of his education, and calling him to his bed-side, whispered him in the ear to go to his bureau, where he would find his Will in such a drawer, which he should take out, and make the alteration in favour of his own college, as abovementioned. All was done and ready to be executed, when the matter was in some danger of a miscarriage, by the coming in of Sir Joseph's lady (12), before the paper had been read to him. Our secretary, well knowing Sir Joseph had no mind her Ladyship should be acquainted with the affair, endeavoured to conceal it; which she perceiving, said briskly, Mr Smith, What have you got there? To which he readily replied, Nothing but news, Madam; meaning such news as she was not to know: and she was put off by this seasonable and ready turn from enquiring any further.

[I] *He married Mrs Mary Lowther.* This gentleman was the fourth and youngest daughter, and co-heir, of Henry Lowther, Esq; of Ingleton-hall in Yorkshire, of Cocker-mouth in Cumberland, and of Lowther in the county of Fermanagh in Ireland (13); which last estate is very considerable, and came into his possession by the Will of his uncle, Sir Gerard

Lowther (14), Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas in Ireland; who married first Anne, daughter of Ralph Bulmer, Esq; of Wilton in Yorkshire, widow of John Welbury, of Castle-Eden in Durham, Esq; His second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Lawrence Parsons, ancestor to the Earl of Rosse, to which family Sir Gerard left his manor of St John's Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, with the rectory and tythes in the territory of Murroughs in the said county; which, after thirty-one years, he bequeaths to the church †, and gives to the said family his manor of Dunamore in the county of Meath. His third wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir John King of Abbey-Boyle (from whom proceeds Lord Kingston). But Sir Gerard dying without issue, entailed by his Will his said estate and manor of Lowther on the issue male, first on his nephew Henry Lowther aforesaid, of Ingleton-hall, &c. and then on the younger brothers of Henry, viz. Thomas and George Lowther, Esqrs, of Skreen-abbey in the county of Meath, and on Edward, son of the said George Lowther; and in case of failure thereof, then to the right heirs of the said Henry Lowther, which were four daughters, co-heirs. 1. Dorothy, who married Christopher Dalton, Esq; of Acorn bank, and of Lorton in Cumberland. 2. Barbara, who married Mr Wilson of Aldermaiston in Berkshire. 3. Margaret, the wife of Abraham Tudor, Esq; of Glamorganshire in Wales, who commanding a ship of war in the British fleet, was, after several victorious attacks for the liberty of his country, mortally wounded, in the destroying and taking the Spanish galleons in 1708. 4. Mary, who married Dr Joseph Smith, the subject of the present memoir, and was allied to Lord Viscount Londale *,

* This Lord rebuilt the family-seat at Lowther in an elegant manner, but it was destroyed by fire about 1720. After which, the two wings, being offices detached from the house, were repaired and altered for the residence of the family, and so of the last Lord Londale; upon whose death, March 11, 1751, the peerage title became extinct, and the real estate descended to his heir, the present Sir James Lowther of Lowther, Bart. who, besides a considerable fortune from his father (Robert Lowther of Meburn in Westmoreland, some time Governor of Barbadoes), is also possessed of all the real and a great part of the personal estate of the late Sir James Lowther, of Whitehaven in Cumberland, Bart. who died Jan. 2, 1755, the richest commoner (as was said) in Great-Britain. Besides him, there are two other Baronets of the Londale family, viz. Sir William Lowther of Swillington in Yorkshire *, and Sir William Lowther of Marsh and Holker in Lancashire †; which last dying a Bachelor April 15, 1756, this title became extinct. He was Knight of the Shire for Cumberland, and being also Custos Rotulorum for Westmoreland, he was succeeded in that post by the aforesaid Sir James Lowther, of Lowther in the same county.

(14) This Sir Gerard Lowther was second son to Sir Richard Lowther of Lowther in Westmoreland, and brother to Sir Lancelot Lowther, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland.

† Lodge's Irish Peerage, Vol. II. p. 63.

* Son of Sir W. Lowther, by his wife Arabella, daughter of Bannister Lord Maynard.

† Son of Sir Tho. Lowther, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter to the Duke of Devonshire.

having contracted a friendship with her while resident in the college. In 1716, the Doctor exchanged the donative of Upton-Grey with Dr Grandorge [K], Prebendary of Canterbury, for the rectory of St Dionis Lime-street, London, to which he was presented by that Dean and Chapter, on the 10th of February this year. While the cure of souls committed to his charge was chiefly confined to the parishes he was concerned in, it was amiable to see with what labour he applied himself to the discharge of his ministry, how orthodox in his doctrine, how warm and affectionate in his private exhortations; and as he was zealous in all the spiritual exercises of his parochial function, so was he happy in such a force and readiness of expression, and command of reading and judgment, that even in the most difficult cases he convinced at the same time that he informed. Upon this account he was much followed by persons of rank and character, in points of conscience. He reclaimed some persons of distinction *, among others, from Popery, and being applied to by the Methodist party, about some points of their doctrine and tenets, he gave a full and unanswerable solution. These are evidences how much he was held in esteem as a skilful divine; and that sense of God and religion, which was blended with his scholarship, gave a lustre to his knowledge and accomplishments. At the same time, he kept a careful and tender eye upon the state of his parish at St Dionis, of which he was incumbent above forty years. The church, in his time, was not only greatly beautified, but improved with a very valuable organ, a new ring of bells, and a clock, &c. by subscriptions in the parish, raised through his application

Particularly Lord Waldegrave and Lady Charlotte Herbert who was sole daughter and heir to Philip Earl of Pembroke, and widow of John Lord Jellies, whose daughter, Lady Pomfret, was the donor of a curious collection of antique statues (part of the Arundelian marbles given before) to the university of Oxford; which noble benefaction is celebrated in a poem intitled *Gratitude*, by Mr William Thompson, late Fellow of Queen's college, author of a Collection of Poems in 8vo.

both by consanguinity and affinity. Her grandfather, Sir Richard Lowther of Ingleton, Knt. having married Isabella, second daughter of Sir Richard Fletcher, of Hutton in Cumberland, Bart. whose third daughter, Mary, was the wife of Sir John Lowther, of Lowther in Westmoreland, brother to Sir Richard Lowther aforementioned, and father to the first Lord Viscount Lonsdale. Her said grandfather served his Majesty King Charles the First in the post of Colonel of Horse, and was also Governor of the town and castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, at the first siege of that garrison, December 25, 1644, when he, with his brother Chancellor Lowther, then adjutant, and Gerard his son, with several other of his kindred, behaved valiantly, and at length became great sufferers in the royal cause, besides his whole estate being confiscated for his loyalty (15).

Mrs Mary Lowther was endowed with many amiable qualities and Christian graces; she died April 29, 1745, and was buried where several of the family lie, in the church of Kidlington near Oxford; she brought Dr Smith three children, Joseph, Anne, and William. This last died young, and was buried in the north church-yard of St Dionis London.

The first, Joseph Smith, Esq; LL.D. of Kidlington near Oxford, is still living, and has issue one son, Joseph Bouchier Smith, and a daughter, Mary Smith, by his second wife, Elizabeth, only daughter of Dr James Bouchier, of Hanborough in Oxfordshire, who succeeded his father, Dr Thomas Bouchier above-mentioned, in the Regius Professorship of the Civil Law at Oxford, and as Commissary of the diocese of Canterbury; and was esteemed for the quickness of his parts and knowledge in his profession. By his father's marriage to Mrs Astell, who was niece to Sir Thomas Millington, of Gadfield in Hants (Physician in Ordinary to King William and Queen Mary, as also to Queen Anne, and President of the College of Physicians †), this family came into a very considerable fortune, which, after some years contest at Law, was recovered, by the extraordinary assiduity of Dr William Bouchier, a Physician of great abilities, now living at Charleton-house near Sunbury in Surrey, who is another son of Dr Thomas Bouchier.

2. Anne Smith is also still living, the wife of Major James Hargrave, by whom she has issue one son, Joseph-Smith Hargrave, a minor. She was first married to the Reverend Mr William Lamplugh, once Fellow of New-college in Oxford, and presented by that society to the rectory of Alton-Barnes in Wiltshire, and at the same time he became Rector of Sutton Mandeville in that county, by an exchange for the rectory of Soham in Suffolk, which had been procured for him by his father-in-Law Dr Smith *, by whose interest he also obtained a Prebend of Lincoln, and the lectureship of Conduit-street chapel near Hanover square. Dr Smith also would willingly have resigned the donative of Paddington to him, but the Bishop of London, Dr Gibson, did not approve of the proposal, without a resignation of Soham; which being equal in value to Paddington, the design did not take place. Mr Lamplugh's life was cut short by the stone in 1737 ‡, after a short enjoyment of his rectory of Al-

ton-Barnes, where he had laid out about 600 l. in rebuilding the parsonage and outhouses; which benefaction is recorded in a memorial of him in that church. He was grandson to Dr Thomas Lamplugh, Archbishop of York, of whom we have some account by Le Neve §; to which we shall add the following remarkable anecdote, from the manuscript already cited of Dr Thomas Smith, who relates, that, 'January 27, 1688-9, the Archbishop told him, the Bishop of London [Dr Compton] shewed him the original Association-paper, which he would have had him to subscribe. But he refused, asking London, How he could do it? The Bishop of London replied, among other things, that it was a just revenge.' Dr Smith proceeds thus: 'My Lord of York said, that upon his waiting upon the King, after he came from Exeter, having kissed his Majesty's hand, the King was pleased to take him into his closet, and then thanked him for coming up, saying, that he was an old cavalier, and further adding, that he would reward him: the Bishop replied, that his duty was his reward. The King then told him, that he would make him Archbishop of York: upon which he fell upon his knees, desiring his Majesty not to do it. Sir, said he, I can serve your Majesty better in the West, where I am known. The King bid him rise, that it should be so. Upon his coming into his dressing-room, the King ordered my Lord Preston, then President, to draw up a warrant immediately for it.—That upon his doing homage, the King said, Remember, my Lord, what you have promised me: he answered, Ay, Sir, as long as I live. That upon the morning of the King's departure, the King was pleased to tell him, that he was chafed away from his own house by the P. of O. and desired him to pray for him. The Archbishop prayed God to bless his Majesty, saying, that he was an old man, and that if he saw his Majesty's face no more, he hoped they should meet together in Heaven. The Archbishop told me further, says Dr Smith, that he had heard that the P. of O. should say of him, that he had left his stock, and committed the care of it to him, somebody replying (but he could not learn the name of the person), that he had got an Archbishoprick by it. But, says the Archbishop to me, Doctor, I did my duty in coming away, without any design or expectation; besides, if I had staid at Exeter, I might have been suspected to have been of the Spiritual Lords, whom the P. of O. mentions to have invited him into England.'

[K] Dr Grandorge.] This gentleman was some time Fellow of Magdalen-college in Oxford, and chaplain to the Earl of Thanet, who presented him to the rectory of Hothfield in Kent; when he resigned the rectory of St Dionis, as not within statutable distance, to Dr Smith, for Upton Grey, which being a donative, was not within the statute. Dr Grandorge was, not improbably, of the family of Andrew Grandorge, of Caen in Normandy, the inventor of weaving figures in linnen cloth, called damask, in the XVIIth century (16). The doctor died January 19, 1729-30, and was buried in Magdalen-college-chapel, under a stone marked only with his name, and date of his death.

(16) Elog. Cæsarii Codomenisum.

(15) See a MSS. in the Ho. of Commons, of those merchants who compounded for their estates in the time of the Rebellion.

As also in the principality of Alban-hall, where he expended 500 l. in the improvement of the lodgings.

† A further account of him may be seen in Carter's History of Cambridge.

* From Lady H. reform, another to the present Dukes of Beaufort, by her second husband James Berkeley, of Stoke in Gloucestershire, Esq; whose son, Norborne Berkeley, Esq; is now member for the county.

‡ At Bath, whither he went for the recovery of his health; and he was buried in St James's church in that city.

(k) Which, as the inscription on it shews, he gave in 1740.

(l) This noble Lord gave very considerable sums annually to the poor, and Dr Smith, whom he frequently consulted, received from him at different times some hundreds of pounds, to be distributed according to his own discretion.

(m) This Prebend being held on nine lives, was usually called the Kit-Kat Prebend. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 181.

(n) Communicated by the incumbent.

* He was already possessed of St Dionis and Paddington, and it was a rule with the Bishop not to allow any of his clergy to hold three such benefices.

† Dr Smith had before resigned the lecture of Trinity-chapel in Conduit-street to Mr Osborn Medlicott, one of the King's chaplains, and now endeavoured to serve him in that of St George's. N. B. This Mr Medlicott, of Tyschurst in Suffex, who came from Ireland, married first the daughter of General Pepper, a native of St Clement's in the suburbs of Oxford, and had to his second wife Mrs Pakenham, mother to Thomas Pakenham, Esq; now Lord Longford of Ireland.

application and influence, and his own generosity, in setting a good example, besides a handsome chased brass chandelier, pendant on iron-work, which he put up at his own expence (k). He likewise annually bought a great number of religious tracts, and distributed them among his parishioners, and he left there a handsome legacy to the poor. He was also a considerable benefactor to the parsonage and glebe houses [L]. After the accession of King George the First, he was again introduced to Court by the Earl of Grantham, Lord-Chamberlain to his late Majesty (l) King George the Second, then Prince of Wales, and was made chaplain to the Princess, by whom he was very graciously received; and he constantly attended in his turn of waiting, 'till her Royal Highness's accession to the Throne, when, notwithstanding the interest he had at that time, yet, as he never made any application for himself, and was too much inclined to the high-party, being called the Hanover Tory (though in reality no person more moderate than he in his political principles, nor better attached to the constitutional establishment), a stop was thereby put to his farther promotion from the Court, though he continued still her Majesty's chaplain, and was frequently invited to preach at the royal chapel of St James's. However, this disappointment was made up by his good friend Bishop Gibson, who, from the time of their being chums, or chamber-fellows, at Queen's-college, to his Lordship's death, ever retained a very great esteem and affection for him, and gave very early proofs of it; particularly in recommending him to Archbishop Tenison, to succeed himself as his Grace's chaplain; which, though prevented by a pre-engagement, yet this friend's kind intention was the same: and he was under very great obligations to him on many other accounts, and might have been under much greater, at the time when his Lordship was in high favour with the Ministry, could he have prevailed upon him to distinguish himself in his political principles, to which his Lordship took some pains to persuade him. But nevertheless, after the Bishop's advancement to the see of Lincoln, he promoted the Doctor to the Prebend of Dunholm (m) in that church; and, upon his Lordship's translation to London, he gave the donative of Paddington in Middlesex to this friend, who appointed an afternoon lecture, at the request of the inhabitants, and procured two acts of Parliament, wherein he was at a considerable part of the expence, for twice enlarging the church-yard, which before was too small for the large number of burials there [M]. The same patron also promoted him, on the 8th of May, 1728, to the Prebend of St Mary Newington, in the cathedral church of St Paul's, on the demise of Dr Millington; which Prebend proved very advantageous to him: notwithstanding, at the Bishop's request, he gave the rectory of Newington annexed to the prebend, to the present incumbent Dr Ralph Thoresby, son to the Antiquarian of that name (n). This request was very readily granted, Dr Smith not being desirous to hold a third benefice with cure of souls *. In the interim, as soon as the new church of St George's Hanover-square was finished, he was chosen lecturer, in March 1724-5, without any personal suit, being then confined by a fistula, occasioned, as was thought, by too intense an application to his studies. He had been some time, as is already observed, Lecturer of Trinity-chapel, now belonging to this parish, and in that station had gained a popularity without courting it. In reality, by his clear pathetic elocution, and graceful gesture, added to the matter and method of his performances in the pulpit, he might be justly reckoned one of the most eloquent and instructive preachers of his time, and even to the extremity of old age, that flowing stream of eloquence did not cease. The fistula having brought him into some danger of a consumption, he went to Bath, where he received great benefit; but his eyes remained in such a weak condition [N], that he was incapable for a time of much application to study. In 1731, he resigned his lectureship, and was succeeded in it by Dr Savage, then Rector of Clothall in Hertfordshire †. This resignation was the consequence of his promotion to the Provostship of his college in Oxford, to which he was elected on the twentieth of October, 1730, without his privity or knowledge, on the demise of Dr John Gibson, a near relation to the Bishop. As he had a particular affection for the college, he was much pleased with this

[L] He was a benefactor to the glebe houses.] The leases of these expiring in his time, he proposed, upon the renewal, to give them to Queen's college; but this design coming to the knowledge of the Dean and Chapter, they refused to renew the leases to him, tho' that privilege had never been denied to his predecessors; resolving to make use of this opportunity, as he was now far advanced in years, of letting the houses go at a rack-rent, 'till his death at least, for the augmentation of the living to the benefit of his successors.

[M] He procured two acts of Parliament for enlarging the church-yard.] He built some houses here, particularly one for himself, to which he was obliged afterwards to retire with his family for his health. The parsonage house, by his predecessor's neglect, was lost for want of being at the expence to keep it up. It adjoined to the church-yard, and is now, since the rebuilding of it, converted into a farm-house.

[N] His eyes were then in a weak condition.] Upon that account, he was obliged to have his sermons tran-

scribed, which, by frequent alterations, were much interlineated. This office was performed, partly by Mr Alan Fisher, a while domestic tutor to his son, and afterwards, by Dr Smith's nomination (17), master of St Bee's school in Cumberland; and partly by Mr Anthony Thompson, who was born at Shap in Westmoreland, and being sent to Queen's-college, was recommended by the doctor to the Earl of Waldegrave, to be tutor to his two sons, the present Earl and his brother, and who afterwards going chaplain to that noble Lord, on his embassy to France, was, on the sudden death of his Lordship, in April 1741, appointed to act as Minister for the English Court there; in which post he continued, 'till the breaking out of the last war with France, when returning home, he was, by the interest of the Duke of Newcastle, promoted to the rich Deanery of Raphoe in Ireland (18), where he died in November 1756; but his son and family are settled there.

|| He renewed four or five times the lease of an estate of 1000 l. per annum, held of him as Prebendary by Sir Thomas Abney and his heirs, and raised the fine considerably, upon comparing the Parliament survey with the improvements made since. And he refused renewing the last time, except on the usual terms, not withstanding his great age and infirmities, saying, that unless he renewed on such conditions as were not prejudicial to his successors, he would sooner lose the benefit of it to himself, which was the means of his bringing them some time after to a compliance.

(17) As Provost of Queen's, in whom it is vested. He also procured for him, of his good friend Bishop Tanner, the living of Brockdish in Norfolk.

(18) He had merited this favour from his Grace, having constantly remitted to Mr Pelham of Lewes, who was Secretary to the Embassy, the profits of this post, without giving him the trouble of a letter. Communicated by Mr Thompson himself at Paris.

[O] The

this election, especially with the honourable manner of it, and he took great delight in satisfying all the demands of so important a post. How solicitous he was in keeping good order and discipline, with what gravity he presided, with what lenity he admonished, and with what justice and impartiality he behaved to all, shewing an example of piety and all social virtues, is well remembered, and needs not be mentioned. He was not only an encourager of learning and all liberal sciences, but the greatest enemy to vice and all heretical doctrines. In this spirit, he drew up an excellent collection or series of questions in Divinity, which he instituted for the use of the students of his college, and they were of infinite service in grounding them early in their religious principles: so that the college now flourished extremely, and many persons of quality and fortune were educated under his mild and prudent government (o); and as he was always zealous in promoting it's welfare, it was the greatest pleasure to him to find his undertakings successful, and in order thereto, he did, in 1731, draw up a state of the college buildings, with an ichnography of the whole, and had cuts of the several parts of the said buildings engraved in 4to. And when the Prince of Orange came to see the university after his marriage, he presented his Royal Highness with one of the books, as he had done before to the Queen (p). He was particularly obliged to his good friends, the Right Honourable Arthur Onslow, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons, as well as to Colonel Selwin, Treasurer to Queen Caroline, for their kind offices, at his request, in procuring her Majesty's benefaction of a thousand pounds, which she gave towards finishing the college edifice; and, as it greatly owed it's beauty and ornament to this royal munificence, Dr Smith had her Majesty's statue in marble placed over the gate-way, in an open temple, supported by eight duplicated columns, crowned with entablatures, upon which stand eight arches covered with a tholus; so that the whole together makes a noble appearance (q). After it was finished, the Queen sent for the Provost, and thanking him for the respect he had shewn to her, promised him another purse of equal value with the former [O]; which would certainly have been fulfilled, had her Majesty lived a month longer [P]. The

Doctor

(P) See Ticklell's poem, published in 1733, on her Majesty's rebuilding the front of Queen's college, adjoining to the lodgings of Edward the Black Prince and Henry V. wherein he mentions both of them being educated there. And in the window of the college-hall next the gallery is the following inscription: *In hoc Coll. Studuit Henric. v. sub Patro suo Henrico Beaufort Cancellario Acad. postea Episcopo Winton, & Cardinali.* Pointer, in his Antiquities of Oxford, mentions an inscription to the same purport, which was in Henry the Vth's chamber in the college, with his picture in brass,

[O] *The Queen promised him another thousand pounds.*

This appears by the college register, and her Majesty's benefaction is particularly taken notice of to her honour, by Dr Thomas Shaw, D.D. and F.R.S. in the dedication of his travels to Barbary and the Levant, inscribed to the King, with a view of the frontispiece of this building at the head, curiously engraved. As the book has been well received by the publick, and, indeed, contains many interesting particulars relating to those countries not before observed, we shall oblige our readers with a succinct account of the worthy author, as follows: He was born about the year 1691 (19), at Kendal in Westmoreland, and having gone through the school there, was removed to Queen's college; and having taken his degrees in Arts at the regular times, he went into Holy Orders, and was appointed chaplain to the English factory at Algiers. During that interval, he spent some part of his time in travelling into several parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa; and on his return home, he was chosen Fellow of his college, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and published the abovementioned account of his travels at Oxford in 1738, in folio. He also bestowed some pieces of antiquity in coins, &c. which he had collected in his travels, on that university (20). In 1740, he was nominated by his college Principal of St Edmund-hall, to which he was a considerable benefactor in it's buildings, and was presented at the same time to the vicarage of Bramley in Hants. He was also Regius-Professor of Greek at Oxford 'till his death, which happened on the 18th of September, 1751, at Bramley, where he was buried, and a handsome monument, with an inscription in Latin *, was soon after erected to his memory, by his widow, the relict of Edward Holden, Esq; some time the English Consul at Algiers. His monument assures us, with great truth, that he was a good-natured man, and his book is an evidence of his learning both human and divine; a French translation of which was printed in 1743, 4to. with several notes and emendations, communicated by our author to the editor, who dedicated it to the King of Prussia, and advertized it as a better edition than the original English (21), which was true enough at that time. But Dr Clayton, Bishop of Clogher in Ireland, having attacked the travels, in his *Description of the East*, &c. our author published *A Supplement to a book of Travels and Observations, &c. wherein some objections lately made against it are fully considered and answered, with several additional Remarks and Dissertations.* Oxford, 1746, folio. In the preface to which he takes notice, that this supplement, besides other occasional dissertations, contains a greater number of

notes and emendations, than were inserted in the French edition, whereby the original will now become more full and perfect than the translation. Accordingly, after the Doctor's death came out a second edition, with great improvements. Lond. 1757, 4to. The contents of the supplement are interwoven in this edition, and the improvements were made, and the edition prepared for the press, by the author himself; who expressly presents the work with these additions, alterations, and improvements, to the reader, as an essay towards restoring the ancient geography, and placing in a proper light the natural and sometimes civil history of these countries where he travelled. The doctor was succeeded at St Edmund hall, as also at Bramley, by Dr Fothergill, who was likewise some time Fellow, and an eminent tutor at Queen's college; where, on the death of Dr Joseph Smith abovementioned, he was invited by some of the members of the college to stand for the Provostship against Dr Joseph Browne, the present Provost, who carried the election by a majority of only one vote. Dr Fothergill died Octob. 12, 1760, of a dropsy (under which he had for some time laboured), two days after his return to Oxford from his native place at Ravinstandale in Westmoreland, where he had been for the recovery of his health. He was buried in the chapel at St Edmunds-hall there, leaving the character of a person of great parts and understanding, and of a most faithful and exact memory: he was also eminent for his learning and for his performances in the pulpit, several of which are published (22). His natural disposition was tender and humane, modest and humble; his heart was animated with a sincere and truly Christian piety, and the whole tenor of his words and actions such as denoted his being always attentive to this awful truth, that he must one day be accountable to God for them.

[P] *Had her Majesty lived a month longer.*] The following lines were intended by Dr Smith to be inserted, in gratitude to her memory, among the Oxford verses on her death †.

Above all empire, in her early youth,
True piety she priz'd, and facted truth.
Oft have I seen her, with submissive ear,
The oracles of God unfolded hear.
Oft have I seen her, with seraphic love,
Her prayers preferring to the throne above:
Where now the praises to the King of Kings,
Triumphant, with angelic notes, she sings.
Of British freedom she approv'd the cause,
Nor wish'd for power to rule above the laws;

Science

† In the Oxford verses on Queen Caroline's death, is a Latin poem on that occasion, inscribed to Dr Smith by Mr Hobson, some time Fellow of Queen's college, and author of a poem intitled, *Christianity the Light of the Moral World*, in 4to. 1745.

(18) Particularly the last Duke of Buckinghamshire, who came thither on Dr Smith's account, who recommended Dr Browne, then Fellow of the college, to be tutor to his Grace.

(19) A model was first projected by Dr Lancaster, but improved and executed according to the style of the Luxemburg palace at Paris, by N. Hawkshaw, a disciple of Sir Christopher Wren; and the statue was performed by Mr [now Sir Henry] Chertie, of Westminster, Kent.

(20) In his epitaph the words are, *obit aetate sexagenarius annis cal. Sept. 1757.*

(21) He had before presented a curious collection of butterflies to the Museum.

* By Dr Joseph Browne, Provost of Queen's college. A transcript of it is annexed to the last edition of Dr Shaw's Travels, in 1757, 4to.

(22) In the Bibliotheca Rationae, and in the Lætic Acts,

(*) Viz. Six of seven of 20 l. per ann. each, as the income of the estates to be purchased would admit. The sum was about 4500 l. besides 500 l. to the college buildings, and 250 l. for costs of suit, and a licence of mortmain, which he obtained. Whence the college was also enabled to take and hold Mr Michel's donation. All which he completed May 25, 1734.

Doctor had the honour of being acquainted with the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, who, out of respect to him and his recommendation, had settled some considerable exhibitions on St Edmund-hall, an appendant to Queen's-college; but, on his advancement to the Provostship, she chose on that account to remove them thither, when he drew up rules and orders, at her Ladyship's request, for the regulation and good government of the said exhibitioners [Q]. Lastly, our Provost was more than ordinarily solicitous, to procure the payment of Sir Francis Bridgeman's large donation for exhibitions (r), which was at a stand for some years, and given up for lost; but by his diligence and penetration, he did with great difficulty gain his point, though there were so many parties concerned to be brought to agreement, some of which he happened to be well acquainted with. Accordingly he obtained a decree in Chancery, to oblige Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Bart. [R] in whose hands it lay, to pay the money just before he absconded, otherwise it would absolutely have been lost. Dr Smith was likewise instrumental in obtaining the donation of John Michel of Richmond in Surrey, Esq; towards the buildings, and his founding eight additional Fellowships and four Scholarships there [S]. He did also, by his own personal interest and sollicitation,

Science and letters were her favourite care,
And high attainments grac'd the royal fair;
She could each hour in doing good employ,
And caus'd the widow's heart to sing with joy.
But these are themes my weak essays refuse,
Fit for the labours of a nobler muse:
Had Addison, reserv'd by milder fate,
Surviv'd to see our heroine's course compleat,
Amidst the foremost, in the rolls of fame,
Fix'd would have stood great CAROLINA'S name.

[Q] *Rules for the conduct of the said exhibitioners.*

For these uses her Ladyship left her manor and estate of Whetdale in Yorkshire, of about the value of 160 l. per annum; and the exhibitioners are to be elected by lot, from eight principal schools in that county, and from two in Westmoreland and two in Cumberland. This eminently pious and charitable lady was daughter to Theophilus, the seventh Earl of Huntingdon, by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir John Lewis, of Ledstone in Yorkshire, Bart. from whom descended the several manors and estates she was possessed of in that county (23). She was pleas'd often to consult Dr Smith in many of her charitable donations, which were very large and extensive. He had a frequent correspondence with her on this and other subjects, particularly upon the abjuration oath, and his opinion of the Methodists. The doctor had also a correspondence upon divine and moral subjects, with the celebrated Mrs Astell, and communicated some particulars concerning her to Mr Ballard, who wrote her life or memoirs (24).

[R] *Sir Orlando Bridgeman.* This unfortunate gentleman was possessed of an estate of 4000 l. per annum, but that revenue not being sufficient to answer all the demands of his expensive way of life, he contracted very large debts, as well by mortgages as life annuities; 'till being reduced and distressed by his creditors, in order to defeat all their power, he had recourse to the not uncommon method of absconding from his family and friends, and not being heard of for some time, a rumour was spread, by some means or other, that he had come to an untimely end; which was further confirmed, by the finding of a drowned body, that from some particular marks, as of a bent finger, or the like, was believed and attested to be his, by persons of credit who had personally known him*. The truth of this account was so firmly believed, that his lady with the children went into deep mourning, as for a dead husband and parent (25), and his eldest son Francis assumed the Baronet's title. Thus every thing succeeded to his wish, 'till he happened to betake himself to an inn upon the great road to Bath, not far from Windfor; where sitting, in company of the innkeeper, upon a bench before the door, he took notice of the noblemens and gentlemens coaches that pass'd by, reading the arms, and telling his companion the names and titles of the several owners. This unseasonable piece of vanity betrayed him. The innkeeper was presently struck with surprize, that a person of such an ordinary appearance (for he was disguised in a mean habit) should be so knowing in families of rank and distinction; and, as the story of his absconding was no secret, the man began to suspect the truth, and acquaint-

ing his wife with what had pass'd, she came into the same opinion; so that it was resolv'd to give information to some of their guest's annuitants, whom they knew. These being particularly concerned in the discovery, immediately dispatch'd a proper person to the inn, who easily discerning the Baronet under his disguise, after some expostulations insist'd on his subscribing a paper, by way of certificate, that he was alive and in good health. This being all that was necessary for the concerns of the annuitants, he was left at liberty to behave as he pleas'd in regard to the report of his death, which still pass'd current for some time. But being seen afterwards by several persons who knew him, notwithstanding his disguise, the truth began to get ground, and at length prevail'd so much, that one of his principal creditors, who had a large mortgage upon his estate*, making strict search after him, he was apprehended and secur'd in Gloucester jail, where he continued in confinement † some years, 'till death, that general jail-deliverer, released him from all the troubles of this world, in the year 1746 ||. So notorious a part, acted in the last period of life, naturally raises a curiosity to know something more concerning the actor. And we can assure the reader, that Sir Orlando was a descendant, by a second venter, of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in the reign of King Charles the Second; that he was bred a courtier from his youth, being Groom of the Bedchamber to the late King George the Second, when Prince of Wales; after whose accession to the throne, he was made a Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. He was also nominat'd Governor of Barbadoes, and received 1500 l. as equipage-money for that post, just before he absconded. As to his person, he was of a fair complexion, and low of stature, but strong built and full bodied, fleshy though not fat. Lastly, that vanity was his predominant passion, which prov'd his ruin. He was a beau at the age of sixty-five ‡.

[S] *He was instrumental in procuring Mr Michel's donation*] As this was a very extraordinary benefaction, we shall gratify our readers with the particular circumstances and conditions of it, by laying before them an abstract of the Act pass'd in 1751, for the better effecting the purposes mentioned in the Will; where it appears, that by his last Will, dated December 21, 1736, excluding all claimants of kindred, he bequeath'd his manor and lands of Horton-Kirby, and all his manor lands and marsh lands in Plumstead, and all his lands and marsh lands in Sandwich and Worde in the county of Kent, and his lands and tenements in Old Windfor in Berks, to Queen's-college in Oxford for ever, for eight Master-Fellows and four Bachelor-Scholars, at 50 l. a year for the first, and 30 l. a year for the last; after the payment of whom, a fund should be reserv'd to answer extraordinary occasions, not exceeding 200 l. that the surpluse should be laid out in the purchase of advowsons and presentations to livings, above the yearly value of 120 l. to be annexed for ever to the Fellowships of his donation. That the said Masters and Scholars should be elected by the Provost and Fellows of Queen's-college, out of any other colleges or halls within the said university, and that such only should be capable of being elected, as should within one year past have taken the degree of Master of Arts, or should be within one year of taking the same; and that the same qualifications should be observed

* Mr Glanville. The mortgage was for 10000 l.

† The confinement was made easy by an allowance from his creditors of 150 l. per annum, and liberty to walk out any where in the town in the day time.

|| London Mag. Vol. XV.

‡ Most of the particulars of this remark were communicated by Mr Wheeler, who is always ready to oblige his friends in such matters of historical occurrences, of which he may be justly called a living store-house.

(23) A farther account of her Ladyship and her benefactions may be seen in Barnard's Life of her in 12mo, and in Wilford's Memorials of eminent Persons, and in Ballard's Lives of Illustrious Ladies.

(24) The substance of which is insert'd in Bishop Smailridge's article.

* The body was found in the Thames a little below Limehouse, where it was view'd, among others, by Sir Francis Dashwood, who believed it to be that of Sir Orlando. Communicated by Mr Glanville, Member of Parliament for Hythe in Kent.

(25) Communicated by Dr Martyn of Chelsey, where his lady and daughter then resided.

solicitation, procure a charter of mortmain, in May 1732, to enable the college to take these several benefactions (s), not to mention what he gave himself by his Will, which

served as to the Bachelor Scholars, and that the Bachelors should undergo, as near as might be, the same examinations as are required upon elections at All-Souls college. And that after such first election, the Fellowships should be filled up by such Bachelor-Scholars, as had taken the degree of Master of Arts, or should be within one year thereof, and that other Scholars should be chosen in their places, &c. That both the Masters and Bachelors should be subject to the statutes and government of the college, as to all conformity, discipline, and obedience to superiors (taking Orders by the Masters, or the exercise of tendering by the Bachelors, only excepted). That there should be a building erected for the reception of the said Masters and Bachelors, consisting of two entire and regular stair-cases, uniform both within, and conformable to the new building without, to begin from the east corner of the college next to the high-street, and go on northwards towards the chapel; wherein should be eight chambers for the middle story for the Fellows, and four chambers for the Scholars in the upper or lower story, and the other story to be filled with such undergraduates of the college, as they should think fit to place therein, to be their attendants. That their allocations in the chapel and hall should be appointed suitable to their rank and degree, and their commons allotted, as near as might be, in the same proportion as their Fellows and Taberders. That the rents and profits of his estates, from the time of his death, should be received by the Bursar of the college, that the first receipts should be applied to erect the said buildings, and Robert Shippen, D. D. Principal of Brazen-nose-college, John Mather, D. D. President of Corpus-Christi college, and John Coxed, B. C. L. Warden of New college, together with Joseph Smith, D. D. Provost of Queen's-college, to be supervisors or directors of the said buildings; after the finishing of which, the society to proceed to an election of Fellows and Scholars, as abovementioned. He also appointed Dr Shippen, Dr Mather, and Dr Coxed, Visitors of his small society, to determine finally all grievances and complaints, which Visitors are to meet annually upon St Bartholomew's-day, at the college, to audit the accounts of the Bursars, and to give directions to the Bursars for the application of the rents; and that upon the demise of one of the present Visitors, another should within one month be chosen by the senior of the two surviving, to be a Doctor of Divinity or Doctor of Civil Law, and Head or Fellow of some other college or hall, resident in Oxford. That the clear yearly rents and profits of the said estates amounted to the sum of 500*l.* or thereabouts, upon an average. That the money received by the Bursars, since the testator's death, amounted to the sum of 5241*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, of which 1265*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* had been paid to Queen's-college, to reimburse them for building the half-stair-case next the street, and 3825*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* had been laid out in the purchase of 4116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* three per cent. Bank annuities, in the name of the said college; and the remainder, being 524*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, remained in the hands of the Bursars. Moreover, it is hereby enacted, that the sum of 2000*l.* shall be paid out of the rents and profits of the above bequeathed estates, to the society of Queen's college, in satisfaction for the inheritance of the ground on which the aforementioned chambers stand, and for all claims of

ground-rent, as also for all the immunities, privileges, and advantages, which the Fellows and Scholars of Mr Michel's foundation shall have and enjoy, in the use of the publick library, chapel, hall, kitchen, buttery, and cellars, of the said college, and by the use of the furniture and goods, in common use in the said college, and in the attendance and service of all the officers, lecturers, readers, moderators and servants, and the use of the garden, quadrangles, courts, and other publick places, in the said college, and all other common advantages and emoluments, the said Fellows and Scholars of Mr Michel's foundation respectively paying, in respect of any of the same, only such fees, and so much for decrements, as the Fellows and other members of like rank and degree, of Queen's-college, do or shall pay; as also, as in full compensation and satisfaction for repairing the buildings for the Fellows and Scholars of Mr Michel's foundation, and their attendants, which the said Provost and Scholars are for ever hereafter to support and maintain, both within and without, at their own proper costs and charges.

Mr Michel also gave, in his life-time, a large picture of Queen Mary, to the college-hall, and presented the college with his own pedigree, very curiously done, at the expence of 100*l.* and is rolled out. He gave them likewise a valuable collection of coins, and some books upon that subject, which are repositied in the library, as appears by the following inscription in Latin:

Eleganti huic & copioso universæ literaturæ repository (a) non solum libros aliquot selectos de re nummaria sed cimeliorum etiam archivis Seriem unam æstimabilem Numismatum Romanorum, viz. Imperatorum capita aliaque numero 175 are majore incisa: Alteram vero argenteorum ejusdem fli circa 298. Industria collecta, impensis perquisita, & cura conservata

Donat Dicatque

Johannes Michel, de Richmond in com. Surrey, Arxigier. Hujus collegii generoso-commensalis, anno Domini 1676—1680.

Cujus pater Johannes, patruusque Humsfredus (uterque ejusdem ordinis), in sæculo rebellionis nunquam satisfendæ sedem quietam per 14 annos hic invenerunt.

Oxonia obsessa Prior ad Carolum Regem ultro se contulit, & ab ipso, inter alia fiduciæ negotia, commissionem de armandis scholaribus ad aras & focos defendendos tuto reportavit anno 1644.

Alter vero cælibem vitam agens procul ambitu procul negotiis Deo & studiis solum vacavit. Hospitium decem senibus alendis Richmondia fundavit; nepotemque hunc unicum (a cunis orphanum) & vivens & moriens (26) filii loco habuit.

(26) He died Nov. 16, 1696

The alms-house here mentioned stands upon the declivity of the hill, it was built in 1695, and was endowed by the uncle with upwards of 100*l.* per annum, which afterwards was considerably increased by the nephew

(s) This library, which is of the Corinthian Order (1), was built by Dr Halton, a great part at his own expence, besides his study of books. The sum of 600*l.* was given also by his tutor, Dr Thomas Smith, some time a fellow of the college, and then Bishop of Carlisle (2), which Bishoprick he obtained by the interest of Sir Joseph Williamson (3); who was his pupil, and gave also to the library a curious and valuable collection of manuscripts, especially in Heraldry, and Memoirs of his foreign Negotiations. To these Sir John Floyer, an eminent Physician at Lichfield in Staffordshire, added his library, containing many excellent books. The building was begun in 1693, on account of the legacy of Dr Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, some time Provost of the college, who bequeathed the greatest part of his books and manuscripts to it, leaving the rest to the Bodleyan library, of which he had been Keeper.

(1) See a description of it, in a poem intitled *Oxford*, by Mr Tickell, in 1707, with a dedication to Lord Londale.

(2) The Bishop married the widow of Sir Richard Fletcher of Hutton, great grandfather to the wife of Dr Joseph Smith, See a further account of this prelate in Willis's Cathedrals, under Carlisle.

(3) Whom Dr Halton attended as chaplain in his embassy with Sir Leoline Jenkins, to Cologne, in 1673.

(t) Not less than 7000, as I am inform'd, besides what he gave to the college buildings in the Provostship of Dr Lancaster, &c.

* See the particulars in the dedication to Dr Smith of Mr Simpson's elegant edition of Epicurus, &c. 8vo.

(u) Viz. to the society for the propagation of the Gospel, that for promoting Christian knowledge, St George's hospital London, the Westminster infirmary, the small-pox hospital, and likewise to the Protestant schools in Ireland, as well as to those at Oxford and at Kidlington, where he not only subscribed handsomely himself, but applied for an annual subscription in the neighbourhood, for settling and endowing a school, according to the proposals he drew up for the purpose, tho' it did not succeed to his expectations.

which was very considerable (t). Such extraordinary services will always stand as so many memorials of his paternal affection for the college *, and of his generous principle in employing that interest for the society, which might have been of service to himself. He declined the office of Vice-Chancellor, on account of the infirm state of his health, through a tenderness of constitution, which, as he advanced in years, occasioned frequent confinement; otherwise no person was better qualified to support the dignity of that post. However, as long as he was able, and the statutes of the college would admit, he discharged the duty of his parish at St Dionis; the cure of mens souls being the principal ingredient in his character. He used frequently to retire for his health, in the summer season, to his *villa* at Kidlington, where he purchased a manor and estate, now in the possession of his family, which though near Oxford seem'd formed for such a retirement, as he grew latterly very fond of: It gave him a singular pleasure in the enjoyment of a few select friends, and those whom he liked; in whose company he would be very chearful and diverting, without scandal or reflecting on others. He was obliging, humble, and sincere, ever friendly and generous in his temper, and more ready to serve others than himself; in which respect he had by his interest an opportunity of doing many kind and generous offices. He was a kind and loving husband, a tender and indulgent father, and a good master, taking care of the spiritual, as well as temporal concerns of all that belonged to him. His liberality to the poor was extensive, and distributed without ostentation, and besides the many publick charities to which he was a constant subscriber (u), he was a trustee to others. About four years before his death he was greatly afflicted with the strangury, which he bore with true Christian fortitude and resignation; but this obliging him to use frequent bleeding and evacuations, the decays of nature came thereby fast upon him, 'till at last by a numbness of his limbs, and a total loss almost of his sight; he found death approaching, and took to his bed in the college on the Founder's day (w), August the fifteenth. He lived a dying life in this languishing condition for upwards of three months; during which interval he employed the time in divine contemplations, making frequent ejaculations and repetitions out of the Psalms. On the day of his departure, being quite emaciated and worn out, he took a solemn leave of his family, and after recommending himself to the Almighty in fervent prayer, he cried out in the words of the burial service, *O death where is thy sting!* &c. and expired. Thus died this venerable good man on Tuesday November 23, 1756, aged eighty-six years. His remains were deposited on the twenty-ninth, according to his own appointment, in the vault under the altar of the new chapel at the college; all the members thereof, as well as some of the heads of other colleges, attending him to the grave. An elegant Latin speech was spoken on the occasion, by Mr Thomas Hodgson, some time a Fellow, and a handsome copy of verses to his memory was afterwards inserted in the London Magazine in 1757, by Mr John Hodgson of the same college, whose poetical genius has on several occasions been displayed to his honour [T]. We have two sermons published by

(w) Which was always a memorable day with him, and particularly in 1740; which being the 400th year from the founding of the college, a grand jubilee was kept (the same being observed there once in 100 years), when the celebrated Mr Powell sung there a Te Deum, accompanied with the choir from Magdalen college

(27) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. V. P. 342 to 347.

(28) He had been a member in several parliaments for Sandwich in Kent.

(29) See the inscription over the gateway.

* See also Dr Smith's character in a book of poems, &c. published in 8vo. p. 250. by the ingenious Mr Thompson aforementioned, son to the said Mr Francis Thompson, who published the State of the Case relating to the election of a Provost of Queen's college.

nephew (27), who died September 5, 1739 (28), and was buried at Old Windfor with his ancestors, who had a large seat and estate there, whereof a considerable part descended to him (29).

[T] *Mr Hodgson's poetical genius has been displayed to his honour.* They are wrote in a true poetical spirit, and therefore we shall oblige the reader with a transcript of them, as follows *:

I.

Not in oblivion's gloom expire,
The breasts that glow with sacred fire.
Ordain'd by heav'n their worth to save,
The hallow'd Muse receives the hearse,
And bids them live in endless verse,
Triumphant o'er the withering grave.

II.

Thee, SMITH, the mark'd, when, from it's clay,
Emerg'd thy pure ethereal ray,
To mix with fainted souls on high;
And, while Philippa's fons the tear
Of gratitude pour'd o'er thy bier,
Entun'd thy heart-felt elegy,

III.

Ah me, she cry'd! the good and wife,
In Death's cold arms extended lies;
See Virtue mourn th' afflicting blow!
His was the courtly grace and ease,
That taught her harsher voice to please,
And sooth'd the roughness of her brow.

IV.

Say ye, who all attention hung
O'er the sweet accents of his tongue,
Whene'er he pour'd th' instructive lore;
How, taught in holy hope to rise,
Ye burn'd impatient for the skies,
Allur'd by fading earth no more.

V.

Nor did persuasive speech alone
Fix on his lips her sacred throne;
More strong his fair example taught.
The laws he preach'd his steps pursu'd,
While every eye with wonder view'd,
And emulative ardour caught.

by our author (x). One on the death of Queen Anne, intituled, *The duty of the Living to the Memory of the dead*. The other preached before the Sons of the Clergy, printed under the title of the faithful Stewardship. He also published in 1754, 8vo. *A clear and comprehensive View of the Being and Attributes of God, formed not only upon the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures, but the solid Reasonings and Testimonies of the best Authors, both Heathen and Christian, which have writ upon that subject* [U]. The author's principal

design

(x) See Lett- come's Preacher's Assistant, and Historical Register, 8vo. both the sermons went through two editions, and several copies of the latter were sent to the West Indies by Sir George Wheeler, and dispersed there.

VI.

Oft' has the drooping head of care,
Rais'd by his hand from fell despair,
View'd days of brighter tenour flow.
Oft' has his judgment's piercing rays
Urravell'd doubt's perplexing maze,
And giv'n the heart new peace to know.

VII.

Smit with the charms of varied good,
Each virtuous breast his friendship woo'd.
Oh WILLIAMSON ||! thy favourite boast;
Ev'n the fair pride of sovereign power †,
Call'd him to share the social hour,
And pomp in grateful converse lost.

VIII.

But chief for long try'd wisdom known,
Fair learning mark'd him for her own,
Exulting in his generous sway:
Kind gentle warmth his influence shed,
Each science rais'd it's laurell'd head,
Each latent genius sprung to day.

IX.

Now, whilst he soars to purer light,
The Muse, he nurs'd, pursues his flight,
Far as the confines of the sky:
There harps angelic take the strain,
And hail him to th' ethereal plain,
Whilst his hands reach th' immortal prize.

[U] *A clear and comprehensive View, &c.* The greatest part of the impression being sold off very soon, and the remainder sent to the British plantations and factories abroad, he afterwards made considerable additions to it (for he still preserved the solidity and quickness of his judgment surprizingly), and published a second edition with his name to it (30), and a dedication to the Prince of Wales, now King George the Third, and Prince Edward, now Duke of York. Our author was very assiduous to the last in employing his time to some general good, and it is to be wished that he had begun earlier in life, to give us other specimens, as well as this, of his valuable compositions, of which he left a considerable number in manuscript. However, we have some ground to hope that some of them will be published by his friends, though, as he had not such a design, they must needs appear to a disadvantage.

We must not conclude this memoir, without mentioning the application that was made to Dr Smith, after the death of Bishop Beveridge in 1707, to look over his Lordship's manuscripts, and chiefly those on the XXXIX Articles, and his Private Thoughts on Religion, which he revised and published (31); but the last being very imperfect, he was obliged to make large additions, and he took a great deal of pains to finish it, according to the mind and sentiments of the learned and pious author, of whom he gave an excel-

lent character in the preface (32); and the work has gone through several editions.

To this must also be added, that, in 1742, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. gave the university of Oxford the benefit of the impression of his manuscript of Shakespeare, occasioned by an intimation given him by Dr Smith, that such a present would be acceptable to them; and the affair was afterwards conducted by him and Dr Shippen, Principal of Brazen-nose-college, for they were both particularly consulted in the publication of this beautiful edition of Shakespeare, as appears by the correspondence Sir Thomas had with Dr Smith on that occasion. The edition was printed at Oxford in 4to. 1744, on the finest royal paper, to which is prefixed a good cut to every play, done (by Gravelot) at the expence of Sir Thomas. This worthy gentleman, who died at his seat in Suffolk in May 1746, had been Knight of the Shire for that county, as also for Flintshire, and some time Member for Thetford. He was unanimously chosen Speaker of the House of Commons on the 12th of Queen Anne.

In a letter to Dr Smith, dated March 18, 1741-2, he writes as follows:

' Dear Sir,

' I have received the favour of your letter, by which you desire me to open a little the plan I would propose for a new impression of Shakespeare, upon which subject, if I speak unskilfully or improperly, I may well be forgiven, it being so new to me.

My aim in general is to promote a correct and a beautiful edition of his dramatic works, more worthy of the author than any of those which have hitherto been bestowed upon him. It must be in six volumes in quarto, in as large a letter at least as that published by Mr Pope, but upon much better paper, for it ought to be the finest royal, as good as the large paper of Dr Middleton's late *Life of Cicero*. I propose to have a good cut prefixed to every play, done by the very best designer and engraver; which copper plates are now under hand, and in pretty great forwardness: and these I design shall be at my expence. I will give them freely to the publick, that the book may be brought within the compass of a reasonable price, which I would not have exceed four pounds at the most: if it can be afforded cheaper I shall be glad (33), nor do I desire more copies for myself than ten or twelve to give to my particular friends.

He then recommends the strictest care in correcting the press, for which it would not be ready 'till the beginning of next winter. ' However, continues he, I should be glad to be favoured with an answer, that I may know how it relishes, and whether any objections are made. I should be glad to have it in my power to oblige the university, to which I had the honour to belong, and for which I have always retained the greatest respect.

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble

and obedient servant,

Tho. Hanmer.'

In

(32) It has been already cited more than once under that prelate's article, in this Work.

(33) The subscription price was three guineas, but the book now sells for ten, being grown very scarce.

† Sir Joseph Williamson.

† Queen Caroline, to whom he was Chaplain.

(30) The first edition came out 1740.

(31) See Carter's History of Cambridge, for Bishop Beveridge, &c.

design of communicating this compendious summary of Christian morality to the press (for which he was solicited by some of his friends) was to instil the fundamental principles of religion into the minds of our growing youth, and guard them as far as possible against the prevalent attacks of infidelity and free-thinking. The subject itself is common by being so frequently treated on, but our author's method of handling it with regard to the arrangement of the several arguments and solutions, which are enlarged upon under each head, and his tender and affectionate manner of applying them to excite a suitable practice, are in a great measure new, and different from any other treatises that have yet appeared of the like sort.

Difficile est proprie commutia dicere.

HOR.

Dr Smith was succeeded in the Provostship of Queen's-college by Dr Joseph Browne, Canon-Residentiary of the church and Chancellor of the diocese of Hereford, and in his Prebend of Stoke-Newington, in the church of St Paul, London, by Dr Nicholls, Master of the Temple, and now also Rector of St James's, Westminster.

In another letter, dated May 19, 1742, Sir Thomas expresses himself in these terms:

Dear Sir,

I ought to acknowledge the favour of your letter, though, as it found me here under the affliction of my nephew's death, I have had no opportunity since of knowing from you or Dr Shippen, what further information or satisfaction is desired from me. This in general may be depended on, that since the university is pleased to accept so small a present from me, they shall make what use of it they please; I will prescribe in nothing to them. The edition must be in quarto, because the plates are prepared for a volume of that size; but whether a small number only shall be upon the best royal paper, and the rest upon less, shall be left with them to determine. I wish only the pur-

chase may not be too dear: nor would it be the interest of the university to have it so, because it would be an obstruction to the sale of the book. If you have any further commands for me upon this subject, or any other, please to direct to me at Hanmer, near Whitchurch in Shropshire, for thither I am removing to-morrow.

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble

and most obedient servant,

Tho. Hanmer.
P

(a) *Memoirs of the Life of John Lord Somers, &c.* p. 10. edit. 1716. The writer of his Life, in the General Dictionary, tells us, he was educated at a private school in Staffordshire, but gives no authority for it.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 10.

(c) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 960.

(d) *Life*, as before.

• *Ath. Oxon.* as before.

(e) *Life*, p. 10.

(f) They were both printed by Mr Tonson, who had the honour to be intimately acquainted with him while he was a young barrister. *Id.* p. 11.

(1) *Life of Lord Somers, &c.* p. 9, 10. edit. 1716, 8vo.

(2) *Id.* p. 10.

SOMERS [JOHN LORD], an illustrious statesman, of consummate abilities and irreproachable integrity, was descended of reputable parents in the city of Worcester [A], where he was born in the year 1652; and being put to the college school there (a), was soon taken notice of for the quickness and solidity of his parts, and had the character of being the brightest boy in it; when he was removed to Oxford (b), and admitted a gentleman-commoner of Trinity-college (c). In the university, the same good sense grew into a judicious and elegant taste of classical learning, and he would certainly have become equally the delight and boast of that eminent seat of the Muses, had he staid longer in it (d); but he left it without taking any degree*. His father having always intended to breed him to his own profession, the Law, had entered him a Clerk to Sir Francis Winnington [B] for some time; after the expiration of which he was removed to the Middle Temple (e). Here two different talents were observed to concur in his genius, which are almost certain indications of the possessor's becoming a great man: to an exquisite taste of polite literature, was joined a turn to business in the practice of the Law. This implied solidity of judgment, and prompted an industrious application; whilst the other furnished delicacy of sentiment, and an elegant diction. Accordingly we find an unwearied diligence following Mr Somers through all the stages of his life, which gave him such a thorough insight into the laws of the land, that he passed for one of the greatest masters of his profession, at his first appearance in it [C]: At the same time, he found leisure to read and digest the finest authors both of the learned and modern languages, and was engaged with several of the politest writers of the age, in the English translation of Plutarch's Lives in prose, and Ovid's Epistles in verse; in the first, he performed the *Life of Alcibiades*, and in the other *Dido's Epistle to Æneas*, and that of *Ariadne to Theseus* (f). Neither in his profession could such accomplishments be confined wholly to the lucrative part of it. On the contrary, he was not satisfied with occasionally looking into the history and original of such particular laws and customs, as his practice led him to, he made the knowledge of the constitution in general a distinct branch of his studies; so that he became a master

[A] *Descended of reputable parents, &c.* His father, Mr John Somers, was an Attorney-at-Law, possessed of a good estate, which his Lordship inherited; and his mother, Mrs Catherine Ceaverne, was a gentlewoman of a good family in Shropshire. His grandfather was also a citizen of Worcester of good substance (1).

[B] *He was Clerk to Sir Francis Winnington.* This eminent Lawyer we are told, from being a Servitor in Trinity-college had raised a great estate by the Law, though his talent consisted rather in speaking fluently than eloquently, knowing how to wrangle better than to argue (2). He was Solicitor-General to King

Charles the Second, in which post he was succeeded by Heneage Finch, second son to Chancellor Finch, and younger brother to Daniel Earl of Nottingham (3).

[C] *One of the greatest masters of his profession at the time of his first appearance in it.* Mr Addison observes, that though he had made a regular progress through the several honours of the Long Robe, he was always looked upon as one who deserved a superior station to that he was possessed of, 'till he arrived at the highest dignity to which these studies could advance him (4).

[D] *He*

(3) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 720 and 1055.

(4) *Freeholder*, No. 39.

a matter in it †: and, siding against the Court, he early published several pieces in the political way, which were universally esteemed [D]. As in pleading at the bar, his oratory was masculine and persuasive, free from every thing trivial and affected. So his style in writing was chaste and pure, but at the same time full of spirit and politeness, and fit to convey the most intricate business to the understanding of the reader with the utmost clearness and perspicuity †. One of the first of these tracts was, his History of the Succession of the Crown of England [E]: written in favour of the attempt to exclude

† Freeholder, 27 before.

|| Freeholder.

[D] He wrote several pieces in the political way, &c.] Bishop Burnet mentioning the return of the bill against the Earl of Shaftesbury Ignoramus, by the Grand-Jury; and observing, that in defence of these Ignoramus juries it was said, that by the express words of their oath, they were bound to make true presentments of what should appear true to them; and, therefore, if they did not believe the evidence, they could not find a bill though sworn to, proceeds thus: 'A book, says he, was written to support that, in which law and reason were brought to confirm it. It passed as writ by Lord Essex, but I understood afterwards it was writ by Somers, who was much esteemed and often visited by Lord Essex; and, who trusted himself to him, and wrote the best papers that came out at that time (5).' Mr Walpole tells us, that he had met with a small piece, said to be written by Lord Somers, which, perhaps, says he, was one of the tracts hinted at here. It is intitled, *The security of Englishmens lives: or, The trust, power, and duty of the Grand-Juries of England, explained according to the fundamentals of the English Government, &c.* I believe the reader will be before-hand with me, in concluding this to be the very book mentioned by Burnet. As this, as well as the other pieces here intimated were published without his name, Mr Addison makes this remark upon it (7). 'It is to be lamented, says he, that this extraordinary person, out of his natural aversion to vain-glory, wrote several pieces as well as performed several actions, which he did not assume the honour of: though, at the same time, so many works of this nature have appeared, which every one has ascribed to him, that I believe no author of the greatest eminence would deny my Lord Somers to have been the best writer of the age in which he lived.' Thus this author, out of gratitude to his benefactor, who first brought him into the eye and notice of the world; and, therefore, such a stroke of panegyric is excusable, especially in a funeral oration, as that may well be called whence this passage is cited (8). But to speak impartially, may it not, without breach of candor, be said, that in Mr Somers's conduct, in forbearing to set his name to the political pieces he wrote in the reign of King Charles the Second, there was at least a mixture of self-security with that of self denial. A prudent regard to his own interest cannot fairly be denied to have its weight in this restraint, from appearing publickly against the Government; which was the side he took in these tracts. At the same time, I agree with Mr Walpole, that 'such deathless monuments of his parts and virtue as Lord Somers erected during the course of his life, diminish the regret we should otherwise feel; that though his Lordship wrote several pieces, we are ignorant even of the titles of many of them (9);' and how little any fame of this kind was his object may be inferred from hence, that 'tis not known he ever, upon any occasion, laid his claim to them, even after the Revolution, which was a compleat sponge of the motive of self-preservation. However, he did not always keep the same absolute reserve with regard to his other pieces; at least, if any credit may be given to the writer of his life, who gives us the following, as he calls it, pleasant story, concerning a small piece of poetry which his Lordship writ, and which was owned with great impudence by a man now [in 1716] living. 'This person being introduced to my Lord when he was Chancellor; his Lordship took occasion to ask him, whether he writ such a paper of verses? Yes, my Lord, replied he, 'tis a trifle; I did it off hand. Upon which, his Lordship laughing pretty heartily, the pretended Poet withdrew in the utmost confusion, cursing the gentleman who had contrived to bring him to my Lord, to shew an instance of uncommon effrontery (10)'

land.] The whole title runs thus: *A brief History of the succession of the Crown of England, collected out of records; written for the satisfaction of the Earl of H. *.* In this curious piece he endeavours to prove the Parliament's power to settle the descent of the Crown, by the constitution of our kingdom. To which purpose he produces all the remarkable instances from the earliest ages to the reign of King James the First, wherein the succession by proximity of blood was broken and over-ruled by the States by of the Realm (11). He proceeds to declare, that it was as easy to shew, that in all other kingdoms the next in blood hath been frequently excluded from the succession. As an illustrious instance, *instar omnium*, (the reasoning in it being such as in his sentiments extends to all), he recites the speech, which the Ambassadors sent from the States of France, made to Charles of Lorraine, when they had solemnly rejected him, and placed Hugh Capet upon the Throne: notwithstanding Charles was the son of Louis the Fourth, d'Outremer; and after the death of his nephew, Louis the Fifth, Le Faincant, without issue, was next in blood to the Crown (12). 'They told him, that every body knew the right of succession to the Crown of France belonged to him, and not to Hugh Capet; but yet, say they, the very same laws which give you the right of succession, do judge you also unworthy of the same; for that you have not hitherto endeavoured to frame your manners according to the prescript of the laws, nor according to the usages of your country, but have rather allied yourself with the German nation, our enemies, and have loved their vile and base manners. Wherefore, as you have forsaken the ancient virtue and sweetness of your country; we have also forsaken and abandoned you, and have chosen Hugh Capet for our King (13), and put you back; and this without any scruple of conscience at all, esteeming it better and more just to live under him, enjoying our ancient laws, customs, privileges, and liberties, than under you, the heir by blood, in oppression, strange customs, and cruelty. For as those who are to make a voyage at sea don't much consider whether the pilot be owner of the ship, but whether he be skilful and wary. So our care is to have a prince to govern us gently and happily; (which is the end for which princes were appointed) and for these ends we judge this man fitter to be our king. Our author then proceeds to answer the objections, which he reduces to four. In speaking to the third, which is of those who maintain, that as William the Conqueror subdued the kingdom, the descent being settled by him becomes unalterable; he observes, 'That granting for argument sake, the absolute conquest by King William, yet that prince did not institute a succession by proximity of blood; and 'tis plain he never designed the Crown should so descend, but gave it to his second son; and thereby gave an example of excluding and pretermittting the unworthy. To the fourth objection, that the fundamental laws of the land, against which no Act of Parliament can be of force, had so established the succession, that the course of it cannot be altered; having first observed, that this argument is answered by the foregoing history, he turns it against the objectors, in asking them, by what authority those laws were made? If by the king alone, then no doubt but he may change them too; if by the people, they run before they are aware, into the guilt of worshipping that idol, the multitude; and make a great step towards placing the government upon contract and consent. He then challenges them to shew this law; and when the maxim, that *the descent of the Crown purges all defects whatsoever*, is alledged to be a part of this law, he remarks, that the first mention of that maxim is in the Year Book of Henry

* In the original copy there were several additions, in Lord Somers's hand writing, from whence the editor ascribes it to his Lordship. Vid. Somers's Tracts, 4th Collection, Vol. 11. p. 167.

(11) It must be owned, that this task was become less difficult by the conference about the succession, wrote by Parsons the Jesuit.

(12) Louis IV. fil-d'Outremer, left two sons, Lotharius and this Charles. Lotharius, the eldest, succeeded Louis IV. and then Lotharius's son, Louis V. le Foinant. It is remarkable, that Charles did not share the kingdom with his brother Lotharius, as had been the custom in France. See the Hist. of that kingdom.

(13) This seems to favour Lord Rochester's argument, in the conference about the word *abdicated*, where his Lordship alledged, that the placing the Prince of Orange upon the Throne would make the monarchy elective. See his article.

[E] *History of the succession of the Crown of England*. VOL. VI. No. CCCXIII.

(5) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. 11. p. 153. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(6) A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, &c. Vol. 11. under the article of Lord Somers.

(7) In the before cited Freeholder.

(8) His Lordship died on the 26th of April, 1716; and this panegyric was published in the Freeholder for May 14th following.

(9) Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, as before.

(10) Life of Lord Somers, p. 214.

clude the Duke of York: the great political subject from the year 1678, 'till the dissolution of the Parliament in 1681; which year he had a considerable share in another piece, intituled, *A just and modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments*; in answer to King Charles the Second's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, touching the causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the two last Parliaments [F].

And

' Henry the Seventh, where the Judges declare, ' that the king is a person able and discharged from ' any attainder, *eo facto*, that he took upon himself ' the government, and to be king. He remarks ' shrewdly, that Henry the Seventh was then king, ' *de facto*, and in possession of the Throne; and it ' was somewhat of the latest to consider, whether ' he was qualified or not. Certainly, says he, it ' would have been strange self denial in the Judges, ' and a neglect of themselves, which is not usual ' with them, to have alledged an incurable disability ' in the king, from whom they had their patents ' and authority. That not above three years before ' this opinion of the Judges, in the first of Richard ' the Third, the whole Parliament did not only give ' their opinion, but assured Richard, that all learned ' men of that time held clearly, that an attainder ' did hinder the descent of the Crown, and incapacitate ' the attainted person to take it; and in the ' following words of the Act of the seventh year of ' Edward the Fourth, George Duke of Clarence ' was attainted of treason; by reason whereof all the ' issue of the said George, was, and is, disabled, and ' barred of all right and claim, that in any case he ' or his issue might have or challenge by inheritance ' to the crown and dignity royal of these realms. ' After that, continue they, we consider, that you ' [Richard] be the undoubted heir, &c.; and so ' they proceed, in affirming, that all learned ' men in the laws do approve his title (14) He ' concludes his answer with observing, ' that either ' the Judges intended no such thing by their opinion, ' or else at least, that extra-judicial opinions were ' then as apocryphal as they have been since.' This ' thing at the Judges will perhaps be better understood, ' when we consider the complaisance paid by the Bench ' to the Crown at this time, when the Commons voted an ' impeachment against three of them (15), for drawing the ' proclamation against petitioning for a Parliament. ' But when, continues ' our author, I reflect what sort of men I am arguing ' with, and how willingly they used to submit to ' authority, I think I shall convince them best by ' citing the opinions of two great men, the one a ' Cardinal, the other a Lord-Chancellor, both of ' them martyrs for the Papal Supremacy! I mean ' Fisher and Sir Thomas More. 'Tis well known ' how resolutely, even to death, they refused the ' Oath of Succession, which the Parliament had ' framed, because therein the King's Supremacy was ' avowed; and, therefore, they cannot be suspected ' to dissemble, when, at the very same time, they ' declared, that if that of Supremacy was left out, ' they would willingly swear an oath to maintain the ' succession of the Crown to the issue of the King's ' present marriage, as it was then established by ' Parliament, for which they gave this reason, that ' this was in the power of a Parliament to determine, ' but not who was supreme head of the Church. ' Sir Thomas went farther, and owned a very strange ' opinion of their power in this point, but he says ' it expressly at the same time, that the Parliament ' had unquestionable authority, in ordering of the ' succession; and that the people were bound to ' obey them therein.' In answer to the objection, ' that an Act of Parliament to disinherit the next ' heir, is unjust and without a sufficient ground. ' Mr Somers writes thus: ' I will not at present enter ' into a dispute, how far the difference of religion, ' which will also necessarily draw on a change in ' the government, does justify men in seeking to ' preserve the two dearest things on earth in an ' orderly and lawful way. I will not, though ' I safely might, challenge those men to tell me, ' whether ever any settled nation, which had laws ' of their own, and were not under the immediate ' force of a conqueror, did ever admit of a king ' of another religion than their own (16). I will ' not insist on it, that the Crown is an inheritance, ' accompanying an office of trust, and that if a man's

' defects render him incapable of the trust, he has ' also forfeited the inheritance. I need not say ' how far a nation is to be excused for exercising ' justice summarily and without the tedious formality ' of law, when the necessity of things requires haste, ' and the party flies from justice, and his confederates ' are numerous and daring, and the prince's life ' in danger. But this I will say, that if the Parlia- ' ment has power in this thing, which I need not ' prove by shewing, that the ordinary course of law ' allows heirs to be disinherited by fines and re- ' coveries; and that the Parliament in all ages has ' frequently done it, by making the strongest settle- ' ments, where equity has dictated it, though the ' heirs were never in any wise criminal. These, ' according to Sir Thomas More's opinion, the people, ' are bound in conscience to obey; and must not ' pretend to enquire whether they were made upon ' just grounds. For by the same reason, they may ' pretend that all other laws were made without just ' cause, and refuse obedience to any of them; ' and surely those that should do so, would be an ' excellent loyal party. God defend the nation from ' such loyalty as opposes itself to the king and the ' laws; and God defend the king from the pre- ' tended duty and submission of those men, who, ' whilst they talk of his power, so much renounce ' it openly, and oppose what would be the greatest ' security of his person, and in effect set up his ' successor above him, even in his life time.'

This piece was reprinted in 1714 (17), under the ' title of *A brief History of the succession of the Crown ' of England; wherein facts collected from the best ' authorities are opposed, to the novel assertion of in- ' defeasible hereditary right.* To which is subjoined ' the following preface. ' The great noise that has ' been of late revived about hereditary right, which ' the next of blood in the royal family has to the ' Crown of Great-Britain, makes me believe, that ' the reprinting of the following history at this time ' may be of service, especially to such as have not ' opportunity or leisure to peruse our history at large. ' It was collected and first published in King Charles ' the Second's time, when the endeavour was made ' to set aside the Popish heir; and afterwards re- ' printed at the time of the Revolution; to shew in ' a short compass, what notion our ancestors, as well ' as princes as people in all times, had of this matter; ' by which I think it does sufficiently appear, that ' even our Princes themselves have all of them ' esteemed that the best title that came by acts of ' settlement. And those who received the Crown, ' have seldom thought themselves rightly fixed until ' they had obtained some act of recognition.'

[F] He had a share in the *just and modest Vin- ' dication*, &c.] This piece was first written by Alger- ' noon Sydney, but new drawn by Somers, and cor- ' rected by Jones*. In it, among other things, it is ' suggested, that dissolving the Parliament was an ' arbitrary act, wherein the king had exceeded the ' power of his prerogative in breach of the constitution, ' diverse statutes having provided both for the holding ' of annual Parliaments, and that they should not be ' prorogued or dissolved 'till all the petitions and bills ' before them were answered and redressed. ' That ' Parliaments should thus meet and thus sit, continues ' he, is secured to us by the same sacred tie, by ' which the King, at his Coronation, does oblige ' himself to let his Judges sit to distribute justice ' every term, and to preserve inviolably all other ' rights and liberties of the subjects.' The author ' afterwards remarks, ' that though, to the dishonour ' of our country, it does appear that some English- ' men were concerned in the unhappy advice of ' breaking the two last Parliaments, and setting out ' this present defence of it; yet the Gallicisms, ' which are found in the paper, shew the writer to ' have been of another nation, or at least to have ' had his thoughts so much taken up for the interests ' of France, (whilst he was labouring this way to ' heighten

(14) Cotton's Records, fol. 709.

(15) These were, Lord Chief Justice North, Sir William Jones, a Puisné Judge of the King's Bench, and Sir Richard Weston, a Puisné Baron of the Exchequer. Gen. Hist. of England.

(16) These words refer to a practice of Parliament, protested against in the King's declaration for dissolving it. Vide the subsequent remark.

(17) By way of answer, as it should seem, to a piece intituled, *The Old English Constitution*, in relation to the hereditary succession of the Crown, antecedent to the Revolution in 1688, printed the same year, 1714.

* Attorney General to King Charles. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. fol. edit.

And the same year he was the reputed author of another, written in defence of the Grand Jury, for not finding the bill of indictment for High-Treason against the Earl of Shaftesbury (g). In the same spirit he appeared Counsel for Pilkington and Shute, Sheriffs of London, Cornish and Bethel, Aldermen, together with Ford, Lord Grey of Werk, Sir Thomas Player, Mr John Jekyl, father of Sir Joseph Jekyl (b), and several others, who were tried on the 8th of May, 1683, for a riot in the city at the election of the Sheriffs the precedent year [G]. As he foresaw a change in the government established by Law would unavoidably follow a change in the religion of the governor (i), and upon that account had promoted every orderly and legal way of compassing the exclusion of the Duke of York; so he continued to oppose all the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of King James the Second: and being employed as Counsel in the trial of the seven Bishops in 1688, he argued with great firmness of speech, and perspicuity of reason, against the dispensing power usurped by that unfortunate Prince [H]. With these principles, and such abilities, it is no wonder that he was admitted into the most secret counsels of the Prince of Orange, and was one of those who concerted the measures for bringing him over (k). After his arrival in England, he was chosen representative for his native city of Worcester, in the Convention which met upon the summons of that Prince, January 22, 1688-9 (l); and, in the conference between the two Houses about the word *abdicated*, he was appointed one of the managers for the House of Commons [I], whereby the Lords were induced

(i) See his History of the Succession of the Crown, &c. towards the end.

(k) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's General History of England, Vol. I.

(l) His Life, p. 17.

heighten and perpetuate the differences between the King and his people) that he could not express himself in any other idiom than theirs; he would not otherwise have introduced the King, saying, that it was a matter extremely sensible to us; a form of speech peculiar to the French, and unknown to any other nation. The reader, who understands that language, will observe so many more of this kind, as will give him just cause to doubt, whether the whole paper was not a translation, and whether the English one, or that which was published in French, was the original. Let us then no longer wonder, that the time of dissolving our Parliaments is known at Paris sooner than at London, since it is probable the reasons now given for it were formed there too. The Peers at Oxford were so totally ignorant of the counsel, that they never once thought of a dissolution, 'till they heard it pronounced; but the Dukes of Mazarine had better intelligence, and published the news at St James's many hours before it was done. This declaration was not communicated to the Privy-Council 'till Friday the eighth of April, when his Majesty, according to his late method, did graciously declare to them his pleasure to set it forth, without desiring from them any advice in the matter. But Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, did not only read it to a gentleman the fifth of April but advised with him about it, and demanded his opinion of it, which his Excellency will the better remember, because of the great liberty which the person took in ridiculing it to his face (18).

Some of the reasons given for this dissolution were their intire neglect of the public, and falling into factions; their issuing arbitrary orders for taking his Majesty's loyal subjects into custody for matters that had no relation to privilege of Parliament; their declaring many eminent persons enemies to the King and kingdom without any order or process of Law, any hearing of their defence, or any proof so much as offered; their resolves against any persons that lend his Majesty money, or buy any tally of anticipation, thereby endeavouring to reduce him to a more helpless condition than the meanest of his subjects; their taking upon them to suspend the laws and acts of Parliament, by voting against the prosecution of Dissenters (19).

[G] He was Counsel for Pilkington, &c.] The two Sheriffs had continued the poll for new Sheriffs after the Common-Hall was adjourned by the Lord-Mayor, for which they were committed to the Tower, June 26, 1682, but were admitted to bail on the 30th of that month. And being brought with the rest to their trial abovementioned, they were all convicted and fined. Pilkington, 500 l.; Shute, 1000 marks; the Lord Grey, Bethel, and Cornish, 1000 marks each, and the rest in lesser sums (20). Their Counsel were Mr Holt, Mr Thompson, Mr Williams, Sir Francis Winnington, Mr Wallop, Mr Freke, and Mr Somers (21).

[H] He was Counsel for the Bishops, and spoke

admirably well against the dispensing power.] Being the youngest Counsel employed on that side, his turn was to speak last of all. But this, which is ordinarily a great disadvantage (especially where some of the most eminent Lawyers are retained, as in the present case) (22), our young Barrister by the force of his excellent parts, converted it into an occasion of displaying his superior merit. Among other things, he produced the case of *Thomas and Sorrel* in the Exchequer-Chamber, upon the validity of the dispensation of the statute of Edward the Sixth, touching selling of wine, arguing, that there it was the opinion of every one of the Judges, that there never could be an abrogation or a suspension (which is a temporary abrogation) of an Act of Parliament but by the Legislative power: That indeed it was disputed, how far the King might dispense with the penalties in such a particular law, as to particular persons; but it was agreed by all, that the King had no power to suspend any law; of which there could be no dispensation, but by an Act of Parliament. That by the laws of all civilized nations, if the Prince does require something to be done, which the person who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful but his duty, *rescribere Principi*; which is all the Bishops had done here, and that in the most humble manner. That the matter of fact, alledged in the Bishops petition, had been proved perfectly true, by the Journals of both Houses; that there could be no design to diminish the prerogative by it, because the King has no such prerogative: that the petition could not be *seditious*, because it was presented to the King in private, and alone; nor *false*, because the matter of it was true; nor *malicious*, for the occasion was not sought, the thing was pressed upon them; nor in short a *libel*, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set by Act of Parliament, that gives the subject leave to apply to the King when he is aggrieved.

The writer of his life observes (23), that what Mr Somers urged in this short, but very just argument, made more than ordinary impression on the jury, and was more taken notice of than the argument of the elder lawyers, who pleaded the Bishop's cause before him. It has been often said that this cause was the first event that produced him into the world (24). But the same writer assures us, not without great appearance of truth, that from the time of his being engaged for the Sheriffs Pilkington and Shute, &c. his practice increased daily: and continues he, 'tis said, he got 700 l. per annum by it in King James the Second's reign.' If this was an extraordinary gain at that time, it must be allowed that the times are much altered since in favour of the lawyers. The same writer having observed afterwards, that Mr Somers inherited a good estate after the death of his father, declares, that he was looked upon as one of the most rising Counsel in England, before he appeared at the trial of the Bishops (25).

[I] One of the managers for the House of Commons, &c.] The speech he made on this occasion is too well known,

(22) The other Counsel were Sir Francis Pemberton, Sir Robert Sawyer, Henage Finch, Esq; Serjeant Levinz, &c. See the trial, in the State Tryals.

(23) P.

(24) Swift's History of the four last years of Queen Anne, p. 10. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(25) P. 15.

(g) It was published in 1681, 4to. Baldwin's Catalogue of Pamphlets, in the Reign of King Charles II. See Lord Shaftesbury's Article, Vol. III. p. 1468.

(b) Who afterwards became his brother-in-law. They were intimately acquainted when young students in the Temple. Life, p. 10.

(18) P. 2.

(19) This declaration was ordered to be read in all churches and chapels throughout the Kingdom. Somers's Chron. H. 2. under this year.

(20) Gen. Hist. of England.

(21) Life of Lord Somers, p. 15.

(m) In the room of George Treby, made Attorney-General in the room of Pollexfen, advanced to be Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 960.

(n) Again in the room of Treby, who, upon the death of Pollexfen, succeeded him as Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas. Ibid. col. 961.

* Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

induced to agree to make use of that term against their own amendment. In the beginning of May, 1685, he was made Solicitor General (m) [K], and knighted. While he held this post, came on the tryals of the Lord Preston, Mr Ashton, and Mr Elliot, for high-treason; and in that of the Lord Preston, the Solicitor made a very distinguished figure [L]. And when the legality of the act, in the Convention for recognizing their Majesties, was called in question by one of the Members of the House of Commons, as not being summoned by writ, he spoke with remarkable spirit in defence of it [M]. On the second of May, 1692, he was made Attorney General (n), and was advanced thence to the post of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, on the twenty-third of March ensuing*. He had now an opportunity of displaying all those extraordinary improvements in learning and knowledge, which he was eminently possessed of, in the business of his profession; yet the temper which he invariably preserved upon all occasions, whilst he sat on this Bench, rendered him more particularly conspicuous. He was fair and gentle almost to a fault, considering the dignity of his post, and had all the patience and softness, as well as the justice and equity, becoming a great magistrate. However, it was not the ability and unblemished integrity of the Judge, that recommended him to that confidence, which King William expressed for him on all occasions: it was the uncommon reach of his

known, and has been so often printed, that it would be abusing the readers patience to insert it here at length, notwithstanding it is acknowledged to be one of those deathless monuments of the important services done by his Lordship to his country. It is sufficient to give the purport of it as follows:

The Lords had changed the word *abdicated* for *deserted* for these two reasons, first, because *abdicated* was a word not known to the Common Law, and secondly, because the common acceptation of the word, amounts to a voluntary express act of renunciation, which was not in this case, nor what would follow from the premises. To this first objection our manager replies, that their first reason had the same force against their own word *deserted*, which had no determined sense given to it in the Common Law. That they were both Latin words, and that the word *abdicate* doth naturally and properly signify, entirely to renounce, throw off, disown, relinquish any thing or person, so as to have no further to do with it, and that, whether it be done by express words or in writing, (which was the sense put upon it by their Lordships, and is properly called resignation or cession) or by doing such acts as are inconsistent with holding or retaining of the thing, which the Commons take to be the present case, and therefore made choice of the word, as that which did above all others most properly express their meaning. This he proceeds to shew was the bare signification of the word from the authorities cited in the margin (26). He further observes, that Grotius seems to expound the word to mean, that he who hath *abdicated* any thing hath so far relinquished it, that he hath no right of return to it, which is the sense the Commons put upon it. On the other hand, the word *deserted* in the common acceptance, both of Civil and Cannon Law, signifies only a bare withdrawing, a temporary quitting and neglect only, which leaveth the party at liberty of returning to it again (27), which as the Commons do not take to be the present case, so neither can they think that their Lordships do, because it is expressly said in one of their reasons given in defence of the last amendment, that they had and were willing to secure the nation against the return of King James. He was answered among others by the Earl of Nottingham, who acknowledged that he had fully made out the signification of the word *abdicate* in the Civil Law; but insisting upon it that it was a word not known to the Common Law, our manager in his reply evaded that argument, by observing, that the same objection however did not lie against the word *vacant*, which had been applied in a parallel case, in 1 Henry IV. upon record the words which he produced.

[K] *He was made Solicitor-General.* While he was in this post 'tis said he had some thoughts of marrying, and made his addresses to a young lady, Mrs Anne Bawdon, daughter of Sir John Bawdon, an Alderman of London. That he went so far in it as to deliver in a rental of his estate towards making a settlement, and had several meetings with the young lady's friends to treat of it; but the treaty broke off on account of a difference about the marriage portion and settlement, to the great regret of the lady, when she found him made Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal in two

[L] *He made a distinguished figure at Lord Preston's tryal.* The tryal was held January 17, before Lord Chief Justice Holt, at the Old-Bailey. All our Solicitor's speeches on this occasion are well worth the perusal of such readers as have any curiosity of this kind (29). But as they are too long to be inserted here, we shall only give the following specimen from that spoken at the opening of the charge. In which having informed that jury, that the general design of the conspiracy was to depose the King and Queen, which was to be effected by a French army and a French fleet, he proceeds in these terms. 'It will be easily granted, that nothing more dreadful can enter into the imagination of an Englishman, than the destruction of our fleet, and the conquest of the kingdom by the arms of France. But yet it will be part of the evidence that we shall offer to you, that the prisoners and others of the conspirators seem to be of another mind; for among the papers which were taken with the prisoners, you will see one which is filed, *The result of a conference*, wherein they pretend to shew the possibility of restoring King James by the power of the French King, and yet to preserve the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom. They themselves went no farther than to think it possible, and I believe it will be hard, to persuade any other Englishman that it is possible; unless some one instance could be given that the French King ever employed his arms for setting up any body but himself, his own religion, and his own government. I never heard, that he did pretend to form any part of his glories upon the virtue of moderation or self-denial: and there can hardly be imagined a greater instance of self-denial, than for the French King, after he had destroyed the Dutch and English fleets, and subdued our forces at land, not to make use of his success, so as to add these three kingdoms to his conquests, and possess himself of the uncontested dominion of the sea forever, but only to intitle him, at so great a hazard and expence, to become a mediator between King James and the people of England, and by his mediation to establish the Protestant religion, and the liberties of the people. And yet as absurd as this seems, you will find this to be the result of one of their conferences, &c.'

[M] *He spoke in defence of the legality of the Convention.* Bishop Burnet, who furnishes this particular, gives us the substance of his speech, and tells us, he said, if that was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and had taken the oaths enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treason; the laws repealed by it were still in force; so they must presently return to King James: all the money seized, collected, and paid, by virtue of that act of parliament, made every one that was concerned in it highly criminal. This, continues the Bishop, he spoke with much zeal, and such an ascendant of authority, that none were prepared to answer it. So the bill passed without any more opposition. The Right Reverend historian concludes with a remark, that this was a great service done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raise Somers's character (30).

(29) The tryal is inserted among the State Tryals, and the Solicitor's speeches, both at the entrance and the opening, are printed in the Memoirs of his Life, p. 26 to p. 38.

(30) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 57. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(26) Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, L. ii. c. 4. §. 49. Calvin's Lexicon. Jurid. Brissonius de Verbor. Significatione. N. B. Sam. Johnson cites a passage from Tully's third Philippic, where the word is used in the same sense. Johnson's Works, p. 274. edit. 1710, fol.

(27) For this he quotes Spigelius's Lexicon, and Bartolus, upon Law 8. tit. 58. cod. lib. xi. as also cod. lib. xii. and Calvin's Lexicon. verb. desert secundum Canonos.

(28) Life, p. 25. years time (28).

[N] Several

his capacity for all affairs of publick concern, that made that prince consider him above all his ministers (o); and several persons of real worth felt the happy effects of the share he had in the royal favour [N]. After the death of Archbishop Tillotson, in 1694, Sir John Somers,

(o) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 108. fol. edit.

[N] Several persons felt the effect of this favour.] When he did not think it proper to countenance some persons, whose learning he admired, though he did not like their characters, he was very bountiful to them at the same time, that he gave them to understand, he could excuse their visits. For instance, he gave a certain person 100l. and directed one, whom he entrusted with that commission, to let him know, it was on condition he should give no more attendance upon him: the person, though a Clergyman, having no good reputation for his morals. This particular comes from the writer of his Memoirs (31), who having observed that his Lordship did not confine his protection of men of letters to his countrymen only, but that foreigners also shared of his favour and bounty, and Mr Le Clerc in particular, goes on to Mr Bayle, as follows: 'About the time that Mr Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary* was much talked of as a work which was ready to be published, my Lord Somers had such a character of it, that he was desirous to do something for the author. Accordingly he wrote to a friend in Holland, intimating, that if Mr Bayle accepted of his patronage for his dictionary, he had one hundred and fifty guineas at his service. Mr Bayle, continues this writer, had been suspected of caballing with persons in the French Interest, and it was so far proved upon him, that King William ordered him to be removed from his Professor's place by the magistracy of Rotterdam. This highly disgusted that gentleman, and on many occasions he expressed his resentment against King William, but in none more than this. For when a friend of his communicated to him my Lord's generous disposition towards him, and represented how much it would be for his honour and advantage, Mr Bayle answered, *It was true; but he could not, bring himself to pay that compliment to a Lord, who was Minister to a Prince, of whom he had reason to complain. That King William, concludes this writer, had reason to complain of him, we may very well imagine, when he was so well with the French Court, that Count Guiscard offered him 1000 crowns a year, and the liberty of his religion, if he would return to France, and be tutor to his sons, the King having given him permission to do it* (32).' Mr Walpole calls this life of Lord Somers a poor performance (33), and the notorious weakness of this last remark is one egregious proof of the justice of his censure. However, the truth of that part of the passage here cited, which precedes this remark, is countenanced by the history of Mr Bayle's life. In which we have a letter of that author to Mr Naudis, his cousin, upon the subject of his removal from his Professorship, wherein he expresses his resentment of it in these terms. 'You must know, says he, that the 30th of October last (34) I was deprived of my yearly pension of 500 guilders, and of the leave I had of reading public and private lectures. This was done by the Council of this city, which is composed of twenty-four persons, and is called in Dutch *Vroedschap*. The Burgomasters, who are four in number, chosen out of that council, notified this resolution to me [on the second of November] without acquainting me why they now deprived me of what they had granted me in 1681. I have been told that several members of the Council vigorously opposed this injustice, but the majority carried it. Let us distinguish the cause of this proceeding from the pretence of it. The pretence, with which they disguise this conduct in private conversation, and which was even alledged by some the day in which this resolution was taken, is, that the book which I published in 1682 concerning comets, contains dangerous propositions, and such as a Christian magistrate ought not to suffer young persons to be infected with. The better to colour this pretence, the authors of this conspiracy against me have obtained, by a long series of intrigues, that some Dutch Ministers, oblique men, great enemies of foreigners, and of the new [i. e. Des Cartes] philosophy, passionate and seditious men, should examine the book concerning comets, and report, that it contains a dangerous doctrine. All this has been done with

' great secrecy, without giving me the least notice of it; without any regard to the declarations, which I have an hundred times made to the magistrates and ministers, &c. either publicly or in conversation, that I was ready to shew, that my book concerning the comets, contained nothing, which was repugnant either to right reason, or the confessions of faith of the Protestant churches. An infinite number of honest men here are filled with indignation at such a conduct, which is not practised even in the church of Rome. If an author be accused there of heresy, he is heard in own defence, and permitted either to explain his words, or retract his errors. This, my dear cousin, ought to lessen your sorrow for continuing to live in France. You will be a much better Protestant, if you see our religion only where it is persecuted: you would be scandalized, if you was to see it where it is established by Law. But let us come to the real cause of my misfortune. You must know, that under a republican government, every city and every town is usually divided into two or more factions. In Holland there are every where two parties, the one weak and of little credit, but composed of men of merit; the other powerful, which proudly abuses it's superiority and power. When I came here, I had my patrons and benefactors among the weak party, which was not then so weak as it is now. I have always cultivated their friendship, and could never follow the maxims of the courtiers. I never endeavoured to insinuate myself into the favour of the other party, which is daily gaining the ascendant. This I thought would be safe and mercenary; so that when, above a year ago, several of our magistrates were deposed, and others of the reigning party chosen in their stead, the ballance could no longer be even; and the new comers have deprived me of my place, in order to shew what they could do against those, who do not stoop before them, and dare to keep a correspondence with their ancient friends; and as the pretence was my teaching the youth dangerous doctrines, they were obliged to forbid me to teach privately, as well as publicly. Thus the two springs of my maintenance are shut up. I never had one penny of my father's estate; I never was inclined to hoard up money; nay, I never was in a condition to do it. I depended upon my pension, which I thought was to continue all my life-time, but I find now that there is nothing lasting in this world. You may easily guess that I have strong reasons to be uneasy with regard to the time to come, being in a country where living is expensive. But, thank God, I have not yet felt any uneasiness, and am perfectly resigned to the will of heaven, &c.'

M. Des Maizeaux remarks upon this letter, 'that Mr Bayle was not well acquainted with the real cause of his misfortune. It was a secret which the magistrates did not think fit to let him know: but it was owing to the situation of public affairs at that time. The King of France desiring to put an end to the war, of which he could hardly bear the expence any longer, employed Mr Amelot his Ambassador in Switzerland, to make proposals to some persons of credit in Holland. He promised to yield a strong barrier to the Dutch to cover their country, to grant them a full liberty for their trade, and all other advantages they could desire. Mr Halewin, a Burgomaster of Dort, being charmed with those promises, entered into a negotiation with Mr Amelot, without the knowledge of the States. King William, being informed of it, caused Mr Halewin to be arrested, and being found guilty he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and all his estates forfeited. As soon as this gentleman was arrested, Mr Jurieu (35) conceived great hopes, that the whole Geneva cabal would now have been discovered; and that Mr Minutoli, Goudet, Bafnage, de Bauval, and Bayle, would be accused by Mr Halewin: he boasted already that he was the first who discovered the dangerous plot, which was carrying on in Switzerland. But all his hopes soon vanished, and it appeared that none of these gentlemen were in the least concerned either with Mr Halewin or Mr Amelot. Yet,

(35) Who was Bayle's mortal enemy.

(31) P. 116.

(32) P. 48.

(33) A Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, as before. Yet this honorable author has not scrupled to cite his authority for some facts, which has encouraged us to do the same, though not without some a discretion in the choice.

(34) This letter is dated December 23, 1693.

(p) Life of Tillotson, by Birch, p. 346. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(q) See his article in this work, Vol. I. To which we shall add, that Lord Somers took him into his protection and favour, when he came first to town, and recommended him to Lord Halifax. Memoirs of Lord Somers, p. 110.

Somers, who had held the strictest friendship with him for many years, made use of his interest to procure an additional annuity for his widow from the King (p); and a few years afterwards, he obtained a handsome allowance, to enable Mr Addison to complete his education, by making the tour of Italy (q). From 1695, the first year after the death of Queen Mary, he was constituted one of the Lords-Justices of the kingdom, during his Majesty's absence abroad, every year as long as he held the Great Seal. This honour was, indeed, nothing more than an appendage to his place [O]. In the mean time, the title of it was raised into that of Lord High-Chancellor of England, on the 22d of April, 1697, when he was also called to the Peerage, by the title of Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham in the county of Worcester (r). For the support of these honours and dignities, his estate not being sufficient, his Majesty made him a grant of the manors of Ryegate and Howlegh in Surrey [P], and another grant of two thousand one hundred pounds per annum, out of the fee-farm rents (s). He was now at the head of the Whigs, and it was reckoned, that the chief strength of that party lay in his credit with the King [Q], and the

(r) Ibid. p. 41, and Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

(s) See his answer to the 8th article of his impeachment.

though Mr Bayle was innocent, he suffered by these secret negotiations; they were the true cause of his misfortune. The secret practices of France put King William in mind of the project of peace; about which Mr Jurieu had made so much noise; and as the peace of Nimeguen had been procured by such pamphlets dispersed at Amsterdam and other places, the king thought the same practices were now revived at Rotterdam. This great prince, who had not leisure enough to examine that project, was alarmed by the notion of a peace negotiated in the manner just mentioned, and thought there really was, as Mr Jurieu pretended, a party endeavouring to procure it, of which Mr Bayle was at the head; whereupon he ordered the magistrates of Rotterdam to dismiss him from his professorship and his pension. The magistrates obeyed the command, but concealed the cause of his deprivation from Mr Bayle (36). By the by it is observable, that this politic conduct of the magistrates proved a touch-stone of Mr Bayle's spirit and temper.

(36) Vie de M. Bayle, par M. Des Maizeaux, p. lxi, lxii. prefixed to the Paris edition of Bayle's Dictionary.

(37) Life, p. 77, 78.

(38) Ibid. p. 41.

(39) 'Tis the 13th article of his impeachment.

(40) Life, p. 42.

[O] Was nothing more than an appendage of his place.] The same may be said of his being appointed one of the governors of the Charter-House upon the first vacancy (37), and one of the trustees or commissioners of Greenwich-Hospital (38). But the year proved unlucky to him in another respect. It was this year that the Earl of Bellamont informed him of the great spoil committed by some pirates in the West-Indies, and represented the absolute necessity of redressing them. The Lord-Keeper communicated it to the King, who commanded the Lords of the Admiralty, to examine the affair and provide a ship for that service. But that board declaring, there was not one to be spared from the occasions of the war; rather than such a necessary service should be lost, the Lord-Keeper consented to be at part of the charge of fitting out a ship called the Adventure Gally, on purpose of which Captain Kidd was made commander, who turned pirate himself. This public-spirited act was afterwards made an article in his Lordship's impeachment by the House of Commons (39).

[P] He obtained a grant of the manors of Ryegate and Howlegh, &c.] These manors formerly belonged to the Lord Munson, who forfeited them for his siding with Cromwell, and being concerned in the death of King Charles the First. After the Restoration they were given to the Duke of York, and he having forfeited them by his Abdication, they merged in the Crown. The yearly value of both was not above 600*l.* per annum. The grant was made to Joseph Jekyll, Esq; in trust for his Lordship, who by this means came to have great influence in the election of Members of Parliament for that borough; which before this was intirely under the direction of Sir John Parsons a [wealthy] Brewer in London. Thus the writer of his life (40), and so far may pass without censure; but when he proceeds to tell us, that in carrying these elections his Lordship met with great opposition from the neighbouring gentry, insomuch that several of his friends in London became freeholders in this manor, as Mr Congreve, Mr Tonson, and others, to strengthen that interest; it must occur to every reader, that this busy management, which is related in the view of doing honour to his Lordship, is really one of those few blemishes that appear in his character. But who can help smiling at this writer's weakness, when he finds him afterwards, by way of defence of his Lordship against that part of his impeachment by the House of Commons, which

relates to the grant of Ryegate, observing, 'that this manor was cried up to be of great value, whereas, indeed, it is not 500*l.* a year. What the party disliked most in it, was the influence it gave the proprietor, in elections for Members of Parliament; in which, however, my Lord Somers did never carry above one Member, except in one election, when Mr Thurland and Mr Harvey (41) turned out Sir John Parsons and his son; but Thurland, forgetting by whose favour he was chosen, fell in with the opposite party; and ever after that, my Lord Somers compounded the matter with Sir John Parsons, who was constantly chosen with a friend of his Lordship's. It is said, continues he, that this agreement was made when Sir John Parsons gave his vote for Sir Thomas Abney to be Lord-Mayor, in opposition to Sir Charles Duncombe, and that it was my Lord Somers, who engaged Sir John to vote for Sir Thomas, which vote carried the election.'

(41) Stephen Harvey, Esq; whose translations of the Passion of Byblis and a Satire of Juvenal, were inserted in Tunson's Collection of Poems.

[Q] His credit with the King.] We have a remarkable instance of this credit and confidence of the King related by Burnet, who, in his account of Charnock, one of the chief conspirators in the Assassination-Plot, in 1695, tells us, 'that endeavours were used to persuade him to confess all he knew, for he had been in all their plots from the beginning. His brother was employed to deal with him, and he seemed to be once in a suspense; but the next time that his brother came to him, he told him, he could not save his own life without doing that which would take away the lives of so many; that he did not think his own life worth it. This shewed a greatness of mind, and had been very valuable, if it had been better directed. Thus, continues the Bishop, this matter was understood at the time. But many years after this, the Lord Somers gave me a different account of it. Charnock, as he told me, sent an offer to the King of a full discovery of all their consultations and designs, and desired no pardon, but that he might live in some easy prison, and if he was found to prevaricate in any part of his discovery, he would look for the execution of the sentence. But the King apprehended that so many persons would be found concerned, and thereby be rendered desperate, that he was afraid to have such a scene opened, and would not accept of this offer' (42). We have another instance of his credit with the King, related by the same historian, as follows: 'His Lordship, [in 1695] proposed that which would have put an effectual stop to clipping for the future. It was, that a proclamation should be prepared with such secrecy, as to be published over all England on the same day, ordering money to pass only by weight, but, that at the same time, during three or four days after the proclamation, all persons in every county that had money should bring it in to be told and weighed; and the difference was to be registered, and the money, to be sealed up to the end of the time given, and then to be restored to the owners; and assurance was to be given, that this deficiency in weight should be laid before the Parliament, to be supplied another way, and to be allowed them in the following taxes. But though the King liked this proposition; yet all the rest of the Council were against it. They said, this would stop the circulation of money, and might occasion tumults in the markets: that, those whose money was thus to be weighed, would not believe the difference between the tale and the weight would be allowed them, and

(42) Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 235, 236 8vo. edition.

the prudent methods he took to govern the party, and to moderate that heat and those jealousies, with which his Majesty had been so long disgusted in the first years of his reign (1). However, his conduct did not escape the censure of some of his own party, for being too compliant with his royal master's humour and notions, or at least of being too soft or too feeble in representing his errors to him (u). Upon the discovery of the Assassination plot in 1695, such an alteration was made by him in the commission of the Peace, as gave great disgust to many people [R]; and, not long after the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick, his influence in Parliament began visibly to decline, his Majesty being not only obliged by the new Parliament, which met in December 1698, to reduce his army to a very low state both in England and Ireland, but also to send home his Dutch guards, notwithstanding the great reluctance he expressed on that occasion (w). The King, before his departure for Holland the preceding summer, communicated to the Lord Chancellor a proposition made by Count Tallard, to prevent a war about the succession of Spain, upon the death of the then feeble monarch of that kingdom; and the Chancellor received, in August following, a letter from his Majesty, then in Holland, informing him, that fresh offers had been made to the same purpose, and requiring him privately to dispatch full powers, under the Great Seal, with the names in blank, to empower his Majesty to treat with the aforementioned Count. The order was punctually complied with, and the negotiations being immediately entered upon, a treaty was concluded. This was the first Partition treaty; and in the next session of Parliament, which began November 16, 1699, great complaints were made in the House of Commons against the Chancellor: and the House having resolved, on the sixth of December, to push the resumption of the grants of the Irish forfeited estates, by tacking it to the land-tax bill; an address was concerted, April 10, 1700, praying, *that John Lord Somers, Lord Chancellor of England, should be removed for ever from his Majesty's presence and council* (x), which was then passed in the negative (y). The Parliament being prorogued the next day, his Majesty, on the 19th, retired to Hampton-Court, where, in a few days, sending for the Lord Chancellor, he wished him to surrender the Seals voluntarily; which being declined by his Lordship [S], the King sent to demand them, and they were accordingly delivered up at the close of that month. This step was the occasion of his Majesty's losing many of his friends, especially of the Whig party; but though his removal displeased numbers, yet it seemed not to affect his Lordship, who retired with content and temper, and upon all occasions in Parliament served the King, as if he had not lost his place (z). On the 14th of April, 1701, the House of Commons having first, at his own request, admitted him to speak before them in his own defence, sent up an impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanors against him to the Lords; and, in consequence

(1) Burnet, p. 218. fol. edit.

(u) Ibid. p. 247.

(w) One of these was his message to the Commons, written with his own hand, in which he assured the House, that he intended to send the Dutch guards away, unless, out of consideration to him, the House be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his Majesty would take very kindly. London Gazette, for March 18, 1698.

(x) Several complaints being made against this motion in the debates, Sir Edward Seymour expressly declared, that the original mischief proceeded from the Ministers, and from the chief of them the Chancellor. Life, p. 170.

(y) Prior's Letter to the Earl of Manchester, dated Decemb. 7, 1699, O. S. in the History of Mr Prior's Negotiations, p. 142. edit. 1740, 8vo.

(z) Compleat Hist. of England, Vol. III.

and so might grow mutinous. Therefore, they were for leaving this matter to the next Parliament. So this proposition was laid aside, which would have saved the nation above a million of money. For now, as all people believed, that the Parliament would receive the clipped money in its tale, clipping went on, and became more visibly scandalous than it ever had been (43). We have given the King's approbation of this proposal as an instance of Lord Somers's credit with his Majesty, who otherwise could not, 'tis apprehended, have gone into a project that lay open to such unanswerable objections. In short, what superior abilities soever in other parts may be allowed to Lord Somers, 'tis certain, in this most arduous one, arising from the bad state of the coin, he must yield the palm to Lord Halifax, who was the only person that appeared equal to the task (44).

[R] *He made an alteration in the commission of the Peace, which gave great disgust to many people*] The fact was thus: When the design of the Assassination and Invasion Plots, in 1695, and the following year, were discovered, a voluntary association being entered into by both Houses of Parliament, it was sent round the nation. In such a time of danger, it was thought, that those who did not enter voluntarily into it were so ill affected, or at least so little zealous for the public good, that it was not fit they should continue Justices of the Peace. Whereupon, an order passed in Council, that all those, who had so refused, should be turned out of the commission. Lord Somers had obeyed this order, according to the representations made to him by the Lords Lieutenants and *Custodes Rotulorum* of the several counties, who were not equally discreet. However, he laid those representations before the Council, and had a special order for every person that was so turned out. But it was now charged upon him, that he had advised and procured those orders (45).

[S] *He refused to deliver up the Seals voluntarily.*] The writer of his life tells us (46), that 'it was said by some who where no strangers to the Lord Somers, that his Lordship represented to his Majesty at Hampton-

Court, that though he was very willing to resign the Seals and retire from business; yet, being convinced that those who had advised his Majesty to take them from him, did it with a view rather to serve themselves than the government; if his Majesty would consent, that he should continue in his post, he doubted not to be able to vindicate himself against all the calumnies of his enemies, and *maintain himself in it with the reputation due to his zeal and integrity.*' The garb in which this story is exposed by our life-writer, is another glaring instance of his poor talent that way. The last expression especially is apparently irreconcilable to that modesty which was a most distinguishing part of Lord Somers's character. Yet the simple fact itself may deserve notice, and is confirmed by Mr Oldmixon (47), who told the same story many years afterwards, with somewhat better judgment, as follows: 'The King, says he, some time before the prorogation, which was April 11, had given his Lordship a hint of the necessity he should be under to part with him, in order to accommodate matters with those in the opposition to the measures of the administration. His Lordship, upon this, told his Majesty, that he knew very well what his enemies aimed at, by their abusing and persecuting him as they had of late done. That the Seal was his greatest crime, and if he quitted it, he should be forgiven; but knowing what ill use would be made of it, if it were put into their hands, he was resolved, with his Majesty's permission, to keep it in defiance of their malice, and to stand all the trials they should put upon him with the support of his innocence, and the hopes of his being serviceable to his Majesty. That he feared them not, but if he would be as firm to his friends as they would be to him, they should be able to carry whatever points he had in view for the public welfare, in a new Parliament. The King shook his head, as a sign of his diffidence, and only said, it must be so. Mr Oldmixon tells us also, that the gentleman who was his informer had it from Lord Somers himself.'

[T] *He*

(43) Ibid. p. 237. fol. edit.

(44) See his article.

(45) Burnet.

(46) P. 54.

(47) History of England, during the reigns of King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, and King George I. p. 208. edit. 1735, in fol.

quence thereof, an address was presented on the 23d to his Majesty, to the same purpose with that which miscarried in the preceding session, and on the 19th of May, the articles of his impeachment were exhibited to the Lords; but, upon a quarrel between the two Houses, he was acquitted by the Lords, on the 17th of June, without any further prosecution of the Commons [T]. King William dying not long after, his Lordship being in no favour at the new Court, withdrew to a private way of life, passing his time with universal esteem in the most polite and useful studies [U]. During this retirement, he was chosen President of the Royal Society, of which he had been long a member (aa); yet he attended in the House of Lords, and, persevering in his principles, he opposed the bill to prevent Occasional Conformity [W], and was one of the managers for the

(aa) He was also chosen Recorder of Gloucester. Life, p. 110.

[T] *He was acquitted, &c.*] The whole account of this prosecution is so largely set forth in the general histories of England, that to repeat them here would be deviating from the design of this work. Therefore, referring the reader to those histories, we shall only mention some particulars scarcely taken notice of in them. The first relates to Kidd's affair, and is, if true, an undeniable testimony of the innocence of Lord Somers, as well as of the other Lords and gentlemen concerned in it. 'When the Parliament, that debated this matter, was risen, his Majesty was pleased to honour a noble Lord with his company at dinner. While they were at table a discourse arose concerning Kidd, and the trouble occasioned by that business to the persons concerned in the grant. Upon which his Majesty said, that *if by the law of England he could be witness, he could of his own knowledge justify the Lords concerned, in all they had done in that affair* (48). Another particular which more properly falls under the plan of this work, relates to Lord Haversham's speech, in the conference between the two Houses, on the twenty-fourth of June, when his Lordship declared his opinion of the prosecution in the following terms: 'One thing there is, though I cannot speak it, being bound by the orders of the House. Yet I must give some answer, that is, as to the Lords voting in their own case. It requires an answer, though I cannot go into the debate of it. The Commons themselves have made this precedent. For in these impeachments they have allowed men, guilty of the same crimes, to vote in their own House; and, therefore, we have not made any distinction in our House, that some should vote and some not. The Lords have so high an opinion of the justice of the House of Commons, that they hope justice will never be made use of as a mask for any design: and, therefore, give me leave to say, though I am not to argue it, 'tis a plain demonstration, that the Commons think these Lords innocent, and I think the proposition is undeniable, for there are several Lords in the same crimes, in the same facts, there is no distinction; and the Commons leave some of these men at the head of affairs, near the King's person, to do any mischief, if they were inclined to it, and impeach others; when they are both alike guilty, and concerned in the same fact. This is a thing I was in hopes I should never have heard asserted, when the beginning of it was from the House of Commons.' This was spoken with an eye to the Earl of Jersey, who was Plenipotentiary with the Earl of Portland, and signed the Partition Treaty; he was then Lord Chamberlain, and though he was much more concerned in the affair of the treaty than Lord Somers, yet he was left near the King's person a Privy-Counsellor, and no vote to remove him. In return for that complacency his Lordship gave his vote against Lord Somers (49). Sir Joseph Williamson signed the Partition Treaty as a Plenipotentiary, was then a Privy-Counsellor, and unimpeached. Thirdly, the Lord Somers was accused for asserting the Irish grants. Sir Edward Seymour and Sir Stephen Fox did the same when they were Lords of the Treasury; but not a word was said of them. Fourthly, the Lord Somers was charged for being concerned in the setting out the Adventure Galley, which Kidd ran away with; the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Romney lay open to the same charge, yet no notice was taken of them. These are glaring instances of the rage of that party which pushed on this prosecution; and they are set up here as so many sea-marks for the direction of others, to avoid ship-wrecking honour and conscience against the same rocks. Such things indeed are generally laughed off as a game between the ins and outs, necessary to be played upon some occasions, by every gentleman of fortune, who is actuated by a be-

(48) Life of Lord Somers, p. 90.

(49) See Mr Prior's article on this particular, in remark [L] and [M].

coming ambition not to lead the life of a drone in contemptible obscurity. But may it not be justly styled the worst sort of gaming? 'Tis remarkable in the game, (if we must give it that name) now under consideration, many of the gamblers lived to see and condemn their own folly in playing it: to which reflection the late Lord Bolingbroke in particular, one of the ablest and most active of the party concerned, was brought by sad experience (50).'

(50) See his reflections on the use and abuse of History.

[U] *He passed his time in the most polite and useful studies.*] No pains has been wanting to do justice to this part of his character. We are told by one writer, 'that his Lordship now gave himself up intirely to the studies of History, Antiquities, and other curious parts of learning. That he took a particular pleasure in prints and medals, and was a masterly judge of their genuineness and excellence. He also delighted himself in his retirement, at his seat near Chessunt in Hertfordshire, and the sweets of solitude and the Muses soon made more than amends for the loss of the fatigues and honours of his office of Chancellor *.' Again, all the leisure his Lordship had, by being out of the ministry, he employed in entertaining himself with medals, prints, and books, of which he had a collection equally large and well chosen (51). This is evidently nothing else but a copy (and a clumsy one it is) of Mr Addison's original, expressed in the following terms: 'This great man, says that excellent author, 'was not more conspicuous as a Patriot and a Statesman, than as a person of universal knowledge and learning. As by dividing his time between the public scenes of business and the private retirements of life, he took care to keep up both the great and good man; so by the same means he accomplished himself not only in the knowledge of men and things, but in the skill of the most refined arts and sciences. He enjoyed, in the highest perfection, two talents, which do not often meet in the same person, the greatest strength of good sense and the most exquisite taste of politeness. Without the first, learning is but an incumbrance, and without the last is ungraceful. My Lord Somers was master of these qualifications in so eminent a degree, that all the parts of knowledge appeared in him with such an additional strength and beauty, as they want in the possession of others. If he delivered his opinion of a piece of poetry, a statue, or a picture, there was something so just and delicate in his observations, as naturally produced pleasure and assent in those who heard him (52).'

* Life of Lord Somers, p. 52.

(51) Ibid. p. 216

(52) Freeholder, No. 39.

[W] *He voted against the Occasional Conformity bill, in 1703.*] However, there is good reason to believe that he promoted the bill for settling the first-fruits and tenths, towards augmenting the poorer benefices of the Clergy. The writer of Bishop Burnet's life, having mentioned that Prelate's designs in this particular, in the year 1696 and 1697, proceeds to inform us, that he had concerted his measures, in 1701, with Lord Godolphin and Lord Somers; and in confirmation of it, has inserted a letter of this last, wrote in answer to one from the Bishop, as follows:

' November 22, 1701:

' My Lord,
' I acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 17th with great thankfulness. I wish it may lie in my power to contribute to the excellent design. I promise you no man shall enter into it more willingly, and shall labour in it more heartily. The point of the first-fruits and tenths is what I have proposed several times with much earnestness, but without success. When I have the honour of seeing your Lordship, we shall, I hope, discourse at large upon

the Lords, in the conference between the two Houses upon it in 1702; and, when it was brought into the House the next year, 1703, he gave his vote in the negative (*bb*). In 1706, though unpossessed of any publick employ, he projected a plan for uniting the two kingdoms, which was generally approved; and this being a point which Queen Anne had greatly at heart, her Majesty took notice of his merit, and appointed him one of the managers of the Union [*X*]. The same year he proposed a bill for preventing delays and expences in the proceedings at Law, as also some regulations with regard to passing private Acts of Parliament [*Y*]. Upon a change of the ministerial measures in 1708, he was placed at the head of the ministry, in the post of President of the Council [*Z*]; and he concurred in rejecting the proposals for a general peace, offered by the French in 1709 at Gertruydenberg [*AA*], and in the resolution for carrying on the war (*cc*). The same year

(*bb*) *Ibid.*

(*cc*) The same year he was appointed one of the trustees for the poor Palatines. *Life*, p. 114. where it is also said, that the Duke of Montague dying this year, Lord Somers was appointed a trustee for his son, the last Duke, then a minor.

' upon the whole subject. In the mean time, allow me to assure you, that I am, with great and sincere respect,

' My Lord,

' Your Lordship's most obedient

' Humble servant,

' Somers (53).'

' general complaint made of the private Acts of Parliament, that passed through both Houses too easily, and in so great a number, that it took up a great part of the session to examine them, even in that cursory way that was subject to many inconveniences. The fees that were paid for these to the speakers and clerks of both Houses inclined them to favour and promote them. So the Lord Somers proposed such a regulation in that matter as will probably have a good effect for the future (57).'

[*Z*] He was made President of the Council, and voted against accepting the terms of peace at Gertruydenberg, &c.] It is not unentertaining to hear the same Historian descanting upon this promotion of Lord Somers. The great capacity and inflexible integrity of this Lord, says the Bishop, would have made his promotion to this post very acceptable to the Whigs at any juncture, but it was most particularly so at this time: for it was expected, that propositions for a general peace would be quickly made; and so they reckoned, that the management of that upon which not only the safety of the nation, but of all Europe depended, was in sure hands, when he was set at the head of the councils, upon whom neither ill practices nor false colours were like to make any impression. Thus the minds of all those who were truly zealous for the present constitution were much quieted by this promotion, though their jealousies had a deep root, and were not easily removed (58). In the former remark, we are taught to ascribe to Lord Somers the projection of those plans which were necessary for the safety and welfare of the kingdom, and here we are directed to look upon him as the *Palladium*, the virtue of whose presence was sufficient to secure the possession of those blessings. The use of this will appear presently.

[*AA*] He concurred in rejecting the French proposals at Gertruydenberg.] 'Tis well known what use the Tories made of the Ministry's rejecting these proposals at Gertruydenberg, to effectuate a change of hands; and in the General Dictionary there are extracts from two letters (59) of his Lordship, written at the breaking up of the negotiations, to the Earl of Wharton, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which discover our President's temper upon this occasion. The first of these extracts is as follows: 'As for news, I never was so little able to answer your demands. It is avowed, that no resolution is yet taken as to the continuing or determining the present Parliament. But the falling of stocks here, and the uneasiness occasioned in Holland, while the uncertainty continues, seems to make it absolutely necessary to have this matter remain no longer in suspense. In the mean time, our late disturbances, and the unsettledness of our affairs, give courage to our enemies; for the French Ambassadors at Gertruydenberg have sent a very insolent letter, or rather manifesto, to the pensioner, in order to justify their breaking off the negociation. I hope so unnecessary and so insolent a provocation will give the Dutch courage enough to resent it as they ought, but I have not the resolution taken upon it. It breaks my heart to think what a noble game we are unnecessarily throwing away.'

This letter was dated July 15, 1710, and the negotiations were accordingly broke off on the 20th, after all the preliminaries for a treaty of peace were agreed on, only the Dutch insisted, that the French King should take upon himself to compel his grandson, Philip, to quit the throne of Spain, and not leave the allies engaged in a war with Spain, when France should be in peace. This the French King absolutely refused

(57) Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 140. 8vo. edition.

(8) *Id.* p. 249, 250.

(59) Under his Lordship's article.

(53) *Life of Bishop Burnet*, prefixed to the History of his own Time, p. Revu. edit. 1753, 8vo.

(54) *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, ubi supra.

(55) *History of his own Time*, p. 213. 8vo. edit. Vol. IV.

(56) *Freeholder*, as before.

(57) *History of his own Time*, Vol. IV. p. 53, 54.

[*X*] He was one of the managers of the Union] Mr Walpole declares it was projected by him. Bishop Burnet says he was the chief manager of the treaty. Mr Addison goes further, and insinuates a probability of his projecting not only that plan, but the bill of Regency. These are his words: 'As he [Lord Somers] was admitted into the secret and most retired thoughts and counsels of his royal Master, King William; a great share in the plan of the Protestant succession is universally ascribed to him: and if he did not intirely project the Union of the two kingdoms, and the bill of Regency, which seem to have been the only methods in human policy, for securing to us so inestimable a blessing, there is none who will deny him to have been the chief conductor in both these glorious works. For posterity are obliged to allow him that praise after his death, which he industriously declined, while he was living (55).' And to the same purpose, Burnet observes, speaking of Ferguson's plot for a rebellion in Scotland, to be assisted from France, that the Lords concluded the whole matter with voting, that the encouragement of this plot came from the not settling the succession of the Crown of Scotland in the House of Hanover. That they laid this vote before the Queen, and proposed, that when this was done they would promote the Union of the two kingdoms upon just and reasonable terms. This being ended, they made a long and vigorous address, in answer to that which the Commons had made against them. This address was penned with great care and much force. Both the addresses were drawn up by the Lord Somers (56).

[*Y*] A bill for the amendment of the proceeding at Law, and in passing private Acts of Parliament.] Bishop Burnet, who is again our informer, gives us the particular circumstances of these two facts, as follows: 'His Lordship, says the Prelate, made a motion in the House of Lords to correct some proceedings in the Common Law and in Chancery, that were both dilatory and chargeable. He began the motion with some instances that were more conspicuous and gross, and he managed the matter so, that both the Lord Keeper and the Judges concurred with him: though it passes generally for a maxim, that Judges ought rather to enlarge than contract their jurisdiction. A bill passed the House, that began a reformation of the proceedings at Law, which, as things now stand, are certainly amongst the greatest grievances of the nation. When this went through the House of Commons, it was visible that the interest of under-officers, clerks, and attorneys, whose gains were to be lessened by this bill, was more considered than the interest of the nation itself. Several clauses, how beneficial soever to the subject, which touched on their profit, were left out by the Commons. But, what fault soever the Lords might have found with these alterations, yet, to avoid all disputes with the Commons, the amendments were agreed to. There was another

(c) See the Doctor's trial.

(ee) See those Debates, and the writer of his Life.

(ff) Yet, upon the change of the Ministry, a few days before the Queen's death, his Lordship went to the Council. Life, p. 117.

(gg) Ibid. 118.

(bb) Collin's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 28. edit. 1756.

year he also voted for the condemnation of Dr Sacheverell (*dd*), and the next year, 1710, upon the new change of hands, he was dismissed from the President's post, and succeeded by the Earl of Rochester, the Queen's uncle. After this removal, he made a distinguished figure in the debates of the House of Lords for some time (*ee*); but it was not long, before he grew very infirm in his health, which impaired his understanding so much, as rendered him incapable of executing any office under King George the First (*ff*); after whose accession, therefore, he had no other post than a seat at the Council-table, and he attended there upon some occasions 'till the year 1716, when he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off the stage of this world, on the 26th of April that year (*gg*). His Lordship was never married, so that his estate fell to his two sisters, the youngest of whom was married, as beforementioned, to his friend Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls; and the eldest, Mary, was wife to Charles Cocks, Esq; of Worcester, whose daughter by her is the Lady of the Earl of Hardwick, Esq; late Lord-Chancellor of England, who is her second husband (*bb*). His Lordship's character has been represented by two very eminent pencils; but under very different principles, Dean Swift and Mr Addison; and as they bid fairest for dividing the truth between them, we shall lay the Dean's draught intire before the reader [*B B*], to contrast it with that of Mr Addison,

a great

to engage for, and the French Ministers returned to Paris the 25th instant.

On the twenty-eighth, his Lordship writes thus to the same friend:

'I am not able to send you any certainty as to the dissolution. 'Tis a strange uncertain state we are in; and perhaps we may have this good effect of the present irresolution, as not to be without hopes of a good Parliament, in case they will put us upon a new election, that is by your Lordship's help and not otherwise.

'Your Lordship has heard that Mr Cresset was going for Hanover. After his dispatches were finished, and he had his last instructions from the Queen, he was taken ill on Tuesday, and died on Thursday morning. His death has given much disturbance to our great men, and has disconcerted their affairs. I cannot find that all the endeavours possible have succeeded to shew a way to preserve credit, or to furnish the necessary sums for the army, unless the present Parliament be continued. This article, and the French presumptions in breaking off the conferences, are the grounds of our hope. And we are apt to add to these two, that there is no certainty what the complexion of the new Parliament will be, nor what will be the turn they will take, since they are not Whiggs only, who will be affected by the dissolution.' Whoever reads these extracts, together with Bishop Burnet's observation in the preceding remark, will be apt to infer, that his Lordship, with his party, came to Court in 1708, in the same dispositions as all parties have done, and as Lord Bolingbroke confesses, the Tories, who succeeded in 1710, actually did. That the principal spring of their actions was to have the government of the State in their hands, that their principal views were the conservation of this power, great employments to themselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raise them, and of hurting those who stood in opposition to them. Though it was true, at the same time, that with these considerations of private and party interest, there were others intermingled, which had for their object the public good of the nation, at least, what they took to be such (60). Thus that active and leading man in the Tory ministry frankly and ingenuously gives us, and so much is certain that in it we see, the true reason of Lord Somers's dismissal from the Presidency of the Council abovementioned.

(60) Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir W. Windham, p. 19. edit. 1753, 8vo.

[*B B*] *His character by Dean Swift.*] This occurs in the Dean's *History of the four last years of Queen Anne*, a posthumous piece; in the entrance upon which he prepares his readers for what follows, by giving the characters of those in the opposition in 1710. Wherein he seems to have set Lord Clarendon's method for his pattern. 'It may not be improper,' says he, to describe those qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the public stage. For I don't intend to draw their characters entire, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose, but shall only single out those passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners are most likely to transfer into their particular schemes, and which were most

subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.' He then proceeds in these terms: 'The Lord Somers may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party. He hath raised himself by the co-incidence of many circumstances to the greatest employments of the State, without the least support from birth or fortune: he hath constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. That accident, which first produced him into the world, of pleading before the Bishops whom King James had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit, as honourable as it was fortunate; but the old republican spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons, that since we had accepted a new King from a Calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government. But since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established Church, and to the rights of monarchy, as delivered down from their ancestors, it was the practice of these politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of the prince, never offending in words or gesture, which are in the last degree courteous and complimenting, where he set an excellent example to others his colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow. But this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished, and in private conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal. Two reasons are assigned for this behaviour; first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude; the second is, that being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those whom he converseth with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect: and it is indeed true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation, which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself; so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes sparkle with rage, in those very moments, when his words and the cadence of his voice were in the humblest and softest manner. Perhaps that force upon his nature may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge; who, consequently, reckon dissembling among his chief perfections. Avarice he has none, and his ambition is gratified by being the uncontested head of his party. With an excellent understanding adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time amuseth himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant. These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person, who now presideth over the discontented party; although he be not answerable

a great part of which he will find in the course of this memoir, and the rest will be produced, in reciting the criticism passed upon both by Mr Walpole, who has dashed out the chief features of his Lordship's character, in the following terms: ' Lord Somers, ' says that sprightly and spirited writer, is one of those divine men, who, like a chapel in ' a palace, remain unprofaned, while all the rest is tyranny, corruption, and folly. All ' the traditional accounts of him, the historians of the last age, and it's best authors, ' represent him as the most uncorrupt Lawyer and the honestest Statesman, a master ' Orator, a Genius of the first taste, and as a patriot of the noblest and most extensive ' views; as a man who dispensed blessings by his life, and planned them for posterity. ' He was at once the model of Addison and the touch-stone of Swift; the one from him ' and the other for him. The former, however, has drawn a laboured, but diffuse and ' feeble, character of him, in the *Freeholder* for May 14, 1716, neither worthy of the ' author nor his subject. It is known that Lord Somers survived the powers of his under- ' standing. Mr Addison says, his life, indeed, seems to be prolonged beyond it's natural ' term, under that indisposition which hung upon the latter part of it, that he might ' have the satisfaction of seeing the happy settlement take place, which he had proposed ' to himself as the principal end of his publick labours.—A very wise way, indeed, of ' interpreting the delay of Providence! as if a man was preserved by Heaven in a state of ' dotage, 'till an event should arrive which would make him happy, if he retained his ' senses! Equally injudicious is another passage intended for encomium, where we are ' told, that he gained great esteem with Queen Anne, who had conceived many unrea- ' sonable prejudices against him. Mr Addison might as well have said, that the Queen ' had at first disbelieved, and was afterwards converted to, Sir Isaac Newton's system of ' comets. Her Majesty was full as good a judge of Astronomy as of Lord Somers's ' merit [CC]. In truth, Mr Addison was sometimes as weak a writer, when he wrote ' seriously,

' answerable for all their mistakes; and if his precepts ' had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power ' would not have been so easily shaken. I have been ' assured, and heard him profess, that he was against ' engaging in that bloody persecution of Dr Sacheve- ' rell, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ' ruin, and he blamed the rough behaviour of some ' persons to the Queen, as a great failure in prudence; ' and that, when it appeared, her Majesty was firmly ' resolved upon a treaty of peace, he advised his ' friends not to oppose it in it's progress, but find fault ' with it, after it was made; which would be a copy ' of the like usage they themselves had met with after ' the treaty of Ryfwic; and the safest as well as most ' probable way of disgracing the promoters and ' advisers. I have been the longer in representing to ' the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, ' because whatever attempt hath hitherto been made, ' with any appearance of conduct or probability of ' success, to restore the dominion of that party, was ' undeniably contrived by him. And I profess the ' same for the future, as long as his age and infirmities ' will leave him capable of business (61).'

Mr Walpole has made this attempt of Swift not less than that of Addison the subject of his ridicule. He observes, that it is a character of Lord Somers very different from what he had given in his *Catalogue*, &c; and from the picture drawn of him in the dedication of *A Tale of a Tub*. Yet, continues he, distorted as the features are in this new history, it is a pleasure to find *that* party malice attempting to discolour rather than to alter them. How lovely does a character burst forth, when the greatest objections to it are, that it was steady to it's principles, of universal civility, conscious of an humble birth, of no avarice, of satisfied ambition, that the person so accused did violence to himself to govern his passions, and (one can scarce repeat seriously such a charge) preferred reading and thinking to the pleasures of conversation. How black a Statesman not to be fickle! How poor a Philosopher to master his passions, when he could not eradicate them! How bad a man to endeavour to improve his mind and understanding! Can one wonder that Bolingbroke and Pope always tried to prevent Swift from exposing himself, by publishing this wretched ignorant libel (62); and could it avoid falling, as it has, into immediate contempt and oblivion. However, as the greatest character cannot be clear of all alloy, Swift might have known that Lord Somers was not intirely justifiable in obtaining some grants of Crown lands, which though in no proportion to other grants in that reign, it would have become him to resist, not to countenance by his example (63).'

[CC] *The Queen was no capable judge of Lord Somers's merit.* I cannot help thinking this censure a little too severe. The criticised passage concludes a display of his Lordship's personal qualities and accomplishments, in distinction to his abilities, either as a Lawyer or a Statesman. Let us take a view of the whole. ' His [Lordship's] life was in every part ' of it, says Mr Addison, set off with that graceful ' modesty and reserve, which made his virtues more ' beautiful the more they were cast in such agreeable ' shades. His religion was sincere, not ostentatious, ' and such as inspired him with an universal bene- ' volence towards all his fellow-subjects, not with ' bitterness against any part of them. He shewed his ' firm adherence to it as modelled by our national ' constitution, and was constant to it's offices of devo- ' tion both in public and in his family. He appeared ' a champion for it with great reputation in the cause ' of the seven Bishops, at a time when the Church ' really was in danger. To which we may add, that ' he held a strict friendship and correspondence with ' the great Archbishop Tillotson, being acted by the ' same spirit of candour and moderation, and moved ' rather with pity than indignation, towards the persons ' of those, who differed from him in the unessential ' parts of Christianity. His great humanity appeared ' in the minutest circumstances of his conversation. ' You found it in the benevolence of his aspect, the ' complacency of his behaviour, and the tone of his ' voice. His great application to the severer studies ' of the Law had not infected his temper with any ' thing positive or litigious. He did not know what ' it was to wrangle on indifferent points, to triumph ' on the superiority of his understanding, or to be ' supercilious on the side of truth. He joined the ' greatest delicacy of good breeding to the greatest ' strength of reason. By approving the sentiments of ' a person, with whom he conversed in such particulars ' as were just, he won him over from those points ' in which he was mistaken; and had so agreeable ' a way of conveying knowledge, that whoever con- ' ferred with him grew the wiser, without perceiving ' that he had been instructed. We may probably ' ascribe to this masterly and engaging manner of ' conversation the great esteem which he had gained ' with the late Queen, while she pursued those measures ' which had carried the British nation to the highest ' pitch of glory, notwithstanding she had entertained ' many unreasonable prejudices against him, before ' she was acquainted with his personal worth and ' behaviour.' Surely, the Queen may be allowed to be a better judge of this kind of merit than she could be of Sir Isaac Newton's system of comets.

[DD] *Chancellor*

(61) Swift's *History of the four last years of Queen Anne*, p. 944. edit. 1758, 8vo.

(62) See Dean Swift's article. However, he yielded to their advice, so that this piece being published, must be read with that consideration in the author's favour.

(63) *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*, two papers.

seriously, as he was admirable in touching the delicacies of natural humour. He says that my Lord Somers was often compared with Sir Francis Bacon, and gives the preference to the former, because he, all integrity, did not behave so meanly, when persecuted by the House of Commons, as the other under the confusion of guilt. This argument is as poor as the panegyric. To argue from their behaviour, they should have been in similar circumstances. If they are to be compared, the superior penetration of genius cannot be denied to Bacon; the virtue will all be Somers's. If he must be compared with another Chancellor, it must not be with Clarendon, who was more morose and severe, and had less capacity and a thousand prejudices. The great Chancellor de l' Hospital seems to resemble Somers most in the dignity of his soul and the elegance of his understanding [DD]. The momentous times in which he lived gave Lord Somers opportunities of displaying the extent of his capacity, and the patriotism of his heart, opportunities as little sought for by the former, as they were honestly courted and pursued by the latter. The excellent ballance of our constitution never appeared in a clearer light, than with relation to this Lord, who, though impeached by a misguided House of Commons, with all the intemperate folly that at all times disgraced the free States of Greece, yet had full liberty to vindicate his innocence and manifest his integrity; which could never have shone so bright, unless it had been juridically aspersed. In our constitution, Aristides may be traduced, clamoured against, and, when matter is wanting, severe addresses may be made, proposed, or voted, for removing him for ever from the service of the Government*; but, happily, the factious and the envious have not a power to condemn by a *shell*, which many of them cannot sign (i i). It was no inglorious part of this great Chancellor's life, that, when removed from the administration, his labours were still dedicated to the service of the government of his country. In this situation, above all the little prejudices of a profession (for he had no profession but that of Solon and Lycurgus), he set himself to correct the grievances of the Law, and to amend the vocation he had adorned (k k). The union of the kingdoms too was projected by him; and it was not to his disgrace, that the Princess, whose prejudices he had conquered, and whose esteem he had gained, offered him up as one of the first sacrifices on the altar of Utrecht. Such deathless monuments of his parts and virtue diminish the regret we should otherwise feel, that though Lord Somers wrote several tracts, we are ignorant even of the titles of many of them. So little was fame his object! He concludes with doing justice to Mr Addison, in observing, that this modesty is particularly mentioned in the Freeholder he had quoted [EE].

Mr Walpole

* As happened in the case of Lord Somers. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 263.

(i i) Alluding to the ostracism among the Greeks.

(k k) Ibid. p. 439.

[DD] Chancellor de l' Hospital seems to resemble Somers most.] Every one will allow the happy choice of this comparison, after reading the account which the French writers give of the Chancellor de l' Hospital; who, according to them, was one of the greatest men in the sixteenth century. He was born at Aigueperse in Auvergne in 1505, and learned the languages, polite literature, and the Law, in the most celebrated universities of France and Italy. He had a solid judgment, great eloquence, together with an extraordinary delicacy of manners, and an inviolable integrity. He distinguished himself easily among the first and most eminent persons of his profession; and passed, by the force of his merit, through all the honourable posts of the Long Robe. He was made Counsellor to the Parliament of Paris in 1524; afterwards became President of the Chamber of Accounts, Master of Requests, Counsellor to the Grand Council, Chancellor to the Princess Margaret, sister to Henry the Second; and at last, Chancellor of France in 1560. There had not been of a long time a person in this post that was more worthy of it, nor more capable of displaying the evils which then threatened the kingdom. He assisted at the assembly of Fontainebleau the same year, as also at that of Orleans in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Ninth; at those of St Germain en Laye in 1561; at the conference held at Poissy the same year; at the assembly of Moulins in 1566; and had a share in all the important affairs of State till 1568. He made the public good of the kingdom and the true interest of his master, the King, the rule of his actions. He prevented the inquisition from being introduced into France, by consenting to the edict of Romorantin, published in 1560, against the Protestants; and did all that lay in his power to prevent the civil wars of France. After the affair of Vassy, seeing both sides prepare to take up arms, he opposed it with all his power; and when the Constable meant to check him, by telling him, that it was not the business of the gentlemen of the Long Robe to give their opinion upon points of war, he replied, though such people are not skilled in the handling of arms, yet they may know when it is proper to make use of them. But his pacific views caused him to be

excluded from the Council of War, and occasioned his disgrace. Queen Catharine of Medicis, who had contributed to raise him to the Seals, disliked his conduct; and, by representing it as the effect of disloyalty, procured him to be dismissed in 1568. After this he retired to Vignay, a manor-house, which he had in Beauce, where he passed the rest of his life, he died March 13, 1573, aged sixty-eight years. It was observed, that in his countenance he resembled Aristotle. There are some speeches of his besides a collection of Latin poems which were printed after his death, and are in good esteem. In religious matters he was acted by the same spirit of moderation as Lord Somers, rather inclined to shew favour to, than to persecute, the Huguenots, upon which account he underwent the same fate with Lord Somers, in that article; and in spite of the gravity of his aspect (65), and the strictness of his morals, he is charged with being neither Calvinist nor Catholic, with having no religion of any kind, and being really an infidel; inasmuch that it was a common saying among the people, *Dieu nous garde de la messe du Chancelier*; God preserve us from the Chancellor's mass; and we have seen already that he was accused of disloyalty as well as Lord Somers.

(64) Moreri & l'Advocat.

(65) The courtiers used to call it: St Jerome's visage. Moreti.

[EE] This modesty is particularly mentioned in the Freeholder.] The words in that paper are as follow: 'It is to be lamented that this extraordinary person, out of his natural aversion to vain glory, wrote several pieces as well as performed several actions, which he did not assume the honour of; though, at the same time, so many works of this nature have appeared, which every one has ascribed to him, that I believe no author of the greatest eminence would deny my Lord Somers to have been the best writer of the age in which he lived.' This modesty is extended to his actions also afterwards. Having mentioned his impeachment, his urgently pressing the prosecution of it, and that he would not let the matter rest till it was brought to an issue; Mr Addison proceeds thus: 'For the same virtue and greatness of mind, which gave him a disregard of fame, made him impatient of an undeserved reproach. There is no question, continues he, but

this

Besides the pieces already mentioned in the course of this memoir, Mr Walpole mentions some others; as (1.) Dryden's *Satire to his Muse* (11). Which, however, he observes has been disputed, and thinks that the gross ribaldry of it cannot be believed to have flowed from so humane and polished a nature as that of Lord Somers. 2. *The Argument of Lord Keeper Somers, on his giving Judgment in the Bankers case, delivered in the Exchequer-chamber, June 23, 1696.* (3) He was supposed too, but on what foundation he does not know, to write the preface to Dr Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church* (mm). A few years ago came out a collection of scarce pieces, in four parts, each consisting of four volumes in 4to. from pamphlets chiefly collected by Lord Somers. But a much more valuable treasure, his Lordship's collection of original papers and letters, was lost by a fire in the chambers of the honourable Charles Yorke, Esq; his Majesty's Solicitor-General, which happened in Lincoln's-Inn-square, on Saturday morning, January 27, 1752.

(11) It is printed in the *Minor Poets*, Vol. III.

(mm) *Harley's Catalogue*, Vol. II p. 378.

'this wonderful man will make one of the most distinguished figures in the history of the present age, but we cannot expect that his merit will shine out in its proper light, since he wrote many things which are not published in his name; was at the bottom of many excellent counsels, in which he did not appear; did offices of friendship to many persons who knew not from whom they were derived; and performed great services to his country, the glory of which was transferred to others; in short, since he made it his endeavour rather to do worthy actions than to gain an illustrious character.' The concise Latin of which is his Lordship's motto, *Prodesse quam conspicui*, perfectly, elegant, and comprehensive, truly characteristic of the noble turn and temper of his mind, both in the sense and expression; and the force of it is rather extenuated and enfeebled, as Mr Walpole justly observes, by dilating and running it into an infinite number of words, a great fault in the Freeholder. It were to be wished that Mr Addison had exerted his poetical talents in an epigram on the subject; which, perhaps, is the best form for casting a motto into a translation. In that cast I have met

with the motto of Lord King, a successor of Lord Somers in the Great Seal. The motto was, *Labor ipse voluptas*, as aptly chosen for the person as that of Lord Somers; and is thus turned,

'Tis not the splendor of the place,
The gilded coach, the purse, the mace;
Nor all the pompous train of state,
With crowds, that at your levee wait,
That make you happy, make you great. }
But whilst mankind you strive to bless,
With all the talents you possess.
Whilst the chief joy you do receive,
Arises from the joy you give.
This takes the heart, and conquers spite,
And makes the heavy burden light.
For pleasure rightly understood,
Is only labour to be good.

P

SOMNER [WILLIAM], a man of great knowledge in the History and Antiquities of this country, and Author of the valuable Saxon Dictionary; of which Language he was one of the first revivers in this kingdom; was the son of Mr William Somner, Registrary of the Court of Canterbury under Sir Nathanael Brent, Commissary: and descended from an honest and creditable family (a) [A]. He was born, the 30th day of March, 1606, within the parish of St Margaret's in Canterbury (b), and educated in the free-school of that city; where, if one may judge from his subsequent works, he made considerable improvements [B]. Without proceeding further in his learning, or having the benefit of an university-education, he was taken as Clerk to his father, in the Ecclesiastical courts of that diocese. And, in a proper time, preferred to a creditable office in those courts by Archbishop Laud (c) [C]. His employment leading him in some manner, and his thoughts and affections having ever much inclined him, to the study and search of Antiquities, he made them the amusement of his leisure hours. More particularly, as bound in duty and thankfulness [to use his own words (d)], he applied himself to the *Antiquities of Canterbury*, the place of his birth and abode [D]. But, at the

(a) *The Life of Mr Somner* by White Kennett; prefix'd to Mr Somner's *Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, printed Oxford, 1693, 8vo. p. 4.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 2.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 5, 6.

(d) Preface to his *Antiquities of Canterbury*.

[A] *Descended from an honest and creditable family.*

Mr Kennett in his *Life* of our Author (1), observes, That the name of Somner hath been eminent in other ages, and in other counties. *John Somenour* of Multon near Croyland was a commoner of some figure in the reign of King Henry V. (2). There was a publick Hall or Inn in Oxford, called from the first owner of it, *Hospitium Somneri*, or *Somenorsbyu* (3). And there is now, or lately was, a gentile branch of this ancient name in the county of Bucks.

[B] *He made considerable improvements.* Mr Kennett conjectures, that he here imbibed the inclinations to Antiquity from the fresh memory of the late master John Twine, L.L.B. who dying in 1581, had been very inquisitive into former ages; had left a public monument of such knowledge, in his book, *De rebus Albionis*, &c; and had made particular Collections of the Antiquities of this City: whose fame in this part of learning might well incite an emulous youth, and raise that spirit, which carried him at last beyond this great example (4).

[C] *Preferred to a creditable office in those Courts by Archbishop Laud* What office in particular it was, is not specified; only, that in virtue of it, he was entrusted with the Records of that Metropolitane

Church. Undoubtedly it was the place of Register of the Archbishop's Court. He expressed his gratitude to the Archbishop, in the Dedication of his *Antiquities of Canterbury* to him; wherein he acknowledges his Grace's interest both in the *Author*, and in the *Work*. In the author, as subsisting in his place and profession, under God, chiefly by his Grace's Favour and Goodness. In the Work,——as it is a Discourse of Antiquities; His Grace's transcendent and unpatterned care and cost for the Collection whereof, of all sorts, from all parts, crowned by his singular Piety and Nobleness in disposing them to the good and service of the publick; as they were thankfully acknowledged and worthily celebrated by all the Lovers of Antiquities; so did they give his Grace an especial interest to the fruits of all their Labours who were that way inclined.

[D] *The Antiquities of Canterbury* This work Mr Somner finished in the thirty-third year of his age (5); and it was published in 1640, 4to. under this title, 'The Antiquities of Canterbury; or, A Survey of that ancient Citie, with the Suburbs and Cathedral; containing principally Matters of Antiquity in them all; Collected chiefly from old Manuscripts, Leiger-books, and other like Records, for the most part never as yet printed: With an Appendix here annexed;

(5) Mr Baintly's Preface to the second edition, p. 2.

(1) P. 4.

(2) *Hist. Croyland. Continuat.* p. 502.

(3) Wood, *Hist. & Ant. Univ. Oxon.* L. II. p. 153.

(4) *Life*, p. 5.

(e) As is abundantly plain, from his frequent quotations from them in his writings.

(f) Life, p. 11.

the same time, his constant delight was in the Classic Authors (e); as well as in old Manuscripts, Leiger-books, Rolls, and Records. His Learning in the most useful points, made him so quickly known to be a man of use and service to his country, that upon the great questions, in descents of families, tenure of estates, dedication of churches, right of tithes, and the like, he was consulted as an oracle (f). In the course of his studies, and his search after Antiquities; finding, at every step, how necessary was the knowledge of the Languages of the first Inhabitants of this country, the Britans and Saxons, he set himself in good earnest about learning of them. For the first, the British or Welch, there were rules of Grammar, Dictionaries, and other sufficient memoirs, beside the living dialect, to guide a man of industry and resolution. But the Saxon language was diffus'd, and the monuments of it so few and so hidden, that it required infinite courage and patience, to attempt and prosecute the knowledge of it [E]. However, being sensible

(6) J. Bale Scriptorum Brytanniae Catalog. p. 326. edit. 1559. W. Thorne copied it. Idem, p. 487.

(7) See his preface.

(8) Comm. on Antoninus's Itinerary, p. 175, 176.

(9) Villare Cantian. p. 93.

(10) Monast. Anglican. Tom. I. p. 18.

(11) De Ling. Saxon. p. 141.

(12) Survey of Kent, p. 300.

(13) Life, &c. p. 24—29.

(14) Monast. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 89.

(15) Ingulphi Histor. edit. Oxon, 1684. p. 62.

‘annexed; wherein (for better satisfaction to the Learned) the manuscripts and records of chiefest consequence are faithfully exhibited. All (for the honour of that ancient Metropolis and his good affection to Antiquities) fought out and published by the industry and good will of William Somner.’— This accurate performance is the more laudable, because he could find no way but what he made. There had been indeed two discourses of the like kind, namely, *Tho. Spotte's History of Canterbury* (6); and *Collections of the Antiquities of Canterbury*, by *John Twine*; to which he refers in his *Comment. de Rebus Albionicis*, but both these were lost to the use of our Author (7), and we do not hear they are yet recovered. So that he had no one writer to transcribe or imitate, but all the labour and glory were his own. It was done in such a juncture as preserved the memorial of many Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and proper observations, which otherwise had been lost to all succeeding ages, during our unhappy civil wars. The greatest encomiums have been given to it, by Mr William Burton (8), Mr Philpot (9), Mr Fotherby (10), and especially by Dr Meric Casaubon (11), and Mr Kilburne (12): The former of whom styles it ‘a pious and laborious work, and highly useful, not only to those who desir'd to know the state of that once flourishing city, but to all that were curious in the ancient English history;’ and the latter says, that he ‘only briefly touches upon the City of Canterbury, because Mr William Somner had so elaborately, judiciously, and fully wrote of the same, that there was left but little (if any thing observable) which he had not there set down.’ A new Title-page to it was printed in 1662, but it was not a new edition. — It was reprinted in 1703, fol. with very great Additions; particularly a Second Part, treating of the Cathedral Church, Archbishoprick, Priory of Christ-Church, and Collegiate Church, with a catalogue of the Deans and Canons, the Archdeaconry, Monastery of St Augustin, Parish churches, &c. by *Nicolas Battely*, Vicar of Beakborn. Illustrated and adorned with several useful and fair Sculptures, particularly of the Monuments. But the fine Font, given by John Warner, Bishop of Rochester, is omitted in this edition.

[E] That it requir'd infinite courage and patience, to attempt and prosecute the knowledge of it.] The learned Mr Kennett (13) hath made very curious observations upon that occasion, which we shall lay before the reader.— ‘When the Saxons had made the Britans strangers in their own land, then the language which the Conquerors brought with them, soon grew into contempt among themselves. Even so early as the year 652, “Many out of this island were sent to the Monasteries of France for Education, and to bring back the manners and language of those parts (14).” In the reign of Edward the Confessor, “by the great resort of Normans to his Court, the whole island began to lose their English rites, and to imitate the manners of the Franks; especially it was esteem'd a piece of breeding for all the great men to speak the Gallic idiom, and to despise the language and customs of their own country (15).” This inglorious affectation is confess'd by an Historian who liv'd in that age. It lookt like an omen of being shortly to be conquer'd by that nation, of whose tongue and fashions they were so industriously fond. The event was so. Three and twenty years after came in the Norman Lords, who threatened an extirpation to that language of which the Natives began to be ashamed. For

these new Masters “hated the English, and so much abhorred their Language, that the Laws of the land were managed in the French tongue; the children were taught French in the Schools, and not English; and even the English manner of writing was left off, and the French manner came to be used in books and all manner of writings (16).” (16) Idem, p. 71. The ignominious marks of a conquered people. The same Author from his own experience does again lament, that “the Saxon Hand, which had been us'd in all writings, grew into disgrace, and the French hand, because it was more legible and more pleasing to the eyes, did every where obtain (17); so as, in the very next reign, the Saxon Letters were so obsolete and so unknown, that none but few of the elder people were able to read them (18).” Nay, in the year 1095, Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester was depos'd, when scarce any other thing was objected against him, but that “he was an old English idiot, who did not understand the French tongue (19).” ‘It is true, the next successor Henry the First, gave a Charter to William Archbishop of Canterbury, confirming to him the possessions of his See, in the Saxon language and characters (20). This was but a single instance, and perhaps done to oblige his Queen of the Saxon line, and to ingratiate himself with the English Subjects, who might hope by this marriage they had a better title in him. And therefore it is a mistake in the learned *Mabillon* (21), and some other Authors, who assert, the Saxon way of writing was lost from the very time of the Norman Conquest. It was with the Saxon characters as with signs of the Cross in public deeds, which were for the most part chang'd into the Norman way of seals and subscriptions, yet some Charters were with the old form of Crosses. The Saxon Dialect obtained no doubt in Country Vills, with some borrowed variation from the French, and some remains of it did intermix with the Court language. But the Barons and Knights, who were most of them Norman, were so afraid of their children's talking the old English, that in the reign of Henry the Second, “They sent them over into France for education, to wear off the barbarousness of the native tongue (22).” ‘At the beginning of the reign of Edward the third, *Robert Holcot*, a Dominican, confesses, “there was no institution of children in the old English, but they first learn'd the French, and from the French the Latin tongue, which he observes to have been a practice introduc'd by William the Conqueror, and to have ever since obtain'd (23).” ‘Tho' from the first decline of the Barons, and advance of the Commons who were more of English blood, the Country language grew more into request; till at last the Commons in Parliament at Westminster the 36. of Edw. the third, shewed so much of the English spirit, as to represent to the King “the great mischief which would happen to divers of the Realm, if that the Laws were pleaded, shewed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said Realm, &c. Upon which it was ordain'd and stablished, that all Plees, &c. should be pleaded, shewed and defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, &c. (24).” ‘Yet this law did by no means restore the Saxon, either in the Alphabet or in the prime Dialect: It only redeemed the kingdom from an old token of subjection, and did honour to the then compound language, much vitiated by imported words and phrases. And still there seem'd a dash

(16) Idem, p. 71.

(17) Id. p. 85.

(18) Id. p. 98.

(19) Mat. Paris sub anno.

(20) H. Wharton Auctar. Hist. Dogm. p. 388.

(21) De Re Diplom. p. 52.

(22) Gervaf. Tilbur. de officiis Imper. MS. in Bibl. Bodl.

(23) Rob. Holcot, Lect. 2. super Sapient.

(24) Pulton Stat. 36 Edw. III.

sensible of what Sir Henry Spelman had found by his own experience, 'that the knowledge of the Saxon language was so far necessary, as without it the Antiquities of England could not be discovered, or must be but imperfectly known (g);' he earnestly set about it, through the advice and encouragement of his constant friend Dr Meric Casaubon. When he began, he had a hard task; since he was in a manner to invent the language as well as to restore it. For upon his first essays that way, he had but two poor Manuscripts, and one of them on so obscure a subject, as might have exercised a critic, sooner than instructed a novice. But, animated rather than discouraged by difficulties, he prosecuted the study of the Saxon tongue, with such industrious perseverance, and proportionable happy success, that he surpassed not only those that went before, but also most of those that have come after him (b). Having thus made himself master of the Saxon tongue, his next work was, to write large and learned Notes and observations on the Laws of King Henry I. published by Sir Roger Twisden in 1644, fol. with a very useful Glossary (i), in the room of the old one, which was faulty in many places (k). From the time of his engaging in the Antiquities of Canterbury, he laid the foundation of a larger design, namely, to collect materials for a just and perfect History of the county of Kent (l). But, as he complains, 'being soon after overtaken by that impetuous storm of civil war, he was necessitated to betake himself to other thoughts (m).' His Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent is supposed to have been part of that intended work [F]. At the same time, his Enquiries into the Customs and Tenures of his native County, produced his excellent Treatise of Gavelkind [G]. It was finished about

(g) See our author's Epistle Dedicatory to his Saxon Dictionary.

(b) Life, p. 22 — 30.

(i) Casaubon de Lingua Saxonica, p. 141.

(k) See our author's Glossary, at the end of Decem Scriptores.

(l) Life, p. 32, &c.

(m) Preface to his Treatise of Gavelkind.

'of the Norman spirit, which by the same law provided "that all such Pleas should be entred and enroll'd in the Latin." 'If there were any conveyance of the true Saxon tongue, it was in the Monasteries; but in those only which were founded before the Norman Conquest; for in such, interest did oblige them to understand the language of their original Charters. It was for this reason, that in the Abbey of Croxland, "a Tutor was appointed "to teach Saxon to some of the younger brethren, "that in their old age they might be more fit to "alledge the Records of their Monastery against their "adversaries (25)." 'And it was no doubt for the like reason, that in the Abby of Tavistoke, which had a Saxon Founder about 691, "there were "solemn Lectures in the Saxon tongue, even to the "time of the suppression of the Abbeyes, that the "knowledge of that language might not fail, as it has "since well nigh done (26)."

When Mr Somner began to learn Saxon, there were very few Saxon Books in print; except King Alfred's Translation of the *New Testament*, published by John Foxe in 1571. and *W. Lambard's Saxon Larvs*; the first volume of Sir Henry Spelman's *Councils*, &c. But he himself greatly facilitated the knowledge of it by his most valuable Saxon Dictionary, as it hath been since by the labours of *Abr. Weloc*, *Will. Lisse*, *Dr Tho. Marshall*, *Francis Junius*, *Bishop Gibson*, *Edward Thwaites*, *Tho. Rawlinson*, Esq; *Tho. Benson*; especially the learned *Dr Hickes*. And the beneficent Dr Richard Rawlinson hath encouraged the study of it as much as possible, by founding a Lecture for the teaching of it at Oxford.

[F] *Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent.*] It remained in manuscript 'till 1693, when it was published by James Brome, M. A. Rector of Cheriton, and Chaplain to the Cinque-Ports. Oxford 1693, 8vo. with notes by Mr Edmund Gibson, afterwards the late learned Bishop of London; and the Life of Mr Somner, prefix'd, by Mr White Kennett, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough.

[G] *His excellent Treatise of Gavelkind.*] That it was finished about the beginning of the year 1647, is manifest from this Testimonial, inserted in the Appendix.

'I have perus'd this learned treatise of Gavel kind, and judge it very fit to be published.
'Apr. 7, 1647. *Ja. Armachanus.*

But there were two reasons, that hindered the publication then. Namely, the distress and persecution of the writer, which might take from him the desire and ability of printing. And, the ignorance and affectation of those times, that hated all Antiquity ecclesiastical and civil; and doted on a new Gospel, and new Laws: so that 'till the nation was dispossess'd of this spirit, it was not fit to cast the pearl before them. At last, upon the Nation's returning to their senses at the Restoration in 1660, the book came out,

with this title: 'A Treatise of Gavelkind, both Name and Thing; Shewing the true Etymology, and Derivation of the one; the Nature, Antiquity, and Original of the other: With sundry emergent Observations, both pleasant and profitable to be known of Kentish men and others, especially such as are studious either of the ancient Custom, or the common Law of this Kingdom. By (a well-wisher to both) William Somner.' Lond. 1660. 4to. The Treatise is divided into these five heads. 1. The true Etymologie and derivation of the name, where he refutes the fancy of Lambard, Coke, Camden, Verstegan, Cowell, Spelman, Dodderidge, and many other Lawyers and Antiquaries, who would derive it from the Saxon *gafel* or *give* to all kindred, or to all alike. Whereas he proves the name is by no means borrowed from the partible nature of the land; but from *gafel* or *gavel* a tribute or customary rent, and *gecynde* nature, sort, or kind; implying it to be land not held in fee, as *Knights service*; but chargeable with such rents as made it *Socage tenure*. 2. He enquires into the nature of Gavelkind in point of partition, and proves it was neither from the name, nor bare nature of the land; but partly from the nature of the land, and partly from a general custom extended through the whole county in such censual land. 3. He searches into the Antiquity of Gavelkind-custom (in point especially of partition) and why more general in Kent than elsewhere. 4. Whether Gavel kind be properly a tenure or custom? where he treats with incomparable learning of all feudatory right, and all menial service. 5. Whether before the statute of Wills (32, and 34 Henry VIII) Gavelkind-land in Kent were devisable or not? which he resolves in the negative, and answers all arguments of those who held the contrary. At the end, is an Appendix of Charters, and other original Papers, referred to, in the Treatise.— "In this elaborate work, the learned Author is most happy in the Etymology and description, not only of Gavelkind, but also of *Socage*, of the Normans *Fief de Haubert*, and *Fief de Roturier*; of the Saxons *Bocting* and *Foleland*; of the Feudists *Allodium* and *Feudum*, &c. wherein he is singular and dissenting from all precedent writers, with such a vein of modesty, and such a strength of reason and authority, as has yet satisfied all readers, and silenc'd all Critics. He has farther explain'd all the different tenures *In capite*; *Knights service*; *Fee farm*; *Frank-almoign*; *Divine service*; *Escuage certain*; *Burgage*; *Villenage*, &c. with all lands denominated from their service, as *Work land*; *Boc land*; *Averland*; *Drof-land*; *Swilling-land*; *Mol land*; *Berland*; *Ware land*; *Terra-Sufanna*; *For-land*; *Bordland*; *Scrudland*; *Over-land*; *Monly-land*, &c. Wherein he supplies and corrects Littleton, and his oraculous Commentator, Sir Edward Coke: He fills up the defects of Spelman, and prevents the industry of future Glossographers. By this one performance he indeed shew'd himself an absolute Civilian, and a complete common Lawyer (27)." Mr Battely says

(27) Life, p. 43 — 50.

(28),

(25) *Inqul*, b, ut *supra*, p. 98.

(26) Camden *Britann.* in *Devonshire*.

(n) Preface to the same Treatise.

(o) *Ibid.*

(p) John, who was afterwards Wood-rove to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and George, Major of the militia in Kent, slain at Wye in 1648. *Life*, p. 90.

about the beginning of the year 1647; but the publication of it was retarded by the want of Peace in this country, 'Peace that mother of Arts,' as he calls it (n). At length, after it had lain by him above twelve years, he published it in 1660; upon the encouragement of some worthy and judicious friends (o). During our unhappy civil wars Mr Somner adhered inviolably to the Royal cause, with two of his brothers (p): and, after the King's murder, he bewailed his death in two Poems [H]. In the mean time, he employed himself in his beloved study of Antiquity, and composed, 'A discourse of *Portus Iccius*, wherein the late conceits of Chiffetius, in his Topographical discourse, are examined and refuted: the judgment of Cluverius concerning the same Ports asserted and embraced, and the true site thereof more clearly demonstrated [I].' His skill in the Saxon tongue, obliging him to enquire into most of the European languages ancient and modern; this made him run through the old Gallic, Irish, Scotch, and Danish dialects; especially the Gothic, Slavonian, and German. Of his perfection in the latter, he gave the world a public specimen, in his curious Observations on some old German words, that had been collected by the learned Lipsius: which Observations were published by Dr Meric Casaubon [K], at the end of his Commentary on the Hebrew and Saxon languages in 1650. His next opportunity of serving the world, was in drawing up the learned Glossary, printed at the end of the Ten Writers of the English History [L], published by Sir Roger Twifden in 1652. Mr Somner's reputation was now so well established,

(28) Preface to Antiq. of Canterbury.

(28), that 'this Treatise came abroad so compleat, as it did not afterwards admit of one correction (the Errata of the pres being excepted) from his own pen, nor of any one Alteration or Addition, tho' he lived several years after he published it.' But, notwithstanding this supposed correctness, in 1726, there came out a second edition, corrected from the many errors of the former impression; with Mr Somner's Life, written, newly revised, and much enlarged, by Wh. Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, 4to.

[H] He bewailed his death in two Poems.] The first is intituled, "The Insecuritie of Princes considered in an occasional Meditation upon the Kings late Sufferings and Death." Which begins thus:

"O how doth sad experience verifie
 'His perilous estate, that sits on high!
 'The lowly shrub stands ever firm and fast,
 'Whilst lofty cedars shake with every blast.
 'No stormy winds disturb the humble vale,
 'Whilst the proud mountain feels the smallest gale.
 'Safety but seldom at the Court resides;
 'It flies the Prince, and with the peasant 'bides."

The other Poem hath prefixed to it the Pourtraiture of King Charles I. before his ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, with this title; "The Frontispiece of the King's Book opened; with a Poem annexed, The Insecuritie of Princes, &c." Both printed in 4to.

[I] A discourse of *Portus Iccius*, &c.] This discourse remained in manuscript 'till 1694, when it was translated into Latin by Mr Edmund Gibson, afterwards the late excellent Bishop of London; and printed at Oxford, with this title, 'Julii Caesaris Portus Iccius illustratus: sive 1. Gulielmi Somneri ad Chiffetii Librum de Portu Iccio, responsio; nunc primum ex MS. edita. 2. Caroli Du Fresne Dissertatio de Portu Iccio. Tractatum utrumque Latine vertit, & nova Dissertatione auxit Edmundus Gibson, Art. Bac. è Coll. Reg Oxon. 1694. 8vo.' Mr Battely observes (29), that 'the Translator has faithfully done his part, and has given much credit to the discourse, by attiring it in the old Roman dress, a garb most suitable to a discourse upon such a subject.'

(29) Preface, as above.

[K] Observations upon some old German words, &c.] Dr Casaubon, whilst he was employed in his Essay on the Saxon tongue, hapned upon an epistle of Justus Lipsius to Schottus, which contain'd a large catalogue of old German words, in use with that nation, about eight or nine hundred years before. The Doctor thought many of them had a great affinity to the Saxon; and therefore, being then at London, sent down the Catalogue to Mr Somner at Canterbury, and desir'd his opinion of them. Who within few days return'd his Animadversions, and shew'd the relation of the German with the Saxon tongue. But because they were too long to be inserted by Dr Casaubon, in the body of his discourse; he plac'd them as an Appendix under this title *Gulielmi Somneri Cantuariensis ad verba vetera Germanica a V. Cl. Justo*

Lipfio Epist. Cent. III. ad Belgas Epist. XLIV. collecta, Notæ (30).

[L] *The Ten Writers of the English History*] That valuable collection came out in 1652, fol. with this title, '*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X.* Simeon Monachus Dunelmensis. Johannes Prior Hagustaldensis. Richardus Prior Hagustaldensis. Ailredus Abbas Rievallensis. Radulphus de Diceto Londoniensis. Johannes Brompton Jornallensis. Gervasius Monachus Dorobornensis. Thomas Stubbs Dominicanus. Guilielmus Thorn Cantuariensis. Henricus Knighton Leicestrensis. Ex vetustis Manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi.'

This great work may be said to have been the joint undertaking of Sir Roger Twifden, Archbishop Usher, John Selden, Esq; and the amanuensis Mr Ralph Jennings. These learned men being sensible, that the obscure and obsolete words, which often occurred in those monkish historians, wanted an explanation; and knowing none so well qualified for giving the just and true meaning of them as Mr Somner, they committed the business to him, which he discharged with great abilities and integrity. Sir Roger Twifden takes from thence occasion to give this good character of our author. "De Glossario verbum. Sine quo hoc junum & parum utile prorsus extitisset opus, illud a Guilielmo Somnero, pristinae probitatis & candoris viro, patriarumq; antiquitatum indagatore sagacissimo, & ad hoc linguæ Anglo-Saxonicae peritissimo, in tuam gratiam elaboratum intelligas." And, a little lower, he styles him, a man "summæ modestiæ & ingenuitatis, &c." i. e. 'of the greatest modesty and ingenuity; and of primitive candor and probity; a most industrious searcher into the antiquities of his country, and withal extremely well skill'd in the Saxon language.—This Glossary, being a key to reclude and antiquated words, improv'd whatever of this nature had been done before: it amends and supplies the old Gallic Glossary of *Pentanus*; the *Signification of words* by *Skenæus*; the *explanation of Terms* prefix'd by Mr *Lambard* to his Saxon Laws; the *Onomasticon* of *Clement Reiner*, in his *Apostol. Bened. in Anglia*; the *Glossography* to the Works of *Chaucer*; the *Etymologicon* of *Jo. Ger. Vossius*; the *Glossary* of *Dr Watts*, adjoin'd to his noble edition of *Mat. Paris*; and above all the excellent Glossary of *Sir Henry Spelman*, then only publish'd to the letter N. Nor has Mr Somner, like the former Glossographers, confin'd himself to the antiquated names of things; but with happy learning has commented on the name of this island, and several parts of it; to which he has affixt such new and apposite derivations, as delight and satisfy all judicious readers. It is indeed a work of that extent, as may serve for a *clavis* [key] to all other Historians, and to all Records (31).' But it might be greatly improved, from our Author's subsequent Collections which remain in the Arches of Canterbury; from *Fr. Junius's Etymologicon Anglicanum*; and from *Dr Wilkins's Glossary* at the end of his edition of the Saxon Laws, &c.

(30) *Life*, p. 57.

(31) *Life*, p. 62.

[M] *The*

blished, that no monuments of Antiquity could be further published without his advice and assistance. Therefore he helped Mr Dugdale and Mr Dodsworth in compiling the *Monasticon Anglicanum* [M]. And, through the importunity of his friends, he undertook, about the same time, to collect a Saxon Dictionary. For his support during that laborious work, Roger Spelman, Esq; granted him the Salary, settled on the Saxon Lecture founded by his grandfather Sir Henry Spelman [N]. He used such expedition, that the Dictionary was printed off, and published in 1659, fol. [O]. As he had been always a zealous Royalist, so, at the dawning of the Restoration, he joined those Noblemen, and Gentlemen of the county of Kent (q), who were promoting a Declaration, and getting hands to a Petition, for a full and free Parliament; for which he was imprisoned in the castle of Deal, or Dover; but released upon the King's coming (r). By way of reward for his services and sufferings, he was promoted, in 1660, to the Mastership of St John's Hospital in the suburbs of Canterbury; of which he recovered some part of the Endowment: and also appointed Auditor of Christ-Church, in the same city, by the Dean and Chapter, to whom he was a father and friend, more than an honorary servant (s). He continued happy in the friendship and acquaintance of the greatest men that were his contemporaries [P], 'till the time of his death; which happened March 30, 1669. He was buried April the 2d, in the church of St Margaret's in Canterbury, where many of his ancestors lay (t). In the beginning of his last illness, he took an opportunity to tell his

(q) Namely, Sir William May, Sir John Boy, Mr Ingham, Mr John Boye, Mr Lovelace, and Mr Masters, &c. *Mercurius Politicus* No. 606, p. 1072.

(r) *Life*, p. 91. *Publick Intelligence*, No. 609.

(s) *Life*, p. 99.

(t) *Life*, p. 102.

[M] *The Monasticon Anglicanum*] Of this work, the first volume was publish'd in 1655, fol. And the parts furnished by Mr Somner, were the Charters of *Christ Church* and *St Augustin's* in Canterbury, the Ichnography of the Cathedral, the draught of the Monastery, and other sculptures; with the original Charter of the Abbey of *Feverham*, then in his possession. He likewise gave information of several particulars relating to the city and county. And translated all the Saxon originals, and the English transcripts from the Itinerary of *Leland*, and other records, into plain and proper Latin; as Sir John Marsham acquaints the reader in the *Propylaeum*.—In the library of the Cathedral church of Canterbury, there is a copy of this first volume; wherein is inserted after the *Propylaeum* a printed leaf, containing six copies of verses made by Kentish-men, in commendation of Mr Dodsworth, Mr Dugdale, and Mr Somner, who are there said to be the joint collectors of that glorious work (32).

[N] *Roger Spelman, Esq; granted him the Salary, settled on the Saxon Lecture, &c.*] Mr Kennett gives us the following account, of the occasion of founding that Lecture. "The great Sir Henry Spelman, while he was at Cambridge with Mr Jeremy Stephens, to search the Libraries there, and collect materials for his designed Volumes of *British Councils*, finding many Saxon Manuscripts, and very few that understood them; resolved to found a Lecture in that language, in order to restore and improve the study of it. This generous act was soon done by him, and he first conferr'd that office on Mr *Abraham Wheelock*, of King's college Cambridge, that had assisted him in some transcripts of that tongue; and, for endowment, settled on him and his successors a sufficient yearly stipend, with presentation to the Vicarage of Middleton, nigh Linn Regis in Norfolk (33). By the death of Mr Wheelock in 1657, the disposal of that Lecture fell to Roger Spelman, Esq; son of Sir John, son of the Founder, who design'd to bestow it on Mr Samuel Foster, a learned and worthy Divine. But Archbishop Usher, a friend to Antiquities and Mr Somner, recommended him to the patron, 'that he would confer on him the pecuniary stipend, to enable him to compile a *Saxon Dictionary*, which would more improve that tongue than bare Academic Lectures (34)."

Upon this occasion, Mr Kennett makes the following proper Reflections. "And herein that Prelate was like himself, judicious. For the endowment of public Lectures has often met with this ill success; to make the Readers neglect, and the Hearers despise them. Whereas if the same rewards were given, on condition of printing those Lectures, or publishing some other remains of that Art or Science: mens industry would be greater, and the republic of letters much better serv'd. This seem'd the intention of the wife and pious founder Sir Henry Spelman, in establishing this lecture: The words of his foundation being, 'to promote the Saxon tongue, either by reading it publicly, or by the edition of Saxon Manuscripts, and other books (35).' Which last

design Mr Wheelock had most answered, by publishing the *Ecclesiastical History of Bede*, with the *Saxon Paraphrase* of King Alfred. The *Saxon Chronology* with his own Latin version, and Mr *Lambard's Saxon Laws*, with some Additions. Cambr. 1644, fol.

This reason of the thing, and the will of his grandfather, inclin'd Mr Spelman to comply with the advice of Archbishop Usher, and to prefer Mr Somner to the annual salary of that Lecture. Which this man of tenderness and modesty would not accept, without the free consent of Mr Foster, before nominated to the place: who prefer'd the public before his own interest, and Mr Somner before himself. Therefore content with the ecclesiastical benefice, he left the annual portion of money to Mr Somner, who receiving this reward, would not omit the duty for it (36)."

[O] *The Dictionary was printed off, and published in 1659.*] Mr Battely justly styles it, 'the true and lasting Monument of his praise: a work of incredible Labour to himself, and of singular Benefit to the world (37).' The previous assistances of the like kind, which came into the hands of Mr Somner; were, 1. Archbishop *Ælfric's* Glossary, transcrib'd by Fr. Junius, from a very ancient copy in the library of Sir Peter Paul Rubens of Brussels. 2. Two ancient Saxon Glossaries in the *Cotton Library*, the one a thin folio, the other a more thick octavo. 3. *Laurence Norwell's* Saxon Vocabulary, procur'd and lent by Mr Selden. 4. *John Fosceline's* collections, transcrib'd and communicated by Sir Symonds Dewes, Bart.—From these, and all other Saxon books then extant, Mr Somner made immense Collections, in two large Volumes folio, for the compiling of his Dictionary. When it was finish'd, he sent it to Oxford, where it was printed; and came out in April 1659, with an elegant inscription to all Students in the Saxon tongue; a grateful Dedication to his patron Roger Spelman, Esq; and a proper Preface. The Author and his work recommended by verses, both English and Latin: With an Appendix of the Grammar and Glossary of *Ælfric*. And at the end of all, is a Catalogue of those worthy persons who contributed to the great charge of the Impression: for it was printed by subscription.—Mr Somner made afterwards several additions and corrections to it, from notes and observations sent him by Mr *George Davenport* a great proficient in that language. And Fr. Junius left a copy with his own curious collections and illustrations (38).—In 1701, Mr Tho. Benson of Queen's college, Oxon. publish'd, *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum, Lexico Gul Somneri magna parte auctius*. Large 8vo. But if every Saxon word had begun a new line, the work would have been more distinct and usefull.

[P] *He continued happy in the friendship and acquaintance of the greatest men*] Particularly, of Archbishop Laud, Archbishop Usher, Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart. Sir Roger Twisden, Bart. Sir William Dugdale, Mr Roger Dodsworth, Sir Simonds Dewes, Bart. Mr William Burton, Sir John Marsham, Sir Edward Boffe, Clarenceux, Elias Ashmole, Esq; Dr Thomas Fuller, Dr William Watts, Mr George Davenport, and especially Dr Meric Casaubon, &c. (39).

(36) *Life*, p. 72—74.

(37) Preface.

(38) *Life*, p. 75—86.

(39) *Life*, &c. p. 105—115.

(31) *Life*, p. 67—69.

(33) *Wheelock*, Prefat ad *Bedam*, a se editum.

(34) *Somneri* Epist. Ded. ad *Saxonic. Diction.*

(35) *Wheelock* Dedicat. ut supra.

his wife, that he had never been let blood, nor taken any physic; which was a just argument, not only of his happy constitution, but of his exact temperance and sobriety. He was twice married. His first wife was Mrs Elizabeth Thurgar, of a good family in Cambridgeshire, who lived with him about thirty years: and by her he had three daughters, and one son, which all dyed young. His second wife was Barbara, daughter of Mr John Dawson, a great Royalist in Kent, by whom he had, one daughter that dyed unmarried; William educated at Merton-college, and Vicar of Liminge in Kent; John, a Surgeon; and another son. He left but a small competence, which if not frugally managed, could never have answered the support of his widow, and the education of his children. However, by his last Will he gave several Legacies to the poor. His many well chosen Books, and curious Manuscripts, were purchased by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and deposited in the publick Library of that church (u) [2]. Mr Somner's whole life was, like his writings, void of prejudice and passion. He was courteous, without design: wife, without a trick: and faithful, without a reward. Humble, and compassionate: moderate, and equal: never fretted by his afflictions: nor elated by the favours of heaven, and good men (w). His profession was, that 'he loved truth (the end of all science) for itself; and was all together unbiaſt with any by-respects, whether of vain-glory, singularity, or the like: making it his constant endeavour, that Truth alone might triumph over falshood, Antiquity over Novelty (x).

(u) Life, p. 101, 103.

(w) Life, p. 98.

(x) Pref. to his Treatise of Gavelkind.

[2] His curious Manuscripts were purchased by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.] They were, I. 'Observations upon the Commissary of Canterbury's Patent. This Discourse, it is supposed, was the first-fruits of his labours, the beginnings of his study of Antiquity. It was composed in the time of Archbishop Abbot, a little after the death of King James the First, upon the patent of Commissariſhip granted to Sir Nathanael Brent. Great part of it was inserted by the Author into his Antiquities of Canterbury, and the rest is not fitted for public use (40). II. 'Collections out of ancient MSS. and Records, relating to the City and Church of Canterbury, and to other Towns and Churches in Kent.' Many of them are published in W. Thorn's Chronicle. III. 'Large Extracts out of the Chronicle of William Thorn, with other extracts out of the Obituary of Christ-Church Canterbury; and out of the Registers of the Churches of Canterbury and Rochester, with Collections out of the Saxon Annals.' The greatest part of these Extracts have since been published in the First Part of *Anglia Sacra* (41). IV. 'His Antiquities of Canterbury interleaved.' With some Corrections and Alterations. V. 'Chartham News; or, A brief Relation of some strange Bones there, lately digged up, in some Grounds of Mr John Somner's of Canterbury.' Printed at the end of the first Part of his Antiquities of Canterbury, 2d edition. It was first published by his brother in 1669. V. 'Some Emendations upon his Treatise of Gavelkind.' VI. 'History of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent.' Published in 1693-4. VII. 'A Discourse of *Portus Iccius*; translated into Latin by Mr Gibson, and publish'd in 1694, as is above related. VIII. '*Littus Saxonicum per Britanniam*. IX. *Scholia & Animadversiones in Leges Henrici primi, Regis Angliæ, subnectitur Glossarium rerum & verborum difficultium in dictis Legibus*. Dedicated to Sir Robert Twisden. X. 'Marginal notes upon Mr Selden's *Spicilegium ad Eadmerum*; especially an Emendation of Selden's translation of the Laws of William the Conqueror, published by him, p. 173, &c. XI. Some marginal

(40) N. Eattely's Preface.

(41) Ibid.

'Notes upon the *Grand Coustumier* of Normandy.' XII. *Adversaria in Spelmani Glossarium; in Watsoni Glossarium Matthæo Paris additum; in tractatum Ger. Voffii de vitio Sermonis*. In one volume. XIII. 'A large Collection, in order to the compiling his Saxon Dictionary, in two volumes. XIV. 'A transcript of a large Saxon theological Treatise.' XV. 'Collections out of Transcripts of several ancient Saxon MSS. in two volumes.' XVI. 'His emendations upon Sir Henry Spelman's two Volumes of the Councils (42); where he has collated the text with the MSS. and amended the Translation with the Saxon originals; having gone through the whole work.' These emendations were made use of by Dr Wilkins, in his subsequent edition of the Councils. XVII. 'His large Notes upon Spelman's Glossary. XVIII. Some marginal Emendations on Ch. Spelman's Saxon Psalter. XIX. Marginal Emendations on J. Foxe's Saxon Gospels. XX. Marginal Emendations on Lisle's Saxon monument. XXI. Large marginal Notes upon Meric Casaubon's book, *De quatuor Linguis*. XXII. Large Marginal Notes upon Verstegan. XXIII. Marginal Notes upon *Brañon de Legibus Angliæ*. XXIV. Marginal Notes upon *Horne's Mirrour of Justice*. XXV. Marginal Notes upon the old Collection of English and Latin Statutes, printed in 1556. XXVI. Marginal Notes upon Mr Silas Taylor's History of Gavelkind, correcting his mistakes. XXVII. Some Collections towards his intended History of Kent. XXVIII. *Lamberti Leges Saxonicae*. Where he has amended the translation. XXIX. 'Another copy of *Αρχαιονομια*, full of Emendations and Annotations throughout.' XXX. *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae, a V. C. Guil. Lambardo olim editæ, ex integro Latine datæ*. He justly thought the former translation too elaborate, affected, and paraphrastic; which made him undertake this new one, and do it in a more plain, and, as near as could be, in a literal manner: Adding some Laws that were omitted in Mr Lambard's collection. He also translated these Laws into English (43).

(42) He assisted in the publication of the 2d volume. Life, p. 88, 89.

(43) Life, p. 51, 52.

SOUTH [Dr ROBERT], a learned and witty Divine, was of a genteel extraction, being descended from the Souths of Kelstone and Kielby in Lincolnshire (a); but his father, Mr William South, settling in London, became an eminent merchant there, and marrying a gentlewoman of the name of Berry, descended from the Berrys in Kent [A], had this son, born at his house in Hackney, in the year 1633. He early discovered an extraordinary genius for letters, and having gone through the first rudiments of Grammar with uncommon success, was sent to Westminster-school, where he was entered King's scholar in 1647. And he made himself remarkable the following year, by reading the Latin prayers in the school, on the day of King Charles the First's martyrdom, and praying

(a) Sir Francis South was at the head of the family. *Memoirs of the Life of R. b. South, &c.* p. 4. edit. 1717, 8vo.

[A] Descended from the Berrys in Kent.] This family is celebrated for the production of many eminent men, among whom was Sir John Berry, Admiral in King Charles the Second's reign, who commanded the Gloucester man of war, wherein King James the Second, then Duke of York, very narrowly escaped a shipwreck (1). Our author had a picture of this gentle-

(1) Gen. Hist. of England.

man, which by his last will he bequeaths to Dame Phœbe Hardres, of Kent, together with those of her grandfather and grandmother at large, as likewise a gold ring with her grandfather's arms, neatly engraven upon it. 'Things, he observes, very proper (if as friendly accepted as they are offered) to remember her worthy family and relations by (2).'

(2) The second codicil of his Will, dated June 2, 1714, annexed to *Memoirs of his Life, &c.*

[B] Verses

(d) 1653.

(e) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1042. The famous John Locke was chosen at the same time.

(d) 30 l. a year.

(e) He was also Prebender of the church of Salisbury, and Vicar of Writtle in Essex. Ibid. p. 5.

(f) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 105.

praying for his Majesty by name (b). After the famous Dr Busby had cultivated and improved so promising a genius with particular industry and encouragement for four years, he was chosen a student to Christ-Church-college in Oxford in 1651 (c); where having the advantage of a handsome allowance from his mother (d), and the countenance of his relation, Dr John South, of New-college, Regius-Professor of the Greek tongue (e): he obtained those acquisitions in literature, that made him the admiration and esteem of the whole university, and drew upon him the eyes of the best masters of humanity, and other studies, by the quick progress he made through them. He took his first degree in Arts, February 24, 1654-5 (f), having wrote an elegant copy of Latin verses, congratulating Cromwell, then Protector, upon the peace concluded that year with the Dutch [B]. In 1655, he wrote his famous Latin poem, intituled, *Musica Incantans: sive Poema exprimens musicae vires, juvenum in insaniam abigentis, & musici inde periculum* *. He commenced Master of Arts on the 12th of June, 1657, after performing all the preparatory exercises for it with the highest applause [C], and such a peculiar turn of wit and humour, as justly entituled him to represent the *Terræ Filius*, in which character he spoke the usual speech at the celebration of the Act the same year (g). In 1658, he entered into Holy Orders, being ordained by one of the deprived Bishops, according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church of England (b). He distinguished himself in the pulpit as much as he had done in the rostrum, and the following year he was pitched upon to preach the assize sermon before the Judges, in which he expressed such a warm zeal against the Independents, as highly pleased the Presbyterians; and Dr Edward Reynolds, who had been some years before Dean of Christ-Church, happening to be one of his auditors, did, in going

* It was then highly applauded for the beauty of the language and the quickness of its turns, and was printed, at Dr Fell's request, in 1657; but our author, in his dying day, regretted the publication of it, as a juvenile and trifling performance, Ibid. p. 19. Mr Wood mentions an edition in 1655. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1045.

(g) It is printed in his Opera Posthuma, &c. p. 21, & seq.

(b) Mr Wood thinks he preached some time without Orders.

[B] Verses upon the peace with the Dutch in 1654.] These stand at the head of his *Opera Posthuma Latina*, &c. printed in 1717, 8vo. which contain several other Latin compositions of his in verse, besides one in prose, all written while he was an undergraduate. Besides these, we have an account of another composition in the Athen. Oxon. where Mr Wood, whose temper and talents were naturally at variance with those of Mr South, having told us, that 'ne obtained under Dr Busby a considerable stock of grammar and philological learning, but more of impudence and sauciness, proceeds in the same strain, from the scandalous Chronicle, to retail the following story: That before or about the time that our *Wit* took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was appointed to do some exercise in the public hall of his college, which was to speak a speech upon some great and signal occasion; and that, when he had prepared it, and made it proportionable to the transcendency of his parts and abilities, he gave out to several of his acquaintance, that he intended severely to lash the sectaries of his House, and of the University. This being known abroad, there flocked into the hall, on the appointed day, a great concourse of the younger students, who were the greatest wits, but esteemed by the sectaries to be of the most profligate principles, both in that House and other Houses in the university. These last are the words of the Chronicle; after which the Antiquary goes on thus: In the resolution to satisfy all their expectations, our author, South, came forth, and addressed himself with a sufficient measure of confidence (whereof there was no want in him) to speak to this ingenious auditory; and, indeed, the whole scope of his oration was (if you will believe a rank Fanatic) (3), little other than a most blasphemous invective against godliness, and the most serious and conscientious professors of it. But before he had proceeded far in it, my author (says Wood) tells me, that the band of the Lord was stretched out against him, and he was suddenly surprized with such a qualm as did disturb him afterwards at Whitehall, as I shall tell you anon. Whereupon, being constrained abruptly to break off, it was so great a discomfort to him, that he was scarce able to bear it, because, first, that he esteemed himself a person of great fame in the university; and, secondly, that it would be a great disparagement to him among the wits of his acquaintance. However, this influence it had upon him, as it was observed by some persons then living in the university, that from that time he lay under some convictions of the evil of abusing those good parts which God had given him, in defaming those persons and things which the Lord doth testify his greatest approbation of (4); and so from henceforward he seemed to be much more serious than before, and by degrees insinuated himself into the good opinion of the then present Dean of his House, Dr Owen, as also with those of the Presbyterian and Independent party thereof (5). Thus far the

Oxford Antiquary, who we see has taken care to draw up the story in such a manner as to leave a door open to escape from the shame of any charge that might be brought of his vouching for the truth of it. And the conclusion, that he was a favourite of the Dean, Dr Owen, needs no other voucher for its credibility than the merit of those ingenious exercises and other performances, especially the compliment in the verses to the Protector, wrote by our student as already mentioned. This Dean, however blame-worthy in other respects, being a remarkable great encourager of this kind of true merit, of which he was himself not only a good judge but an excellent performer.

[C] He took his degree of Master of Arts after having performed the exercises with great applause.] Notwithstanding what we have seen asserted by Mr. Wood in the preceding remark of our student's being in favour with Dr Owen, when he took his first degree, and is maintained by the writer of his life (6), that this second degree was not obtained without some opposition from the Dean, who having found that he frequented the meeting of those Royalists, among whom were Dr. John Fell, where Divine Service was performed, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, expostulated with him very severely, and even threatened to expel him, if he continued in that practice; telling him that *he could do no less in gratitude to his Highness the Protector, and his other great friends, who had thought him worthy of the dignities, he then stood possessed of.* To which says this writer, Mr South made this grave, but very smart reply. *Gratitude among friends, is like credit among tradesmen, it keeps business up, and maintains the correspondence. And we pay not so much out of a principle, that we ought to discharge our debts, as to secure ourselves a place to be trusted another time.* And in answer to the Dean's making use of the names of the Protector, &c. he said, Commonwealths put a value upon MEN as well as MONEY, and we are forced to take them both, not by WEIGHT, but according as they are pleased to STAMP them, and at the current rate of the coin; by which he exasperated the Doctor two different ways, and made him his enemy ever after. This story, it must be owned, smells as strong of partiality as that of the Fanatic does of prejudice, and is greatly discredited by the consequence which is annexed to it, that our student having proved an over-match for the Dean, in obtaining his degree of Master of Arts, made use of the power thereby conferred upon him, to oppose the Dean afterwards, when he stood candidate to serve in Parliament for the University (7). Whereas it has been already observed (8), he was chosen their Representative in 1654. What Mr Wood relates, has a better air of probability; that after the Protector's death, our student sided with the Presbyterians, so far as to condemn, and in a manner, to defy the Dean, who thereupon told him, *he was one that sat in the seat of the scornful* (9).

(6) P. 7, 8.

(7) Ibid. p. 8.

(8) In Dr Owen's article.

(9) Athen Oxon. ubi supra.

[D] Dr

3) The author of *Mirabilis anas secundus*: or, the second part of the second year's exercises, numb. 12. p. 34. edit. 1662, 4to.

4) Ibid.

c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1042.

(i) It is intitled, 'The Scribe instructed,' from Math. xiii. 52. and is one of the best of his sermons.

going out of the church, salute the preacher, very kindly embraced him, and promised to do all that lay in his power for him [D]. But upon the dawn of his Majesty's restoration, in the latter end of the year, he preached with no less warmth against the hypocrisy of the Presbyterians; and, on the tenth of August, 1660, he was chosen publick Orator of the university [E], after he had preached a most excellent sermon (i), on the 29th of July preceding,

(D) Dr Reynolds promised to do all that lay in his power for him.] The text of this Sermon was, *Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven*; Matt. ch. x. v. 33. 'It was called by him *Interest deposed, and Truth restored*,' and had this remarkable paragraph in it concerning the Teachers of those days: 'Where such men talk of self-denial and humility, I cannot but think of *Seneca*, who praised poverty, and that very safely in the midst of his riches and splendid gardens, and even exhorted the world to throw away their gold, perhaps (as one well conjectures) that he might gather it: so these men desire men to be humble, that they may domineer without opposition. But it is an easy matter to commend patience, when there is no danger of any trials, to extol humility in the midst of honours, to begin a fast after dinner (10). In the same spirit he proceeds thus: 'Let Christ and Truth say what they will, if interest will have it, gain must be Godliness. If Enthusiasm is in request, learning must be inconsistent with grace. If pay grows short, the University-maintenance will be too great.' And, in the close of the same Sermon, having applied himself to the Judges with proper exhortations that bespoke his intrepidity of soul, he addressed himself to the audience in these words. 'If ever it was seasonable to preach courage in the despised abused cause of Christ, it is now; when his truths are reformed into nothing, when the hands and hearts of his faithful Ministers are weakened and even broke, and his worship extirpated into a mockery, that his honour may be advanced; well to establish our hearts in duty, let us propose to ourselves before hand the worst that can happen. Should God in his Judgment suffer England to be transformed into *Munster*; should the Faithful be every where massacred; should the places of learning be demolished, and our colleges reduced not only to (as one (11) in his zeal would have it) *three*, but to *none*: yet assuredly, Hell is worse than all this, and is the portion of such as deny Christ. Therefore let our discouragements be what they will, loss of places, loss of estates, loss of life and relations; yet still this sentence stands ratified in the decrees of Heaven.' *Cursed be the man that for any of these denies the truth, and deserts his Lord.* The compliment paid to the preacher by Dr Reynolds, will not be surprizing, after reading the following account of him by the Oxford Antiquary, who tells us, that he was the son of Austin Reynolds, one of the Customers of Southampton, where he was born in Nov. 1599, and being bred at the free-school there, became Post-master of Merton college in 1615, as also Probationer-Fellow in 1620, in which place (which he got by his skill in the Greek tongue,) as also throughout his Bachelorship, he shewed himself a good disputant and orator. After he had taken the degree of Master of Arts, he went into Orders, and became a noted Preacher, and was made Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, and Rector of Braynton in Northamptonshire. After the Rebellion broke out in 1642, he sided with the Presbyterian party, and in 1643, was one of the Assembly of Divines, a Covenanter, a frequent Preacher in London, and sometimes before the long Parliament, by whom he was appointed, in 1646, one of the six Ministers to go to Oxford, and preach the scholars into obedience to them. After which he was one of their Visitors in the University, was made Dean of Christ-Church, in the room of Dr Samuel Fell, ejected, and Vice-Chancellor in 1648, when he was created Doctor of Divinity; he was also Vice-Chancellor in 1649. But being ejected from his Deanery in 1650, for refusing to take the Independent Engagement (12), he retired to his former cure for a time. He lived afterwards mostly in London, preached there, and flattered Oliver, &c. after whose death he did the like to Richard, and being then Vicar of St Laurence-Jewry, he was the Orator of the London Ministers, to welcome that mushroom Prince to the Throne, October

11, 1658. After this he struck in with General Monk, to bring in the King, using his interest thereto in London, where he was the pride and glory of the Presbyterian party (13). When the secluded Members were restored to Parliament, they restored him to his Deanery of Christ Church on the 11th of May 1659. And on the 26th of May following, 1660, he, together with Mr Edmund Calamy, was made Chaplain to his Majesty, then at Canterbury, in order to his Restoration. After which he preached several times before the King and both Houses of Parliament; and in the latter end of June, being desired to quit his Deanery (14), he was the next month elected, by virtue of the King's letter, Warden of Merton-College, and was consecrated Bishop of Norwich on the 6th of Jan. the same year (15). He was, concludes our Antiquary, a person of excellent parts and endowments, of a very good wit, fancy, and judgment, a great Divine, and much esteemed by all parties, for his preaching and fluid stile (16): and Sir Thomas Browne, who knew him well, gives him the character of a person of singular affability, meekness, and humility, of great learning, a frequent preacher, and constant resident (17). He wrote several things, which, after their appearance separately in 4to. were printed together, and published with the title of his works, London, 1658, fol. and again, with the addition of thirty Sermons, in 1679, fol. after his death, which happened July 28, 1676. He was buried at the upper end of the chapel which he built in 1662, joining to the Bishop's Palace in Norwich. Over his grave was soon after fixed to the wall, a marble table with his Epitaph engraven on it (18).

[E] He was made Orator to the University.] Mr Wood, who omits no opportunity of exercising his defamatory talents against our author, tells us, 'that he tugged hard, (so he expresses it) such was the high conceit of his worth, to be Canon of Christ-Church, as belonging to the Orator's office, but was kept back by the endeavours of the Dean *.' That this was a great discontent to him, and being not able to conceal it, he clamoured at it, and shewing much passion in his Sermons, 'till he could get preferment, they were therefore frequented by the generality, though shunned by some. This person, continues the Antiquary, though he was a junior master, and had never suffered for the royal cause, yet so great was his conceit, or so blinded he was with ambition, that he thought he should never be enough loaded with preferment; whilst others that had suffered much, and had been reduced to a bit of bread for his Majesty's cause, could get nothing (19), *Hinc se. illæ lacrymæ.* This was the great offence and grief, Mr South's promotion and favour with the Chancellor, drew upon both the unforgiving anger and resentment of the historian, and against both did he not spare to shoot some of his sharpest bluntly-pointed arrows, even noisy and scolding words. As that 'in the latter end of the year 1659, when it was visible that Monarchy would return upon the success of Monk, he was something at a stand, yet still was accounted a member of the *Fanatic Ordinary*; but when his Majesty's Restoration could not be withstood, then did he from the Pulpit exercise his gifts against the Presbyterians, as a little before he had done against the Independents, telling his auditory of their wry faces, ill looks, puling tones, &c. All which was to obtain the applause, (and it's consequences) of the prelatical and loyal party; but as it fell out, he missed his ends, for by his too much concernment and eagerness to trample upon them, the graver sort of the said party, would put their hats before their eyes, or turn aside, as being much ashamed at what the young man did utter. Not content with this, proceeds our retailer of scandal, he informed the leading men of the royalists (who were soon after restored to their places in the University) of the behaviour and manners of those that had been the prime men in the interval, and of such

(13) Dr Pierce, in the introduction to his 'Divine Purity defended,' says he was a person of great authority as well as fame among the Calvinists.

(14) For Dr George Morley. See his article.

(15) By virtue of which he became an Abbot (a strange preferment, methinks, says Wood, for a Presbyterian), I mean Abbot of St Bennet in the Holme, which he kept, with great regret to his quondam brethren, whom he then left to shift for themselves, to his dying day.

(16) Mr Wood also says, it was thought by his contemporaries, that he would never have been given to change, had it not been to please a covetous and politic consort, who was Mary, the daughter of Dr John Harding, some time President of Magdalen college, Oxford.

(17) Repertorium of the Cathedral of Norwich, in MS.

(18) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 568, 569, 570. where the epitaph may be seen.

* Whether this shaft is aimed more against the Dean or our Orator, is not easy to determine, since we find our Antiquary observing, that Dr Stredge being chosen Orator in 1629, was installed Canon of Christ-Church in 1638, before which time King Charles I. had settled a Canonry of the said church upon him that should be elected publick Orator; but that pious act hath been since annulled by pretended authority, and now such a thing seems totally to be forgotten among us. Ibid. col. 74.

(19) Ibid. col. 1043.

(10) This is levelled at Unton Croke, a Colonel of a regiment of Horse then at Oxford, who, with his party of Independents, kept a fast after dinner at his house in Grand-pool in the south suburb of the city. Ath. Oxon. col. 1043.

(11) Pointed at the same Colonel, who was the cause of Penruddock's death, and some time after High-Sheriff of Oxfordshire. Dr South's Life, &c. p. 12. note f.

(12) A piece intitled, 'The humble Proposals of sundry learned pious Divines within this kingdom, concerning the Engagement intended to be imposed on them for their subscriptions. London, 1650,' one sheet in 4to. published in December 1649, is ascribed to him by Mr Wood.

preceding, before the King's Commissioners, who were appointed to rectify all the abuses that had been committed in the university during the Usurpation. In the execution of the orator's office, he received, with an elegant Latin speech, the Earl of Clarendon, on his first entrance into the university, on the seventh of September 1661, after his Lordship had been chosen their Chancellor; and in another, introduced him to his investiture into that dignity in the Convocation-House, on the 9th of that month (l). Whereupon, the Chancellor took him into his protection, and made him his Domestic Chaplain [F]. Thus he was put into the road to Church preferments, and was installed Prebendary of Westminster, March 30, 1663 (n); and pursuant to his patron, the Chancellor's letter, was created Doctor of Divinity on the first of October following, though not without a considerable opposition, as being then a Master of Arts of six years standing only [G]. The Chancellor also gave him afterwards the sine-cure of Llanchiadar in Mochnant, in North Wales (o). After the Earls banishment, in 1667, the Doctor was appointed Chaplain to James Duke of York (p); and on the twenty-first of December 1670, he was collated by King Charles to a Canonry of Christ-church, in the room of Dr Richard Gardiner [H] deceased, into which he was installed on the twenty-ninth

(l) His Life, p. 16.

(n) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1045.

(o) Ibid. and his last Will, in rem. [S].

(p) Wood, as before.

of

* such that had kept and occupied the places of those Royalists, and left nothing undone to ingratiate himself with them.

[F] *The Chancellor made him his Chaplain.* Here his old friend has another sting at him; the Chancellor, says he, being much delighted with a sermon that his Chaplain had preached before him, made way for him to preach the same sermon again before his Majesty: and having passed the scrutiny of so wise and learned a man, and to great and famous a Counsellor, every one's expectation was heightened, and happy was he or she, amongst the greatest wits in the town, that could accommodate their humour, in getting convenient room in the chapel at Whitehall, to hang upon the lips of this, so great an oracle. The day appointed being come, which was the 13th of April 1662, for the acting of this scene over again, our author ascends the pulpit, and the eyes of all were immediately fastned upon him. After he had performed his obeysance to his Majesty, he named his text, which was, Eccl. vii. 10. *Say not thou what is the cause that the former days were better then these? For thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this.* Then after a witty preamble, he proceeded to the division of the words; and having performed that with great dexterity, he lays by the text for the present; and, according to the ancient and laudable manner, addressed himself to the *Bid-Prayer*; which being ended, he resumed his text, and attempted to handle the several parts of it. The prohibition in the text, he laboured to enforce by an induction of many particulars. The first was that the Pagan times were not better than these, then, the Popish times were not, &c. But the last insisted on was the times of the great Rebellion, and whilst he was endeavouring to evince that which indeed was the main thing that he intended to handle, it pleased God, as the Fanatic observed*, that he was suddenly taken with a qualm, drops of sweat standing on his face as big as pease, and immediately he lost the use of his speech, only he uttered some few words to this effect, Oh Lord! we are all in thy hands, be merciful unto us; and then came down. The expectations of all being thus sadly disappointed, they were contented with the divertisement of an anthem, and so the solemnity of the service for that day ended. In the mean time great care was taken of Mr South, and by the use of cordials, and other means proper for him in that condition, he quickly recovered his spirits, and was every way as well again as before. To all which, (continues our tale bearer) the Fanatic adds thus †. 'And we should be glad to hear he were more sensible of the hand of God upon him at that time, wherein it is to be feared, he sought his own honour more than Christ's, and therefore met with this rebuke from the Lord, which indeed, we should hope in charity, had some great influence upon him: for the next Lord's day after, he appeared again before the same splendid auditory, and, as we are informed, he did beforehand free his sermon from many of those luxuriances, which before it was attended with, brings it forth in a less whorish attire than he had cloathed it with the day before; and so, according to our best information, he went on and finished his discourse, without the least disturbance or interruption, &c (20)

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[G] *He was opposed in his degree of Doctor of Divinity* The opposition is taken notice of by the writer of his life (21), but without any such rhetorical strains as it is adorned with by Mr Wood, as follows: On the first day of October 1663, there was a Convocation of the university celebrated, and therein were the letters of his patron, Edward Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of the said university, read in behalf of his Chaplain Mr South, to be created Doctor of Divinity; which being done, the Bachelors of Divinity and Masters of Arts were so amazed at such a matter, as first, that the said person should venture upon such a degree, being but six years standing in that of Master; secondly, that he should be so impudent to overtop a hundred of his seniors at least; and thirdly, that he had not at all suffered for his Majesty's cause, but rather, that he had preached against it, when he closed with the Independents, they all stiffly denied the passing of those letters, and were so resolute against their taking effect, that the House being in a tumult thereupon, the Doctors of Divinity, who were greatly consenting to the creation (for they were not to be overtopped) did arise from their seats, and went down and mixed themselves among the Masters, to persuade them to yield their consents; but all being done in vain, they went to scrutiny. Which being done, the senior Proctor, according to his usual perfidy, (which he frequently used in his office, for he was born and bred a Presbyterian) did pronounce him the said Mr South *virtute juramenti sui*, passed by the major part of the House. Whereupon, by the double presentation of Dr John Wallis, he was first admitted Bachelor then Doctor of Divinity (22).

[H] *Richard Gardiner* This gentleman, who was born in Hereford, and bred at the school there, became student of Christ church about 1607, took the degrees in Arts, entered into Holy Orders, and became a quaint preacher and orator. At length, King James the First being much pleased with a speech that he had spoken before him in the Scotch tone, when he was Deputy Orator, gave him the reversion of the next Canon of Christ-church; into which, upon the death of Dr Thomas Thornton, he was installed in 1629 (23); and, taking his degrees in Divinity the following year, he was made one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King Charles the First. In 1648, he was thrust out of his Canonry by the Parliamentary visitors, and lived obscurely in Oxford twelve years, 'till the return of King Charles the Second, who restored him to what he had lost. And whatsoever he got from that time to the day of his death, he bestowed on charitable uses, his kindred, and the college which gave him breeding. He published several sermons (24), which are mentioned by Mr Wood; as also a piece intituled *Specimen Oratorium*, printed at London in 1653, in two sheets 8vo containing, 1. *A Letter from the University to King James the First, to thank him for his Works presented to the public Library.* 2. *Oration in the Convocation when his Majesty's Works were received.* 3. *Funeral Oration on Dr Budden, 1620.* 4. *Oration on presenting the Dean of Chichester to be Prolocutor to the Lower House of Convocation, November 11, 1640.* 5. *Gratulation for the King's safe return from the battle of Edge hill, October 29, 1642.* This little book was printed again in 1657, and in 1662, in small 8vo. with the additions

(21) P. 16.

(22) Ibid. col. 1045.

(23) The same year that Dr Strode was chosen publick Orator.

(24) Particularly a volume containing sixteen, preached in Oxford and at Court, printed at London in 1659, 8vo. Ath. Oxon. col. 480.

(l) Both these speeches are printed *inter Opera sua Posthumia*, p. 68, & sequ. and are followed by another, spoken on the 7th of November following, on the reception of Lawrence Hyde, Henage Finch, J. Berkenhead, and Aegio Strangeways, sent to thank the University, in the name of the Parliament, for their loyalty to the royal cause during the Rebellion.

* In lib. in tit. *Mirabilis annus secundus*, p. 33.

† Ibid. p. 34.

(20) Ath. Oxon. col. 1044.

(q) So he says in his account of Poland, p. 27. printed in the Memoirs of his Life.

(r) Ibid. p. 106.

of the same month. In 1676, he attended Laurence Hyde, Esq; younger son of the Earl of Clarendon, in the quality of Chaplain, on his embassy to Poland. The Doctor very gladly accepted this offer, which gave him an opportunity of gratifying his naturally curious and inquisitive temper. In order to complete which, he staid behind the Ambassador at his own request (q); and what improvements he made thereby may be best seen in the account of that country, which he sent in a letter from Dantzic, December 16, 1677, to Dr Edward Poccocke [I], then Regius Professor of Hebrew, and one of the Canons of Christ-church, with whom he held a most intimate friendship. Soon after the Doctor's return home, he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, upon the death of Dr Edward Hinton, in 1678, to the rectory of Islip in Oxfordshire, a living of considerable revenues, out of which he allowed a hundred pounds *per annum* to the Reverend Mr Penny, a student of Christ-church, his Curate; and expended the rest in educating and apprenticing the poorer children of the parish (r). Moreover, after he had been two years incumbent, in 1680, he caused the chancel of the church, that had been suffered to run to ruin by his predecessor, to be rebuilt at his own expence [K]; and

finding

of, 1. Art. Bac. ex Æd. Ch. Oxon. Progymnasmata. 2. *Epistola nonnullæ à cumulo excerptæ nomine subdecani inscriptæ.* 3. *Orationes & Epistolæ, &c.* The whole was printed again at Oxon. 1668, 1675, &c. He died, and was buried in one of the isles joining to the choir of Christ-church cathedral, on the north side, after his death, which happened December 20, 1670, aged 79, as appears from his epitaph, which was written by Dr South, at the request of his executors, in these terms:

H. S. I.
 Venerabilis Vir,
 Ricardus Gardiner, S. T. P.
 Ecclesiæ hujus primus alumnus.
 Dein Canonicus.
 Quo in munere
 Cum diu se magna cum laude exercuit,
 Majore eodem cessit:
 Fanaticorum furoribus fortunis omnibus exutus,
 Ut fidem, quam Deo & Principi obligaverat,
 Illibatam retineret.
 Postliminio haud tandem restitutus
 Eadem constantia qua ereptas spreverat opes,
 Contemnebat affluentes,
 Munificentia siquidem perenni,
 Et aquæductus quem hic loci struxerat æmula,
 Ecclesiam hanc,
 Patriam suam Herefordiam,
 Cognatos,
 Amicos,
 Pauperes,
 Cumulatissime perfudit.
 Demum
 Meritis juxta & annis plenus,
 Viridi senecta, sensibus integris,
 Piam animam Deo reddidit.
 Decemb. 20.
 Anno salutis 1670.
 Ætatis suæ 79.

[I] In a letter to Dr Poccocke. He had promised to send this account to the Doctor when they parted at Cornbury, the Earl of Carendon's seat in Oxfordshire. He begins with an account that the Ambassador set sail from Portsmouth on board the Tyger man of war, with the Swallow in company, and some merchant-ships under convoy, on the eleventh of June preceding, and after staying some days in the Sound to dispatch messages with compliments to the Courts of Sweden and Denmark, cast anchor before Dantzic on the eleventh of August, where being received under the discharge of the artillery on the ramparts, he was the next day conducted to an audience of the Queen of Poland, (who made a journey thither while the King, her husband, was in the field) wherein he paid her Majesty the usual devoirs in the name of his royal master, and presented the young Princess, her daughter, with a very rich jewel, and a cross of diamonds of great value. He afterwards, with a very magnificent

retinue, set forward from Poland, and was received by the King, in his camp, near Leopold in Russia, with demonstrations of respect and kindness suitable to his character and person, where his Majesty did him the honour of sending some of his chief officers to shew him the army and their way of encamping. The peace being happily concluded to the advantage of Poland, between his Majesty and the Turks and Tartans, whereof his Excellency Mr Hyde had no small share in the management; the King returned in November to Zolkiew, his own patrimony, which is a town in Russia, adorned and defended by a castle, and intermixed with several delightful gardens, with a fair church in the middle of it, built with various kinds of marble, and where the Ambassador, waiting upon him, had his public audience in the most solemn manner. He was first carried in the King's coach, attended by six of his own, twenty-four pages and footmen in rich liveries, and sixty odd coaches of the chief nobility. When arrived at the Court, he was received by the Chief Marshal (who is in the nature of a Lord Chamberlain) at the stairs-foot of the palace, and conducted to his Majesty, who received him standing under a canopy. When his Excellency delivered his master's compliments in a Latin speech*, in which he gave assurances of his master's inviolable attachment to that Prince's interests, congratulated him upon the last treaty of peace, brought to a happy conclusion with the Infidels, and made overtures to enter into such alliances with the Crown and Republic of Poland as should be judged most conducive to the honour and safety of both nations. To this his Polish Majesty gave a very agreeable and satisfactory answer in the same language, which he had readily *ad unguem* (25); and caused the Ambassador afterwards to sit down at the same table with him, where he was attended by the chief officers of State standing, it being a custom in Poland to admit none to that honour but the Princes of the Blood. Our author then describes the person, dress, and accomplishments both of the King and Queen. After which he proceeds with a description of such towns and principal cities as his curiosity led him to visit; these are, Cracow, Vilne (26), Posen, Guesna, Lowitz, Warsaw, Thorn, Marienburgh, and Dantzic; which done, he concludes with an account of the religion, customs, and manners of the Poles; but this last part he acknowledges is taken mostly from Mr Hauteville. He closes the whole with a compliment to Dr Poccocke, whom he now again calls, as he had done at the head of his letter, *his best friend and most honoured instructor*, wishing to return to Christ-church, in the view of being restored to the happiness of this friend's conversation, than which nothing could be more improving or desired by him (27). Thus, confirming what we have already observed (28) from Mr Locke, upon Dr Poccocke's most improving conversation.

[K] To be rebuilt at his own expence. This appears from the following inscription over the entrance into the chancel:

ROBERTUS SOUTH, S. T. P.
 In Ecclesiam hanc Parochialem
 Inductus anno 1678,
 Propriis sumptibus hanc
 Cancellariam a fundamentis
 Instauravit, extruxitque, anno Domini 1680.

[L] Is

* The speech was written in English by Mr Hyde, and turned into elegant Latin by Dr South. Life, p. 23.

(25) He observes, that, to speak good Latin, is their chief study in the university, which came into vogue from an interview that King Casimir II. had with the King of Sweden, when the latter, with all his Court, spoke the language fluently, which King Casimir, nor his attendants, not being able to do, he was so much ashamed, that he gave great encouragement to that study. Life, p. 34.

(26) These are their two universities, and may be called sisters, he says, from their affinity in ignorance. Ibid. p. 33.

(27) Life of Dr South, p. 21 to 106. inclusive.

(28) Under his article.

finding the mansion-house belonging to the Rector much too mean for the largeness of the stipend, he caused the shattered remains to be totally pulled down, and an edifice erected in a more convenient part of the town, having purchased the scite, with a handsome garden, as a perpetual mansion for himself and successors; so that, it might then, and may still, vie with most parsonage-houses in England [L]. In 1681, the Doctor, who was then one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, being in waiting, preached before the King upon these words, *The Lot is cast into the Lap, but the disposing of it is of the Lord*. Wherein, having spoken of the various changes and dispensations of Providence, and the unaccountable accidents and particulars of life, he introduced three examples of unexpected advancements in the following manner: 'Who, says he, that had looked upon *Agathocles* first handling the clay, and making pots under his father, and afterwards turning robber, could have thought that from such a condition, he should come to be King of Sicily? Who that had seen *Mafinello*, a poor fisherman, with his red cap and his angle, would have reckoned it possible to see such a pitiful thing, within a week after, shining in his cloth of gold, and with a word or a nod absolutely commanding the whole city of Naples.—And who, that beheld such a bankrupt beggarly fellow as *Cromwell* first entering the Parliament-House with a thread bare torn cloak, and greasy hat, perhaps neither of them paid for, could have suspected, that in the space of so few years he should, by the murder of one King and the banishment of another, ascend the throne? At which the King fell into a violent fit of laughter, and turning to Lord Rochester said, *Ods, fish, Lory, your Chaplain must be a Bishop, therefore put me in mind of him at the next vacancy (s).*' During the remainder of King Charles the Second's reign, the Doctor continued a strenuous assertor of the prerogative against all attempts that were made towards its diminution; and, by the interest of his patron, who on his return from his embassy, was raised to the peerage (t), in conjunction with his own merits, had several offers of advancement into the Hierarchy, but he modestly declined these, as having wherewithal to support himself according to the dignities he stood possessed of in the Church, and the distribution of charities he had already settled and intended to lay schemes for; in order to which, he made some purchases about this time of houses upon Ludgate-hill and Token-house-yard. On the accession of King James the Second to the Throne, his patron's brother, the Earl of Clarendon, going Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland, made him an offer of an Archbishopric of that kingdom, but he continued fixed in his resolves of living privately (u), which these two noble Peers were forced to do soon after, by their dismissal from Court [M]. After the quelling of

(t) Ibid. p. 108.

(r) See his article.

(u) Ibid. p. 109, 110.

[L] *It may vie with most parsonage houses in England*] Dr White Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, in his Parochial Antiquities gives a view of it, in a plate inscribed to Dr South, whose coat of arms is engraved over it, in these terms: *Viro reverendo Roberto South, S. T. P. Rectori ecclesie de Islip, tabulam hanc, quæ amplum & elegantem, Rectorie Manum, suis impensis constructam representat, D. D. White Kennet. Nos admiremur, imitentur posteris.* The writer of his life (29) suggests, that the Rector was the more readily induced to this act of generosity by the honour done to the village in the birth of King Edward the Confessor, which is declared by that King, in his charter or grant of the village and other lands thereto adjacent to St Peter's church in Westminster.

[M] *The two Peers were dismissed from Court.*] We have already related the occasion of this dismissal in the course of this work (30), where we have also given an account of the Earl of Rochester's dispute introductory to it, in defence of his religion, from Bishop Burnet, as the best authority that occurred at that time. But as that Prelate makes no mention of Dr South, and besides, is not so full as the writer of Dr South's Memoirs, whose account is likewise different in some particulars from that of his Lordship, we shall lay it before the reader as follows: That unhappy Prince [King James] being fully bent upon a general toleration of all Christian dissenters from the Church established, and pushed forward, upon extremities, to obtain liberty for the exercise of the Romish religion, by taking off the Test and Penal laws, took upon him to closet the chief men about him, and either to bring them over to his will by persuasion or threats. Among others, the Earl of Rochester, who was his Majesty's brother-in-law, and therefore very dear to him, was examined concerning his opinion and sentiments, relating to the King's will and pleasure, to which his Majesty was fully bent to have obedience paid by all about him, on pain of removal. Hereupon, the good Earl, after having, like a faithful Counsellor, pointed out the fatal consequences of his Majesty's impolitic resolves, and begged him to desist from an enterprize that would be found impracticable; very submissively

and prudently made answer, that he had been bred up in the principles of a religion that taught him that obedience to his Prince which he had never failed in, and that his duty to God, who was the King of Kings, obliged him to continue in the practice of them. However, if his Majesty should be so pleased (so certain was he of the truth of the doctrines he had received from the primitive Church) he was willing to abide by the result of a dispute between two Church of England Divines and two of the Church of Rome, being not fearful of venturing to say, that to which side soever the victory should incline, his Lordship would from that time abide by that which conquered. Hereunto the King very readily agreed, and immediately nominated the Fathers Giffard and Tilden for his two champions, and appointed *the rule of Faith* to be the subject matter of the controversy. The persons at first proposed by the Earl were, Dr Jane and Dr South, but the latter was so unacceptable to his Majesty, by the bitter invectives he was said to make use of in the pulpit against the Papists and Presbyterians, who then joined in their endeavours for liberty of conscience, that he told his Lordship he could not agree to the choice of Dr South, who instead of arguments would bring railing accusations, and had not temper of mind enough to go through a dispute that required the greatest attention and calmness. Hereupon the Earl chose Dr Patrick, then Dean of Peterborough, and Minister of St Paul's Covent-garden, a very able Divine, in his room, but he would needs have the assistance of Dr South in a consultation held the night before the conference was to commence, wherein were such irrefragable arguments drawn up by him on the subject they were to discourse, as totally obtained a conquest over their two opponents, and made the King dismiss his two pretended advocates with this rebuke, *that he could say more in behalf of his religion than they could; and that he never heard a good cause managed so ill, nor a bad one so well.* So that, concludes this writer, if Dr South could not be said to be in the battle, he was a very great instrument of obtaining the victory; and Dr Jane has often owned (though a most excellent casuist himself) that the auxiliary arguments contributed by Dr South did

more

(29) P. 107.

(30) In the articles of the two Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, father and son, rem. [H B] in the first, and [C] in the latter.

of Monmouth's rebellion, toward the suppression of which, the Doctor openly professed, that if there should be occasion he would change his black gown for a buff coat, the residue of King James's reign being taken up in acts of bigotry and violence gives us no particulars further of our Divine, than that he spent the greatest part of his time at Islip and Oxford, going sometimes to his paternal estate at Caversham in Oxfordshire, near Reading, where he was busied in preparing for the press most of those extraordinary sermons which have since seen the light, and exercised himself in devotions to deprecate the judgments that seemed to hang over the national Church. But as he had imbibed the most generally received opinion of Passive Obedience, so he made that principle the rule of his conduct; and when the invitation to the Prince of Orange to come over and rescue our laws and liberties, signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops, was offered to him, he refused it, saying, 'his religion had taught him to bear all things, and howsoever it should please God that he should suffer, he would, by the divine assistance, continue to abide by his allegiance, and use no other weapons but his prayers and tears for the recovery of his sovereign from the wicked and unadvised counsels wherewith he was entangled (w).' In the same principle, after the arrival of the Prince of Orange, the Doctor refused to subscribe the Association paper, signed by the Vice-Chancellor and several Heads of Colleges in Oxford, to stand by that Prince [N]. However, after the Revolution was brought about, the Doctor complied with the necessity of the times, and took the oaths to the new government (x). Yet, when offers were made him by some great men at the helm, who had then the benefit of the royal ear, to procure him one of the sees vacated by the Nonjuring Bishops in 1692, he excused himself on this account: 'That notwithstanding he, for his part, saw nothing that was contrary to the laws of God, and the common practice of all nations, to submit to Princes in possession of the Throne, yet others might have their reasons for a contrary opinion; and he blessed God, that he was neither so ambitious nor in want of preferment, as for the sake of it, to build his rise upon the ruins of any one Father of the Church, who for piety, good morals, and strictness of life, which every one of the deprived Bishops were famed for, might be said not to have left their equal (y) [O].'

The same turn of mind disposed the Doctor to dislike the Act of Toleration, nor did he well relish some proceedings at Court, whereby he suspected (how justly it is not our business here to determine) some persons to be countenanced and in great power, who were enemies to the Church established. He laid hold of all occasions to decry their measures and baffle their designs. And as he had vigorously exerted himself with the Commissioners appointed by the King in 1689, for an union with dissenting Protestants, in behalf of the Church Liturgy and forms of prayer, and entreated them by no means to part with any of it's ceremonies that might have endangered the loss of the whole: so he scarce ever preached, but he set before his auditors the mischiefs that would arise by admitting such vipers, as he called them, into the revenues of the Church, that would eat their way through their-adopted, not natural, mother's bowels. In 1693, our learned Divine took up his pen in defence of the Orthodox doctrine, upon that prime article of the Christian Faith, the Trinity, against the misrepresentations of it, by Dr William Sherlock

(w) P. 114.

(x) Bishop Burnet says, he took the oaths with the reserve of an equivocal sense, which he put upon them. Hist. of his own Time, Vol. III. p. 295. 8vo. edition. The Right Reverend Historian has not thought proper to tell us where this equivocation lay, so that all that can be fairly inferred from his censure is, that our author did not take the oaths upon the same principles with his Lordship, that is, upon King William's right of conquest.

(y) Life, p. 115.

(31) Ibid. p. 110, 111, 112.

(32) In p. 373.

(33) P. 373.

more towards flinging their antagonists on their backs than either his or his colleagues (31).

[N] He refused to subscribe the Association, &c.] This has been already observed from the MS. of Dr Smith (32), from whom we have likewise the following particular concerning our author's antagonist, Dr William Sherlock's conduct at the same time. The London clergy, by concert with the Bishop of London, desired him, in their name, to thank the Prince of Orange for the hazard he had run in this expedition, and for his care in protecting our religion; but withal to desire him to have a tender regard for the King. But the Bishop not delivering this in such terms as they expected, they took great offence at it. Dr Sherlock, saying that he and the rest of them would ever maintain the loyal principles of the Church of England, and that if the Bishop of London forsook that, they would forsake him. Thus we see these two divines, however furiously they buffeted one another afterwards, upon the important religious point of the Trinity, were about this time under the influence of the same principles of State, and these principles were found, at last, to be made of the like bending metal in both, upon the interesting point of the Revolution; very contrary to those of the aforementioned Dr Thomas Smith, who we have seen was stiffly resolved to follow King James's fortunes into France, had not the Lord Preton told him he might do his Majesty more service here (33). Whereupon he tells us, that he set himself to consider upon what methods he should enter, to do that little service he was able: And the convention being opened, he went every day to Westminster, to persuade several noblemen and gentlemen, with whom he had the honour to be acquainted, to

use their utmost endeavours to hinder the cursed (as he calls it) abdication, which was then visibly designed and addressed to them, in order to the inviting of the King back to England, from whence he had been driven away. 'For my active behaviour, continues he, herein, and my loyal zeal on many rencounters in the Court of Requests, I was taken notice of, and threatened to be complained of and punished. Besides the warm contests I had with several Bishops, and others of the Clergy, who, partly through mistaken principles, partly through fear of losing their preferments in the Church, were now giving up themselves into the hands of the Prince of Orange, in order (as some of them idly and foolishly talked) to the better securing the Church of England from Popery, and maintaining the Protestant interest in Holland, and the other countries beyond sea.'

[O] The deprived Bishops had not their equals.] In the same spirit, Dr. Beveridge, as is well known, refused the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells, while Dr Ken was living; and we are told that Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, declined to accept of any of these bishopricks, out of a particular friendship and esteem for the persons deprived (34). This brings to mind the characters given of them by the author of the history of Faction. These, says that author, speaking of the deprived Bishops, were the meek, pious, and learned Dr Sanerost, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; the seraphic Dr Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells; the evangelical Dr Turner, Bishop of Ely; the vigilant Dr Lake, Bishop of Chichester; the resolute and undaunted Dr White, Bishop of Peterborough; the unchangeable Dr Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich; and the irreproachable Dr Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester.

[P] With

(34) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 253. edit. 1753.

Sherlock. The controversy spread itself far and wide, and being carried on by both parties with too much heat and acrimony [P], was at length determined, by the royal authority, entirely to the satisfaction of Dr South, who finding his conduct in it unreasonably impeached afterwards by Dr Stillingfleet, took an occasion in publishing the third volume of his sermons in 1698, to lance some fleches of his wit against that learned Prelate [Q]. Much about this time the Doctor's unwearied application to his studies brought

[P] *With too much heat and acrimony*] 'Tis worth while to hear Bishop Burnet upon this occasion. ' Dr S— (says his lordship) a learned, but ill-natured Divine, —attacked Sherlock's book on the Trinity, not without wit and learning, but without any measure of Christian charity, and without any regard either to the dignity of the subject, or the decency of his profession. He explained the Trinity in the common method, that it was one essence in three Subsistencies. Sherlock replied, and charged this with Sabellianism; some others went into the dispute with some learning, but with more heat. The Socinians divided them into real and nominal Trinitarians. Sherlock they put into the first class; as for the second class, they pretended it had been the doctrine of the western Church, ever since the time that the fourth council in the Lateran sat (35). The Bishop has undeniably here spoken the general sense of the nation at this time, though very unwillingly intimated in respect to our author's superiority in explaining the subject of the dispute. As to the indignity and indecency of his management of it, they are confessedly inexcusable, unless the inexpugnable confidence of his antagonist, added to his own ardent zeal for the established doctrine of the Church of England, may be taken for an excuse; in defending which 'tis remarkable that, his good sense and great learning are constantly made the dupe of his boundless inexhaustible wit; of which the following in his second piece against Dr Sherlock, is one conspicuous instance. ' The soul of Socrates, says he, vitally joined with a female body, would certainly make a woman; and yet, according to this author's principle, (affirming that it is the soul only which makes the person) Socrates with such a change of body, would continue the same person, and consequently be the same Socrates still. And in like manner for Xantippe, the conjunction of her soul with another sex, would certainly make the whole compound a man, and nevertheless Xantippe would continue the same person, and the same Xantippe still; save only, I confess, that upon such exchange of bodies with her husband Socrates, she would have more right to wear the breeches, than she had before (36). The sarcasm is a confirmation of Burnet's remark of our author's ill-nature, as it plainly alludes to the common bruit concerning his antagonist, which represents him as being a little unhappy in this respect with his consort. During the heat of this controversy, out comes a piece, intitled, *Archæologia*, &c. written by Dr Burnet, master of the Charter-house, impugning the divine authority of the old Testament. Whereupon all the three divines received a not improper chastisement in the following very humorous ballad, to the tune of *a soldier and a sailor*, &c.

A Dean and Prebendary

Had once a new vagary;
And were at doubtful strife, Sir
Who led the better life, Sir;
And was the better man,
And was the better man.

The Dean he said that truly,
Since Bluff was so unruly,
He'd prove it to his face, Sir,
That he had the most grace, Sir:
And so the fight began, &c.

When Preb. replied like thunder,
And roar'd out, 'twas no wonder,
Since gods the Dean had three, Sir,
And more by two than he, Sir;
For he had got but one, &c.

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Now while these two were raging,
And in dispute engaging,
The master of the CHARTER,
Said both had caught a Tartar,
For gods, Sir, there was none, &c.

That all the books of Moses,
Were nothing but supposes:
That he deserv'd rebuke, Sir,
Who wrote the Pentateuch, Sir,
'Twas nothing but a sham, &c.

That as for father Adam,
With Mrs Eve his madam,
And what the Serpent spoke Sir,
'Twas nothing but a joke, Sir,
And well invented sham, &c.

Thus in this battle royal,
As none would take denial,
The dame for which they strove, Sir,
Could neither of them love, Sir,
Since all had given offence, &c.

She therefore slyly waiting,
Left all three fools a prating:
And being in a fright, Sir,
Religion took her flight, Sir,
And ne'er was heard of since.
And ne'er was heard of since.

Whether this ballad is worded with that decency that the subject of the dispute, or the very eminent and learned persons concerned in it, deserve, we shall not determine. But the reception it met with, being translated into several languages, particularly Latin, by a curious hand, at the University of Cambridge, and the presents sent the author by the nobility and gentry, made it evident, that their sentiments were against having the mysteries of our Holy Religion discussed and canvassed after so ludicrous a manner.

[Q] *He exercised his wit against Bishop Stillingfleet.*] This Prelate in the preface to his *Vindication of the Trinity*, quotes the following sentence against the treatment given each other by our antagonist. *Oderit Rixas & jurgia præsertimque inter Eruditos, ac Turpe esse dicebat viros indubitate doctos canina rabie famam Vicissim suam rodere ac lacerare scriptis trucibus tanquam vilissimos de Plebe Cerdones in Angipartis sese, luto & stercore conspurcantes* *. He ever hated broils and opprobrious language, especially among the learned, and said it was a very odious and unseemly thing for men, who were undoubtedly renowned for knowledge and understanding, to insult and tear to pieces each others reputations in their inhumane writings, with a canine fury, not unfitly compared to cobblers sprung from the vilest dregs of the people, bespattering each other in lanes and narrow passages with dirt and dung. This Dr South took to be levelled at him in behalf of Dr Sherlock, whom he called not only the aggressor but the transgressor too. Therefore, notwithstanding his great deference for his Lordship's unquestionable merit in polemical and casuistical Divinity, joined to his obedience to the royal mandate and the Episcopal order, held his hands from entering the lists with him in a controversial way; yet he could not restrain himself from having a sling at them both in the dedication mentioned above to Narcissus Boyle, Archbishop of Dublin; where among other remarkable passages are to be found these, ' Surely, says he, it would be a very odd way of ridding a man of the plague by running him through with a sword; or of curing him of a lethargy by casting him into a calenture, a disease

* Vie Rigal's
Vita P. Putciani,
p. 48.

(35) Burnet's
Hist. of his own
Time, Vol III.
p. 295. 8vo. edit.

(36) Tritheim,
charged upon Dr
Sherlock, &c. p.
129.

brought upon him the bloody-flux, which was followed by the strangury, that excepting some transitory releases, scarce left him to his last moments. Yet notwithstanding these pains, he still kept the sprightliness and vivacity of his temper with the few friends he conversed, which were always well chosen. During the greatest part of the reign of Queen Anne, he was in a state of inactivity, and the infirmities of old age growing fast upon him, he performed very little of the duties of the ministerial function, otherwise than when his health would allow of his attending the divine service at Westminster Abbey; though he would take a journey to his seat near Reading, having always two chairmen attending his coach to take him out when he was uneasy, through his indisposition before-mentioned, and carry him in the chair. Notwithstanding his ill state of health, he continued his wonted recourse to books, and the improvement of his mind almost to the day of his death; and it was with great difficulty that his Surgeon, who had the cure of a fore leg under hand, prevailed on him not to creep into his study too often; which yet he could not refrain. Yet, notwithstanding all these impediments to activity and motion, none shewed a greater concern for the Church, when he judged it to be in danger. In this spirit he was unwearied in his application to many of the Lords spiritual and temporal, to be mild and gentle in their sentence against Dr Sacheverell, who was highly indebted to him for a very successful advocate. Upon the change of the ministry, in 1710, the Doctor was again solicited and courted (z) to accept of some higher dignities of the Church, and particularly to succeed Dr Sprat in the Bishopric of Rochester and Deanery of Westminster in 1713, but he returned for answer, 'That such a chair would be too uneasy for an old infirm man to sit in, and he held himself much better satisfied with living upon the eves-droppings of the Church (a a) than to fare sumptuously, by being placed at the pinnacle of it.' In the same humour, upon the promotion of Dr Atterbury, to those most desirable dignities, being asked by a gentleman concerning the state of his health. 'Within an inch of the grave, no doubt, says he, since I have lived to see a gentleman, who was born the very year in which I was made one of the Prebendaries of this church, appointed to be Dean of it [R].' On the death of the Queen, telling a particular friend, who usually visited him once or twice a week, 'that it was time for him to prepare for his journey to a blessed immortality; since all that was good and gracious, and the very breath of his nostrils, had made it's departure to the regions of bliss and eternal happiness.' Accordingly, he began thenceforward to set his house in order, and to provide for the further good of posterity, as appears by the benefactions in his last Will [S]. In 1715, he published a fourth volume of sermons, which

(z) Apparently by Mr Bromley.

(a a) Alluding to his Prebendal house, that was adjoining to the abbey.

'of a contrary nature indeed, but no less fatal to the patient, who equally dies, whether his sickness or his physic, the malignity of his distemper, or the method of his cure dispatches him. And in like manner must it fare with a Church, which feeling itself infected with the poison of Socinianism, flies to Tritheism for an antidote. But at length steps in the royal authority to the Church's relief, with several wholesome injunctions in it's hands, for the composing, healing, and ending the disputes about the Trinity then on foot, and these indeed so wisely framed, so seasonably timed, and by the King at least so graciously intended, that they must in all likelihood, without any other Ireuicon (37), have restored peace to the Church had it not been for the importunity and impartiality of some, who having by the awe of these injunctions endeavoured to silence the opposite party, which by their arguments they could not do, and withal looking upon themselves as privileged persons, and so above these ordinances, which others were to be subject to, resolved not to be silent themselves: but renewing the contest, partly by throwing Muggleton and Rigaltius, with some other full stuff in their adversaries faces; and partly by a shameful reprinting (without the least reinforcing) the same tritheistic notions again and again, they quite broke through the royal prohibitions, and soon after began to take as great a liberty in venting their innovations and invectives, as ever they had done before: so that he who shall impartially consider the course taken by these men, in reference to those who are engaged on the other side of the controversy, about the Trinity, will find, that their whole proceeding in it, resembles nothing so much as a thief's binding the hands of an honest man with a cord much fitter for his own neck. But blessed be God, matters stand not so with you in Ireland, the climate there being not more impatient of poisonous animals, than the Church of poisonous opinions, an universal concurrent orthodoxy shining all over it, from the superior Clergy who preside, to the inferior placed under them, so that we never hear from thence of any Presbyter, much less of any Dean, who dares innovate upon the faith received, and least of all (should

(37) Alluding to Dr Stillingfleet's book, under that title.

'such a wretch chance to start up among you) can I hear of any Bishop likely to debauch his style and character so low, as either to defend the man, or colour over his opinions. Nor lastly, do we find that in the judgment of the Clergy there, a man's having wrote against one sort of heresy, or heterodoxy, ought to justify or excuse him in writing for another, and much less for it worse.'

[R] Appointed to be Dean of it.] This answer gave occasion to several persons that were not acquainted with the Doctor's way of talk, to suggest that he took the gift of this preferment away from him in disgust. But the truth is on the contrary side; for he had a great esteem for the new Dean's parts and person, received visits from him to his dying day; and made it one amongst his other requests, that at his burial my Lord of Rochester might perform the last office (38).

[S] The benefactions by his last Will.] This bears date March 30, 1714, and was drawn up by himself. Thereby the Doctor, besides his church preferments, appears to have been possessed of several good temporal estates, hereditary and acquired, which he disposes of in the following manner. In the first place, he bequeaths his estate of inheritance, rented at 75 l. per annum, in the Hamlets of Whitley, in the parish of St Giles, Reading, in Berkshire, to Robert South, his nephew by half blood, charged with the payment of 900 l. to his three nieces the said Robert's sisters, and 400 l. to two of the daughters of his sister Joan Hall, deceased. After which he bequeaths to Mrs Margaret Hammond, his house-keeper, relict of Mr Edward Hammond, Clerk, all the residue of his lease of his messuages and tenements in or near Holyday-yard in London, held for a term of years from the Chapter of St Paul's; though, says he, I could, and do most heartily, wish, that at, or before her death, she would give and settle the same to some charitable use for ever: and this to the great honour of Almighty God, the benefit of the publick, to my own great satisfaction, the good of her own soul, and the just reputation of us to all posterity. He also bequeaths to the same Mrs Hammond one estate in the parish of Caversham in Oxfordshire, and another in the manner of Cantlers or Cantlow, in Kentish town in Middlesex, during her

(38) Life, p. 1

which he inscribed to Mr Bromley, as a testimony of his high esteem, and sincere affection to that friend, though at that time in disgrace at Court; and in the same steady zeal to his first connections, he proceeded to shew his regard to the family of the Duke of Ormond, (who had unhappily forfeited his title by a bill of attainder in Parliament) in causing himself to be brought in a chair to the election of a new High-Steward of Westminster, vacant upon the forfeiture of his Grace. The candidates were the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Arran, the late Duke's only brother, who had lost his election, had not Dr South, though in a manner bed-ridden, made the voices of the Prebendaries equal, by saying very briskly, when he was asked whom he would vote for,

Heart

her life, and after her death he gives them both to the Chapter of Christ Church, in Oxon. for ever, in trust, that out of the clear profits, they shall pay to and among the following Vicars, Curates, and Incumbents, for the time being, ten pounds a piece yearly for ever, free from all deductions of taxes, or any other duties, chargeable upon the said premises, to be paid half yearly, viz. the Vicar of Southstoke cum Capellis, and the Vicar of little Compton, the Curate of Drayton, the Curate of Stratton Audley, and the Vicar or Curate of Dorchester, all in Oxfordshire. To the Vicars of East Garfden and of Ardington, both in Berkshire. The Curates of South Littleton and of Offenham in Worcester-shire; to the Vicar of Netherfoll in Gloucestershire, and the Vicar of Cereton in Wiltshire. And in case the said yearly rents and profits should happen to fall short of satisfying the said sum of ten pounds to each of the said Vicars, &c. then there should be an equal and proportionable deduction out of every one of the said salaries. But if it should happen in any following year (as no doubt it will) that more should accrue out of the yearly rents, than is sufficient to answer the said yearly stipends, then he wills, that all deficiencies so happening in any former year or years shall be made up and supplied to the said Vicars, &c. out of such overplus. And my further Will, proceeds he, by all means is, that if any of the Vicars, &c. receiving this my charitable benefaction, shall be convicted at the mouth of two or more witnesses, or generally noted for, though not formally convicted thereof by witnesses, of any thing grossly immoral, as whoredom, fornication, drunkennets, or common swearing, or any thing scandalous, or against the act of uniformity, or rule of the Church of England, such as are preaching in, or going to, any conventicle or meeting of the Dissenters from the Church of England, for religious worship; that then, and in every such, and the like case, the stipend allotted to such Vicar, &c. shall forthwith cease, and the person or persons so guilty be utterly deprived of the same for ever. And that it be from time to time paid to such Vicars, &c. as shall be so qualified as in the premises has been expressed, and known to the Dean himself, or to any one or more of the Prebendaries of Christ-Church in Oxon. for the time being, to be of a sober unblameable life, and of strict conformity to the Church of England, as now by Law established.' He further bequeaths all the overplus of the money remaining of the yearly profits of the said two estates, to six poor scholars for ever, twenty nobles a piece yearly, to be all of Christ-Church, and bred in Westminster school, to be at the nomination of the said Chapter of Christ-Church, and the remainder of the said profits to be applied towards the finishing of the new buildings then carried on in Christ-Church. He then confirms a deed of settlement, formerly made to the Dean and Chapter of St Peter's Westminster, for erecting and endowing at his sole charge a charity-school at Islip. He proceeds to give further to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church the sum of 500 l. to be laid out in purchasing the perpetual advowson of a good living, for one of the students of that College, who shall profess the study of Divinity, the said 500 l. to be paid by his executrix within five years after his decease. In the next place, he gives to the Dean and Chapter of St Asaph, &c. in North Wales, the sum of 100 l. in trust, to be laid out for the apprenticing out twenty poor youths, born in the parish of Llanchiadar in Mocknant aforesaid, to good honest trades, by 5 l. a piece to be paid by his executrix, when she shall have received of his tenant for the tythes of Llanchiadar, all that shall be due from him on that account, and not otherwise, and before the full receipt thereof. He further gives the sum of 100 l. to the

public library of Oxford, for the buying into it such modern authors of principal note, as the Vice-Chancellor and Head Librarian, for the time being, shall judge to be most useful, and most wanting there. He further gives the sum of 200 l. to twenty poor ejected Clergymen, Nonjurors, at the choice and nomination of his executrix, to be distributed to them by ten pounds a piece. He likewise gives the sum of 200 l. to forty poor widows of Ministers, at the choice of his executrix, to be distributed at five pounds a piece, both to be paid within two years after his decease. He also gives the sum of 100 l. towards the maintenance of the poor children, taught and bred in the Grey-Coat Hospital in Tothill fields. He likewise gives 100 l. to fifty poor house-keepers or widows, those of Clergymen excepted as having been provided for in his Will before, within the city of Westminster, to be distributed by his executrix, at forty shillings a piece, and to be at her nomination, but still such as shall be truly conformable to our Church as now by Law established, and diligent attenders upon the service and worship thereof, either at Westminster-Abbey (which says he I most like) or in some parish church thereabouts, and this to be done as speedily, as it can with any tolerable convenience, be after my funeral. 'Also to the poor of the parish of Cavesham or Caversham in Oxfordshire, where, says he, I have dwelt for many years last past, I give ten pounds, having been all along very liberal to that place, and the poor thereof during all the time I spent there. And ten pounds to the poor of the town and parish of Islip in the county of Oxford also, to which I have been a constant, and (as they themselves very well know) no ordinary benefactor, I give five pounds to the poor of the parish of Hackney in Middlesex, near London, where I was born and baptized. I give five pounds also to the poor of the place where I shall happen to be buried, in case it proves to be none of those three places already mentioned, but not otherwise. He concludes with appointing Mrs Hammond his sole executrix and residuary legatee. Further in a codicil annexed, dated June 2, 1714, he bequeaths 500 l. towards carrying on the new buildings at Christ-Church, to be paid out of a deed or deeds of assignment for 977 l. to his said executrix, as security for the repayment of 617 l. lent by him to William Vernon of Westminster, gentleman. He also, as a pledge of respect, gives to the Honourable William Bromley, then Secretary of State, to Francis Gastrel, Bishop of Chester, to Dr John Hammond, and Dr William Stratford, both Canons of Christ-Church, five Carolus pieces of gold each for a ring. In another codicil, dated the same day as the former, he gives to Robert South, Attorney at Law, in Northampton, son to his half brother Mr James South, deceased, his the Doctor's father, drawn by the excellent hand of Vanzoeft, then hanging in his lodgings at Christ-Church, as also a gold ring set with an amethyst, with his father's arms, curiously engraved upon it; likewise a pebble stone artificially set in a gold ring (to be used as a seal) with the same coat of arms cast or engraven on it; moreover an agate of a pretty large size, and handle tipped with silver, and bearing his father's arms also upon it, intended chiefly for the smoothing of writing paper; and together with this a small silver seal, with the same engravement upon it, commonly used by himself in sealing his letters. 'Which said legacies, continues the Doctor, whether he shall pass a due value upon them or no (for I have heard of his character) I have thought fit to leave him as the properest things to remind him of the worthy father, whom he is descended from, and the family which he belongs to, and deserves with the utmost respect to be remembered by him.'

Heart and hand for my Lord Arran.

(bb) From his epitaph in Westminster-abbey.

(cc) It is printed at the end of the Memoirs of his Life, together with an English translation of it.

(dd) The same which was sung at the interment of the Queen [Anne], composed by Dr Will. Croft. Ibid. p. 140.

(ee) P. 141.

(ff) p. 354, edit. 1753.

So that the Dean, who had the casting vote, determined the choice in his Lordship's favour. This being the last time he went abroad, it is easy to imagine, that weakness, the attendant upon old age, made quick advances towards his dissolution, which happened on Sunday the 8th day of July, 1716 (bb). Four days after his decease, the corpse having for some time lain in a decent manner in the Jerusalem-chamber, was brought into the college-hall, where a Latin oration (cc) was spoken by Mr John Barber, Captain of the King's scholars. Thence it was attended by the Bishop of Rochester, with the Prebendaries who were in town, the masters, the scholars, the whole choir, and all the servants belonging to the royal foundation, with many members of the university and college of Christ-Church in Oxford. Upon their entrance into the abbey, the choir performed the part of the funeral service, 'till the body was placed in the area of the church; after which followed evening prayers, and an anthem suitable to the occasion (dd). Prayers being ended, the corpse was attended in the same manner to the grave, near the steps of the altar, adjoining to the late Dr Busby's, where the choir performed the last part of the service, the Right Reverend the Dean reading the burial office, with such affection and devotion, as shewed his concern for this loss to the Church (ee). A sumptuous marble monument, after the model of Dr Busby's, and adjoining to it, was erected to his memory with a Latin epitaph by Dr Freind, then Head-Master of Westminster-school, containing his eulogy. The purport of which is, that he did honour to his age and country; his judgment was penetrating, and his knowledge extensive. He possessed at once all those extraordinary talents, that were divided amongst the greatest authors of Antiquity; he had the sound, distinct, comprehensive, knowledge of *Aristotle*, with all the beautiful lights, graces, and embellishments, of *Cicero*. One does not know which to admire most in his writings, the strength of reason, force of style, or brightness of imagination. As to his moral and religious conduct, he was not only a son, but a father to the Church of England; sincere and hearty to her friends, and ever bold and undaunted in the defence of truth and loyalty; wherein his arguments were so solid and nervous, that as few have come near him, so none have excelled him. Inasmuch, that while he was possessed of Tertullian's oratory and force of persuasion, he was invested and clothed with St Cyprian's devotion and humility. He was a true friend to Monarchy, even when rebellion was successful and faction meritorious. His charity to the poor was very liberal, and the greatest part of it industriously concealed, having our Saviour's rule not to let our light shine before men always upon his mind, whereby we may be assured, that he found greater satisfaction in the duty than he could propose from the title of a generous benefactor. To describe him fully, ought only to be attempted by a person that is blessed with such a share of wit and devotion as he enjoyed. Here we see the bright side of the Doctor's character, which is represented as all pure gold without any alloy. Nevertheless an alloy it undeniably had mingled in it's composition, and which therefore, as it becomes an impartial historian, we shall lay before the reader, in the words of a late writer, who in a panegyric, intitled, *The life of Archbishop Tillotson* (ff), recounting such Protestants as had attacked his Grace's Sermons, sets our Divine at the head of them. 'One of the most forward and petulant, says he, was Dr South, whose learning and genius, were accompanied with an unrestrained acrimony of temper, and a boundless severity of language, mixed with the lowest and falsest, as well as the truest wit, both in his conversation and writings, against those, who differed in the least from him, especially in matters, which he imagined or represented, to concern the interests of the Established Church, for which, after the Restoration, he appeared the most zealous champion on all occasions, though before that event, he had insinuated himself into the good opinion of Dr John Owen, Dean of Christ-Church, where he was educated, and of the Independent party, whom he afterwards abandoned, and joyned with the Presbyterians [T].' The Doctor is also represented

(39) Life of Tillotson, p. 354.

(40) In Archbishop Tillotson's article.

[T] He berded first with the Independents and afterwards with the Presbyterians.] In order to confirm the justice of this representation, it is observed, 'that the circumstances are related by Mr Wood, who has drawn his character in a manner not at all favourable to his memory, and has the more weight from his own conformity to the Doctor's professed principles, both in Church and State (39). Enough has been said already to evince Mr Wood's prejudice against our author, where the root from whence it sprung is now laid open. And we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, that his Grace of Canterbury was handled with little less severity by him (40); a circumstance, which is sunk into a dead silence in the account of his life, the greatest blemish of which, is the blackning and blanching of characters, as best serves the purpose of heightning the otherwise sufficiently confessed merit of the subject. In this design we see the writer raking up, and retailing every little tale in disparagement of Dr South. Thus, for instance, to set off the moderation of the Archbishop's temper and principles, having remarked,

'that he was stigmatized with the name of Latitudinarian, by persons of very opposite characters, is introduced a piece, intitled, *The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines, &c.* written (41) by Dr Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, who is dignified with the epithet of *pious and rational*, because in it he complains, *that this term of reproach, this word, as he calls it, of a foot and a half long, Latitudinarian, was frequently thrown out at that time, not only in conversation, but from the pulpit; and that it accompanied good store of other bombasts and little witticisms, in seasoning, not long ago, the stately Oxonian theatre.* Which passage evidently refers to the speech of Dr South, then Orator of the university of Oxford, in which he treated not only the new Philosophy and the Royal Society, but likewise moderation, comprehension, and other topics of that kind with his usual virulence and buffoonry, so justly complained of by Dr Wallis in a letter to Mr Boyle (42), as unsuitable to a learned body, on so solemn an occasion.' Again for proof of the vivacity of the Archbishop's

(41) In 1669, as appears by the dedication in the beginning of July that year, tho' not published 'till 1670.

(42) Dated at Oxford, July 17, 1669. See Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 514.

represented by another author, as of a morose and reserved person, who declares, that it was the sourness of his disposition, which made him unfit for conversation, that made him a scholar; on the contrary, the writer of his life maintains him to be so far from deserving this character of moroseness and a sour wit, that whoever was once in his company went off with such a relish of his wit and good humour, as to covet the coming into it, though at the expence of bearing a part in the subject of his gallery, so that what was said of Horace, might, on as just grounds be worked into his character,

Ridentem Flaccus amicum

Tangit, & admissus circum præcordia ludit.

Whatever may be thought of this comparison in favour of the Doctor's conversible wit in particular; the use, which he is observed to make of his wit in general, by the author of the *Tatler* (gg), will hardly be disputed. That ingenious writer, an acknowledged wit of the first rank, who cannot be suspected of partiality on the Doctor's side, in a paper, the subject of which, was confessedly suggested by reading one of his sermons, having inculcated the practice of virtue from the contemptibleness of vice, proceeds thus. 'I have oftner wondered, considering the excellent and choice spirits, that we have among our Divines, that they don't think of putting vicious habits into a more contemptible and unlovely figure, than they do at present; so many men of wit and spirit as there are in sacred Orders, have it in their power to make the vogue on their side. The leaders in human society are more effectually prevailed upon this way, than can easily be imagined. I have more than one in my thoughts, at this time, capable of doing this, against all the opposition of the most witty as well as the most voluptuous. There may possibly be more acceptable subjects, but sure there are none more useful. It is visible, that though mens fortunes, circumstances, and pleasures, give them propensions too strong to regard any mention, either of punishments or rewards. They will listen to what makes them either inconsiderable or mean in the imagination of others, and by degrees in their own. It is certain, such topics are to be touched upon in the light we mean, only by men of the most consummate prudence, as well as excellent wit; for these discourses are to be made, if made to run into example, before such as have their thoughts more intent upon the propriety than the reason of the discourse. What indeed led me into this way of thinking is, that the last thing I read was a sermon of the learned Dr South, upon *The ways of pleasantness*. This admirable discourse was preached at Court, where the Preacher was too wise a man not to believe the greatest argument in that place, against the pleasures then in vogue, must be, that they lost greater pleasures by prosecuting the courses they were in. The charming discourse has in it whatsoever wit and wisdom can put together. This gentleman has a talent of making all his faculties bear to the great end of his hallowed profession. Happy Genius! he is the better man for being a wit.'

(gg) No. 205, in the 4th volume.

bishop's wit, we have the following instance of his talent at repartees, drawn from him on occasion of Dr South's *Animadversions on Dr Sherlock's Vindication of the Trinity*, in 1693. Dr South being desirous 'tis said with what probability is left to the reader's judgment) to know the Archbishop's opinion of his performance, wherein he had occasionally reflected upon his Grace, for his signal and peculiar encomium, as he calls it, of the reasoning abilities of the Socinians, procured a friend of his to draw it from his Grace, who gave it to this effect, that the Doctor wrote like a man, but bit like a dog. This being reported to the Doctor, he answered, that he had rather bite like a dog than fawn like one. To which the Archbishop replied, That for his own part, he should chuse to be a spaniel, rather than a cur (43). Thus his Grace must needs be a match for Dr South as a wit, and that too in a species of wit, which is undeniably the spawn of ill

nature and malevolence, and which, as such, is allowed to be a foul disgrace to the universal wit of his rival, who is however, here, insinuated to bring this rebuke upon himself, by paying a kind of homage to his Grace's judgment. It would be running into the like ridicule, to set Dr South upon a level with Tillotson as a preacher, though some of his performances that way are indisputably excellent. Yet he characterised them, in general, most aptly, who called them not Sunday, but week day sermons. The peculiar turn and temper of these, as well as his other writings, were undeniably the produce of the idiosyncrasy of his nature, to use a term of Dr Henry More, and the same may be said of other writers and preachers, Dr Tillotson not excepted, who on that account, incurred the imputation of a Laticudinarian, from a spirit of the same kindred with that which branded Dr South as an intolerant (44).

(44) Consult the same Life, p. 295, 354. 355. P. 428, 429.

SPEED [JOHN], author of the *History and Maps of Great Britain*, a man of wonderful industry, abilities, and ingenuity, considering his education and profession, was born at Farrington in Cheshire (a) [A], in the year 1552 (b). He was brought up a taylor, and free of the Merchant-taylors company in the city of London. But Sir Fulk Grevile, a great encourager of learning, observing his natural disposition, took him off from his servile employment, and by a proper allowance enabled him to follow entirely his studies [B]. The first fruits of them was his 'Theatre [or Maps] of the Empire of

(a) Fuller's Worthies of England, in Cheshire, p. 181.

(b) This is inferred from his age at the time of his death. See his Epitaph below.

[A] Was born at Farrington in Cheshire.] So Dr Fuller was informed by Mr Speed's own daughter, Mrs Blackmore, a stationer's wife in St. Paul's Church-yard (1).

[B] But Sir Fulk Grevile—enabled him to follow

entirely his studies.] This Mr Speed thankfully acknowledges, in these words. Sir Foulk Grevil,— 'in whose person shineth all true vertue and high Nobility.—Whose merits to me-ward, I do acknowledge, in setting this hand free from the daily im-

(43) Life of Tillotson, p. 323.

(1) Worthies, ubi supra.

of Great Britaine [C]. Which was followed with his History of Great Britaine [D]; a work of infinite labour, and, allowing for the author's want of a learned education, well executed. For it is digested in a much better manner than the chronicles of Fabian, Grafton, Holinshed, and Stow, and elegantly printed. The account and character given of it by Bishop Nicolson, and others [E], is set down below. Mr Speed was also author of

(2) Theatre of Great Britaine, in the Description of Warwickshire.

ployments of a manuell Trade, and giving it full liberty thus to exprefs the inclination of my mind, himself being the procurer of my present Estate (2).

[C] Theatre [or Maps] of the Empire of Great-Britaine.] The title of this work is, 'The Theatre of the Empire of Great-Britaine: presenting an exact Geography of the Kingdome of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Isles adjoining. With the Shires, Hundreds, Cities, and Shire-Townes within the Kingdome of England, divided and described by John Speed.' Lond. 1606 fol. These Maps are the best that had till then been made of the British Dominions. The corners of them are ornamented with coins, and the ichnography of the most considerable cities and towns in the respective counties. They were designed to go along with his History; and, in the Contents, are made the Four first Books of that work.—Bishop Nicolson's judgment and opinion of these Maps is as follows (3). 'His Maps, says he,

(3) English Historical Library, edit. 1714, fol. p. 5, 6.

are extremely well; and make a noble Apparatus (as they were designed) to his History. But his Descriptions of the severall Counties are mostly short abstracts of what Camden had said before him, having only that of Norfolk, which (he owns, tho' he is not always so civil to his chief benefactor) he had from Sir Henry Spelman.' Is not this a little too Severe? Our author makes a due acknowledgment of his Benefactors, particularly with regard to his Maps, in these words (4).—'So plenteous is our Story, and so largely requires it to bee writ. Through all which my weake body with many yeeres labour hath alone trauelled, as well in the reviewing of the Geographical parts of the Land, as in the compiling of the succeeding History, though far vnable to perfect either, according to their owne worths. But lest the waight of the whole should rest vpon so slender a proppe as my selfe: I have laid my buildings vpon far stronger arches, as by the many alleaged authorities may appeare. For first the Charde for the most part traced by others(5), and most of them divulged unto view, were the foundations of my begunne paines; in supplying their wants with my many additions, and dimensions of the Shire-townes, and Cities true platformes. The further descriptions of sundry provinces, I have gleaned from the famous workes of the most worthy and learned Camden, whose often sowed Seedes in that Soile hath lastly brought forth a most plenteous harvest.' An Epitome of it was published in 1676.

(4) See the conclusion of his History.

[D] Which was followed with his History of Great-Britaine.] This is intituled, 'The History of Great-Britaine under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. Their Originals, Manners, Warres, Coines, and Seales: with the Successions, Lives, Acts and Issues of the English Monarchs from Julius Cæsar, to our most gracious Sovereigne King James.' First printed in 1614, large folio. Reprinted since, with some pretended additional decorations, but much inferior, in print and paper, to that first and best edition. In this History, our Author had the Assistance of several persons of the greatest learning. The reign of King Henry V. for instance, was compiled from collections, notes, and extracts made by George Carew Earl of Totness. That of Henry VII. is almost wholly the Lord Viscount St Albans, Sir Francis Bacon's. The notes and collections of Sir Robert Cotton, were made use of in the reign of King Henry VIII. Those of Sir Henry Spelman, in another. The life of King John was written by Dr Barkham, Dean of Bocking; who also drew up the life of King Henry II. in opposition to, or for supplanting, one written by the learned Edmund Bolton (6); who being a Roman Catholic was thought to favour too much the haughty carriage of Thomas Becket (7). The Catalogue of the religious Houses, at the end of King Henry the eighth's reign, was composed by William Burton, Esq; (8) But let us hear Mr Speed's own account of his chief assistants.—'For the body of the Historie, saith he, many were the manuscripts, notes and Records, wherewith my honoured and learned

(5) L. Har. Christ. Saxton. John Norden. Wil. White.

(6) See the articles BAR-CHAM, and BOLTON, above.

(7) The Surfeit to A. B. C. Lond. 1656. 12mo. p. 22. Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. 11. col. 19.

(8) Bishop Nicolson's English Historical Library, edit. 1714, fol. p. 73, 143.

friends supplied me; but none more (or so many) as did the worthy repairer of eating times ruines, the learned Sir Robert Cotton Knight Baronet, another Philadelphus in preserving old Monuments, and ancient Records: whose Cabinets were unlocked, and Library continually set open to my free acceffe: and from whence the chiefeft garnishments of this worke have bene enlarged and brought: such as are the antique Altars, and Trophies in Stone, by him preserved from perishing oblivion: The Coins of gold, silver, alcumy, and copper, of the Britaines, Romans, Saxons, Danes and English, with the Broade Seales of those Kings since the same were in use: all of them so followed from the originall moddies, and moneyes, by the most exquisit and curious hand of our age (9), as any eye may witness they are the true prints from those stamps. The like most acceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections, (especially in matters remoter from our times) I continually received from that worthy Divine, Master John Barkham, a gentleman composed of Learning, Vertue, and Curtesie, as being no lesse ingenuously willing, then learnedly able, to advance and forward all vertuous endeavours. Besides these, some other supply I have had: for my disease growne dangerous, and life held in suspence; it behoved him who had towards the publishing bestowed so great cost, to forward the finishing; and to that end hee procured mee to his further charges an assistant

(10) in the lives of our middle English Kings: whose Stories and raignes (by the Judicious) may by their files bee knowne to bee writ with another penne. Lastly for the matters of Heraldrie, the willing and ready paines of Master William Smith, Rough * Dragon (an officer at Armes) was ever at hand: and by these hands this building is mounted to such an height as thou seest (11).—But Dr Thomas Smith affirms, that Sir Robert Cotton had the revising, correcting, and polishing of the whole work. His words are these. 'Hanc benevolentiam, si quis unquam, sapiissime expertus est Joannes Speedus, Civis Londinensis, ob industriam saltem maxime commendandus, qui generalem magnæ Britannix historiam qualem qualem vernaculo idiomate pro captu, modulo, viribusque suis scribere aggressus, tanto oneri plane succubuerat, nisi Cottonus subsidiariam laboranti operam præstitisset: ejus consiliis monitisque tanquam filo Ariadneo sese ex ista labyrintho tandem feliciter extricavit. Cottonus enim schedas incultas scabraeque ingenio, tanquam lima, perpolivit; ubi necessitas postulerat, recoctas denuo reformavit, & insigni observationum supplemento è penu suo auxit, ut opus illud quaecunque, quod longe alium auctorem in vetustis Scriptoribus tabularisque publicis versatissimum desideraret, si non cum laude, saltem cum venia & fructu legeretur (12).'

(9) Christ. Saxton.

(10) M. Ed. Bolton.

* Rouge.

(11) Conclusion of his History.

[E] The account and character given of it by Bishop Nicolson and others.] 'John Speed, says the Bishop, must be acknowledged to have had a head the best disposed towards History of any of our writers; and would certainly have outdone himself, as far as he has gone beyond the rest of his profession, if the advantages of his Education had been answerable to those of his natural genius. But what could be expected from a Taylor (13)? However, we may boldly say that his Chronicle is the largest and best we have hitherto extant: It begins with the first Inhabitants of the Island, and ends with the union of the Kingdoms under King James, to whom it is dedicated. Tho' some say (14) he spent twice seven years in compiling the whole, he himself owns he made more haste than he ought to have done; and that he was forced to trust a deal of his work in the hands of his friends and journeymen. And the Truth of this honest acknowledgement and confession is obvious enough to a discerning Reader; who will easily find a mighty Difference in the style, as well as matter, of several of the reigns (15).—Degory Whear * commends this History in the First place; and bestows upon it; the highest praises that can be

(12) Vita D. Roberti Cottoni, præfixa Catalog. Biblioth. Cotton. p. xxiv.

(13) An injurious reflexion! He was undoubtedly a man of a pretty good education, and certainly of very good sense.

(14) Deg. Whear, Method and Order of reading Histories, Sect. 31.

(15) English Histor. Library, as above, p. 73.

Adding,

of, 'Cloud of witnesses, viz. the Genealogies of Scripture, confirming the Truth of holy History and Humanity of Christ:' prefixed to the new translation of the Bible in 1611, and printed afterwards in most of the subsequent antient editions of the same: Published likewise by itself in 1616, 8vo. (c). King James the First granted him a patent, for securing the property of this to himself and his heirs (d). After a useful and industrious life, and having lived fifty-seven years in marriage with one wife, by whom he had twelve sons [F], and six daughters, he dyed at London July 28, 1629, and was buried in the church of St Giles Cripplegate, where a monument is erected to him on the south side of the chancel [G]. Dr Fuller, in his quibbling manner, says, that Father Speed truly answered his name in both the acceptations thereof for *Celerity* and *Success* (e). Bishop Nicolson gives him this character (f): That he was a person of extraordinary Industry and attainments in the study of Antiquities; and seems not altogether unworthy the name of 'a very great and learned Antiquary (g), given him by one who was certainly so himself.'

(e) With this title, 'The Genealogies recorded in the sacred Scriptures, according to every Family and Tribe. With the Line of our Saviour Jesus Christ, observed from Adam to the blessed Virgin Mary.'

(c) Worthless, as above.

(f) English Historical Library, as above, p. 5.

(g) Summus & eruditus Antiquarius. *Sbering-bim de Anglorum Gentis Origine*, Cantab. 1670, 8vo. p. 42.

Adding, that our Author 'having travelled over all Great Britain, read diligently all our own Historians, and those of our neighbour Nations, together with a diligent Search in the Publick Offices, Rolls, Monuments, and ancient Charters, built up a splendid and admired Theatre of the British Empire; which, with great expedition and labour, he perfected in fourteen years, in Ten Books.—Wherefore I do most earnestly exhort young Men, and especially those who are of Noble birth, and intend to travell, that they would first peruse this beautiful Theatre of Great-Britain, and run over all the parts of it, before they travell into foreign countries, or visit strange Nations (t6).—'James Tyrrell, Esq; gives this character of it.—'It must be confessed, says he, that Mr Speed was the first English writer, who slighting Geoffrey's tales, immediately fell upon more solid matter; giving us a large Account of the History of this Island during the Time of the Roman Emperors and English Saxon Kings; and had he not, by making his Reader follow those Emperors in all their foreign wars and expeditions, wherein Britain was no way concerned, he had rendered his work less irksome, and more profitable than now it is. But notwithstanding *He and Stow*, had many choice Collections of noble Manuscripts relating to our English History, and might have had the view of several others if they would have been at the pains of seeking after them; yet it must be owned that they did not make that improvement of those opportunities as might have been expected from such great assistances; there being not much to be found material in either of them, but what was in the other Historians before published: though this must be allowed in their Commendation, that they are both of them (especially the former) commonly right in their Chronologies, and the latter has given us a choice Collection of the Antient Coins of the Roman Emperors, as well as of the English Saxon Kings; and has also been more exact than any other Writer, in his account of their Wives and Issue (17). But as to this last particular, he hath been much outdone by Mr Sandford's and Stebbing's Genealogical History.—Finally, Mr Wood observes (18), that Mr Speed's part in this History, is such for Style and Industry, as is perhaps without many fellows in Europe.

(t6) Whear, as above.

(17) General History of England, by James Tyrrell, Esq; Vol. 1. Preface, p. 5, 6.

(18) Ath. Vol. 1. col. 530.

[F] *By whom he had twelve sons.*] One of them named John was born at London in 1595, educated at Merchant-Taylors School, and St John's college Ox-

ford, where he took the degrees in Arts and in Physic. He dyed in May 1640, and was buried in the chapel of that college (19). Having married a daughter of Bartholomew Warner, M. D. (20), he had by her two sons: *Samuel*, Student of Christ-Church Oxon. installed Canon of that church May 6, 1674 (21), who dyed at Godalmin in Surrey January 22, 1681, of which he was Vicar (22). The other son, named *John*, was born at Oxford, elected Scholar of St John's college about the year 1643, but ejected thence by the Parliament-visitors in 1648, he being then Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow. At the Restoration he was reinstated into his Fellowship, and June 19, 1666, took the degree of Doctor in Physic (23); and afterwards quitting his Fellowship, he practised his faculty at Southampton. He wrote, 'Batt upon Batt. A Poem upon the Parts, Patience, and Pains of *Bartholomew Kempster*, Clerk, Poet, and Cutler of Holy-Rood parish in Southampton.' And, 'The Vision, wherein is described Batt's Person and Ingenuity, with an account of the ancient and present State and Glory of Southampton.' Both printed at London in two Sheets in folio, and quarto (24).

(19) Wood Ath. edit. 1721, Vol. 1. col 631.

(20) Idem, col. 300.

(21) Idem, col. 631.

(22) Id. F. 11. col. 197.

(23) Idem, ibid col 165.

(24) Idem, Ath. Vol. 11. col. 1083.

[G] *Where a monument is erected to him.*] The inscription upon it, is in these words. 'Pia memoriae charissimorum Parentum: *Jobannis Speed* civis Londinensis, Mercatorum Scissorum fratris, servi fidelissimi regiarum Majestatum, Elizabethæ, Jacobi, & Caroli nunc superstitis. Terrarum nostrarum Geographi accurati, & fidi Antiquitatis Britannicæ Historiographi, Genealogiæ sacre elegantissimi Delineatoris. Qui postquam annos 77 superaverat, non tam morbo confectus, quam mortalitatis tædio lassatus, corpore se levavit Julii 28, 1629, & jucundissimo Redemptoris sui desiderio sursum elatus, carnem hic in Custodia posuit, denuo, cum Christus venerit, recepturus.'

On the other side of him.

'*Sufannæ suæ suavissimæ, quæ postquam duodecim illi filios, & sex filias pepererat, quinquaginta septem annos junctis utriusque solatiis, cum illo vixerat; liberos, gravi & frequenti hortamine, ad Dei cultum sollicitaverat; Pietatis & Charitatis opere quotidiano præluxerat, emori demum erudit suo exemplo. Quæ septuagenaria placide in Christo obdormivit, & Fidei suæ mercedem habuit, Martii vigesimo octavo, Anno Domini M DC XXVIII (25).'*

(25) Stow's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, Vol. 1. book 3. p. 85, 86.

SPELTMAN [Sir HENRY], Knt. was descended from an ancient family of his name, which, as he himself hath shewn (a), flourished in the time of Henry the Third, at Be-kington in Hampshire; and in the following century, removing thence into Suffolk, came at last to settle in Norfolk, where our author's great-grandfather was possessed, in the XVth century, of a considerable estate, being Lord of Stowe, Breclys, Magna & Parva Wotton, Colny, Welinge, Roclond, and Crowis; and marrying the heiress of the Narburgh family, his eldest male issue became Sir John Spelman, Knt. of Narburgh; who having several children, his fourth son, Henry Spelman, Esq; was seated at Cong-ham (b), a small village near Lyn-Regis in that county; at which place his wife Frances, daughter of William Sanders of Ewel in Surrey, brought him this his eldest son [A],

(a) In the pedigree of his family, adjoined to the account of his life prefixed to his English Works, by Dr Gibson, p. 112, 2d edition.

(b) He was Lord and Patron of that place Preface, by Jer. Stephens, to Sir Henry's treatise concerning Tythes.

[A] *Brought him this eldest son.*] Dr Gibson, the late Bishop of London, speaking of our author's family, relates it thus (1). 'His father's name was Henry Spelman, Esq; as we learn from a pedigree of the

family under Sir Henry's own hand, and not John, as a certain writer has affirmed. Referring in the margin to the Life of Sir Henry Spelman in Latin, prefixed to the third edition of his Glossary; where that writer,

who

(1) In his Life of Sir Henry Spelman, prefixed to his English works.

(c) His Life, prefixed to the third edition of his Glossary, printed in 1684, fol.

(d) He expresses it thus: *E schola rapior Cantabrigiam tenellus adhuc & Academicæ disciplinæ omnino inidoneus. Præfat. ad Archæolog. published in 1626, fol.*

the subject of our present article (c), who was born in the year 1562 [B]; and, as soon as he arrived at a proper age, was put to school at the neighbouring town of Walsingham [C]; whence he was hurried away to Trinity-college in Cambridge, when he had scarcely passed six months in the fourteenth year of his age [D], and, according to the modest opinion which he had of himself, before he was ripe for entering into academical studies (d). However, he applied himself closely to his books, and was greatly pleased with this situation: but was unhappily torn from it by the death of his father, being called home on that occasion by his mother, to give her such assistance as he was capable of, in managing the affairs of the family. He had not spent two years and a half in the university, and was not yet quite seventeen years old. After he had continued with his mother about twelve months, she sent him to London, and had him admitted of Lincoln's-Inn, with a design of breeding him to the Law [E]. Having now again obtained his liberty with his books, he gave his attention chiefly to polite literature, and the more liberal branch of the study he was intended for, in which branch of it he took a singular delight; but having an aversion, too often seen in young minds, to the flat drudgery necessary for attaining to the lucrative part of that profession, he made no extraordinary progress therein, satisfying himself probably with a general knowledge of such laws and customs, as are of common and ordinary use in practice. When he had spent near three years in these studies, being almost of age, he went down into Norfolk, and was soon after married to Eleanor, the eldest daughter of John le Strange, a gentleman of an ancient family [F] in the

who subscribes himself J. A. in the first page of his account, has, indeed, these words, *nomen patri Johannes erat*. But turning over the leaf, I was not a little surprized, to find in the very next page Sir Henry's pedigree traced after Sir Edward Bythe, in these words: '*Henricus Spelman Elizabetham duxit filiam & heredem Gulielmi Narburgh; ex qua genuit Johannem Spelman, qui uxorem habuit Elizabetham, filiam & heredem Henrici Fowick, Equitis Aurati. Ex iis natus Henricus hunc autorem nostrum Henricum cum dedit.*' Reflecting upon these two most extraordinary accounts, there was no avoiding this plain inference, that the inexcusable oscitancy of Mr J. A. was a proper bait for the little less blamable promptness of his censurer, in finding fault. In the mean time, great allowance is to be made for the author of the General Dictionary (2), who has very faithfully transcribed this notable remark of Dr Gibson, the then [viz. in 1739] actually Bishop of London.

[B] *He was born in 1562.* Dr Gibson observes (3), that Sir Henry was about eighty years of age when he died in 1641; whence the author of the General Dictionary infers, that he was born in 1561; and Mr J. A. (4) had before expressed the age at which he died, in these terms: *obiit octagesimo ætatis anno & quod excurrit*. This may [possibly] either mean that he died some time after his birth-day, in the year that he arrived at the age of fourscore, or else that he died in his eightieth year current. This last author honestly declares, that he had no acquaintance at all with the Spelmans family, but had his information chiefly from Anthony Wood, the Oxford Antiquary; and Dr Gibson, no doubt, not caring to enter into such minutiae, has here apparently given a loose translation of the Latin writer, leaving it undetermined, as a matter of no moment; which is certainly well judged: but here the copyer, willing to squeeze something out of his words, infers from them, that Sir Henry was born about 1561. This remark, it is hoped, will excuse the following, otherwise intolerable, diligence. Sir Henry, in his letter to Mr Richard Carew, printed at the end of his larger work upon Tythes, and dated September the 18th, 1615, writes thus: *Denuo otii desiderio captus Londinum tertio hinc anno veni*. And in the preface of his Glossary, speaking again of his coming to settle in London, he says, *Provectus itaque ad senectutis confinia annum nempe quinquagesimum. Londinum transfero*. If these two passages be compared, take them in what sense you please, the inference is unavoidable, that he could not be born before the year 1562; and, on the other hand, if he died in his eightieth year, that is, when he was full seventy-nine years old, it is equally evident, that he could not be born after 1562, in which year we have therefore ventured to place his birth.

[C] *He was put to school at Walsingham.* Mr Wood, it seems, could give his friend J. A. * no information concerning this particular; Sir Henry being bred at Cambridge, did not lye directly in the road of the Oxford Antiquary; but it is something remarkable, that Dr Gibson should tread in the same steps, and

pass it over in a dead silence, since the treatise where it is expressly declared must in some manner have been perused by him. He gives us his word for it, and, in further proof, has drawn up a very faithful general plan of it; in which he has given us the title at length of the very chapter where it is found, and concluded the whole with a very pertinent remark in favour of the author, which seems chiefly taken from a passage in this chapter. I mean Sir Henry Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*. In which treatise (5), in speaking of Walsingham-abbey, he has these words. 'One Sydney, Governour of the Spittle there, as was commonly reported when I was a scholar at Walsingham, was by the townsmen employed to have bought the site of the abbey,' &c. A sufficient apology has been already offered for the author of the General Dictionary, who here again hath diligently followed the then Bishop of London.

[D] *When he had scarcely passed six months in the fourteenth year of his age.* This precision was incidentally occasioned by our being drawn into the enquiry under the note [B], in the manner there related; when we could not avoid observing, that Sir Henry, in the preface to his Glossary, says, *Nondum xv annorum Puer è schola rapior Cantabrigiam*; and finding him likewise complaining to his friend Mr Carew in these terms, *Cantabrigia (miserum me) mater exiit cum 17 ætatis non salutaveram*, we became irresistably pushed into the exactness here marked.

[E] *With a design of having him bred to the Law.* Dr Gibson (and his transcriber) tells us, that he was sent to study the Common Law at Lincoln's-Inn, either with a design to practise it, or (which is more probable) as an useful accomplishment of an English gentleman. Sir Henry's own account of it is thus expressed: '*Emissit [mater mea] me tamen sub anno altero Londinum juris nostri capeffendi gratia, cujus cum vestibulum salutastem, reperissem linguam peregrinam, dialectum barbaram, methodum inconcinuam, molem non ingentem solum, sed perpetuis humeris sustinendam. Excidit mihi fateor animus, blanditoribusque subridens musis rigidam hanc Minervam ferreis amplexibus coercendam leni molimine delibavi. Excussit me interea (O infelicem!) e clientela sua, gratiæ, potestatis, dignitatis, immensæque apud nos largitrix opulentæ, illa inquam vestitu simplici & inculto, sed jurium omnium municipalium (abiit dictis invidia) nobilissima Domina, omni utpote justitia moderamine prudentia sublimique acumine (temere licet eum pertrinxerit Hotomannus) refertissima!* We must leave it to the learned reader to judge, whether the words (which we have relied on), *Juris nostri capeffendi gratia, cujus cum vestibulum salutastem, Excidit mihi animus, Excussit me immensæ apud nos largitrix opulentæ illa—Domina*, are sufficient to justify what is here asserted in the text, against the opinion of the late Bishop of London.

[F] *A gentleman of an ancient family.* Sir Henry drew up the pedigree of this family under the following title: *Familia Extraneorum, sive Le Strange, accurata descriptio*. He found something very particular in

(5) History of Sacrilege, p. 253.

(2) Under the article SPELMAN [Sir HENRY].

(3) Ubi supra.

(4) In Vita Henrici Spelmani, prefixed to the third edition of his Glossary, in fol. 1684.

* His words are, *De puerili nostri Equitis ætate perpaucissima habeo quæ dicam.*

the same County. Being thus, agreeably to his affections (e), settled in the country, he applied himself immediately to rural affairs, and the particular care of his domestic. He kept his land in his own hands, and took pains to manage it to the best advantage; and notwithstanding his family increased apace, yet he found wherewithal to make some new purchases (f). In the mean time the match he had entered into brought another care upon him in the guardianship of his brother-in-law Sir Haimon le Strange, during whose minority he resided at Hanstanton, the seat of his ward. However, though the greatest part of his time was spent in attending to these engaging duties, yet did he not neglect to make a proper use of his education, and found some spare hours to improve those beginnings which he had made in the knowledge of the constitution, and laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, of his country. While he was yet a young man, he wrote a Latin treatise intituled *Aspilogia* (g), wherein he discourses with great variety of literature concerning those marks of honour now called *Arms*. It was likewise in his younger years that he collected the transcripts of several foundation-charters of the monasteries in Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1694, being thirty-four years of age, he likewise wrote *A Discourse concerning the Coin of the kingdom*, particularly to shew what great treasures were exhausted from England by the usurped tyranny of Rome [G]. Before this he had been admitted a member of the Society of Antiquaries [H], which brought him intimately acquainted with Sir Robert Cotton, Mr Camden, and several others, the most eminent men in England for that kind of literature. In 1604 he was appointed High Sheriff of Norfolk, and probably about the same time it was that he wrote a description of that County, which he communicated to *John Speed*, who printed it in 1606 [I]. Thus he began by degrees to be taken notice of, distinguishing himself, upon all occasions, by his great prudence and abilities; insomuch that in 1607 he was pitched on by his Majesty [K. James I.] to be one of the Commissioners for determining the unsettled titles to lands and manors in Ireland [K]. This Post carried him three times

(e) He says of this marriage, *Latissimi sulceptis hymenei vinculis*. Id.

(f) He purchased the lease of Blackburgh and Wronge Abbies in Norfolk. Hist. of Sacrilege, p. 257, where it is called Mr Fisher's Great Lease, p. 129, as being apparently somewhat considerable.

(g) Mr J. A. says of it, *Hoc ab Eo etiamnum Juvene scripta. ubi supra*. It was published in 1650, with notes, by Sir Ed. Bysshe, together with two other pieces, one by Nic. Upton, *De re Militari*, and another, *De Armis*, by Johannes de Bado Aureo.

in tracing this pedigree, which led him to write another piece, intituled *Historia Familiae de Shereburn*. This last family he traces up as far as to one *Thokas*, who was converted to Christianity, and baptized by St *Felix*, at this time with Honorius Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose request that Saint came to England from Burgundy. From this *Thokas* he traces it without a single hiatus down to Christopher Shereburn, who died July 6, 1676. This Christopher married first Anne Veer, of the family of the Earl of Essex, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and had Frances, who married into the family of Le Strange. Sir Henry, it seems, was quite struck with this singular pedigree, and has expressed it in a distich prefixed to the Reader.

Non Vulgare vides monumentum, forte videbis
Haud dico præterea talia, si qua vides.

No Vulgar monument you see; scarce two
The like you'll find, if any one you do.

[G] *A Discourse concerning the Coin of the kingdom*.] This was wrote in the thirty-sixth year of Queen Elizabeth, as appears from the following passage in the Conclusion of it to that Queen. 'Most Royal, therefore is the prudence and expediting of your excellent Majesty, who (as it were with Lynceus Eye,) looking into the lowest secret of the practices of your Enemies, have not only for these thirty-six years entirely cancelled and made them frustrate, but foreseeing also what mighty consequences might depend on mean beginnings, spareth no diligence to defeat them, whilst they are yet in the shell; or so to shoot the mark at which they are levelled, that being hatched, they will be able to perform nothing.' We must not omit to inform the Reader, that the Editor of this piece tells us, he dares not positively assert it to be Sir Henry's; 'but my finding them, says he, among his other papers, and the accurate knowledge of our English affairs which appears in them, inclined me to believe that he was really the Author of it (6).'

[H] He was admitted a member of the Society of Antiquaries before 1694.] This appears from the account which he gives of it in the Introduction to his Discourse concerning the original of the four Law Terms, as follows. 'About forty-two years since, says he, divers gentlemen of London studious of Antiquities, formed themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries, appointing to meet every Friday weekly in the Term at a place agreed of, and for learning sake to confer upon some questions in that faculty, and to sup together. The place, after a meeting or two, became certain at Derby-house, where the Heralds Office is kept, and two questions were propounded at every meeting to be handled at the next that followed; so that every man had a seven-

night's respite to advise upon them, and then to deliver his opinion. That which seemed most material was by one of the Company (chosen for the purpose) to be entered in a book, that so it might remain unto Posterity. The Society increased daily; persons of great worth, as well noble as learned, joyning themselves unto it. Thus it continued divers years; but as all good Uses commonly decline, so many of the chief Supporters thereof either dying or withdrawing themselves from London into the Country, this among the rest grew for twenty years to be discontinued. But it then came again into the minds of divers principal gentlemen to revive it, and for that purpose upon the day in the year 1614, there met at the same place, Sir James Sey, Knight, then Attorney of the Court of Wards, since Earl of Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer of England; Sir Robert Cotton, Knight and Baronet; Sir John Davies, his Majesty's Attorney for Ireland; Sir Richard St-George, then Norroy; Mr Hackwell, the Queen's Solicitor; Mr Camden, then Clarendieu; myself, and some others: Of these, the Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr Camden, and myself, had been of the Original Foundation (7).'

What Persons his admission into this Society brought him acquainted with, will be seen in the Catalogue of some of their names, viz. Thomas Earl of Dorset; Henry Earl of Northampton; Fitz-Allen, the last Earl of Arundel; William Lord Burleigh; the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke; the learned Lord Lumley; Sir Phillip Sidney; Sir Henry Billingsley; Sir Gilbert, and Sir William Dethicke; Sir Henry Fanshaw; Dr Bartholomew Clerk, and Dean Coufins; Sir Walter Cope and Raleigh; Dr Cowell; Francis Thynne, Esq; *Lancaster*; Mr Glover, *Somerset*; Hencage, Keeper of the Records; Benefield; Erdswick; Lambert Valence, Esq; Mr Talbot; and Mr John Stowe, &c. (8).

[I] *A description of Norfolk, communicated to John Speed, Esq;*] The title of Speed's book is *The theatre of Great Britain*. Mr Archdeacon Nicolson not only suggests that this description of Norfolk by Sir Henry Spelman is a good one, but affirms that his book is the only good one. Sir Henry it appears was a great Encourager of Mr Speed, and furnished him afterwards with notes and collections for the life of one of our Kings, which he printed in 1614, in his *History of Great Britain*, &c. before which work there appears, among others, a Recommendatory Poem by Sir Henry (9).

[K] *One of the Commissioners for determining the unsettled titles to lands and manors in Ireland*.] The several Manors and Estates within the Counties of Roscommon, Sligo, Mayo, and Galway, being unsettled as to their titles, K. James I. by Commission under the Great Seal, bearing date the Second of March, in the fourth Year

(7) A Discourse concerning the original of the four law terms. In the Introduction.

(8) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Mr William Oldys, prefixed to the last Edition of his Works in fol. 1735, p. 136.

(9) English Historical library, part 1, pag. 13. edit. 1696. And Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. Col. 530. 2d Edit.

(6) Mr Gibson in *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*, published in 1698.

times into that kingdom; and, as he discharged his share of the trust with great reputation, so, in the course of it, he must needs feel the advantage of the progress he had already made in searching into the originals of the ancient usages and customs. No wonder then that we find him resolved soon after to push that study. The natural bent of his genius had always apparently lain more this way than to business of any kind. Besides, the occupation of farming, and a country life, in which his love and concern for his family had so long engaged him, contrary to the constitutional turn of his temper, had, for some time, begun to grow exceedingly tedious and irksome to him, and he had met with some remarkable disappointments in it [L]. He therefore determined to live no longer under that restraint, but to pass the remainder of his life amongst books, and in the society of his learned acquaintance. With this resolution, in the year 1612, he sold the stock upon his farms, let out his estate to tenants, quitted the country, and settled in London with his wife and family. He was now in the fiftieth year of his age, and the time he had hitherto passed in his study seems to have been laid out chiefly for his own gratification; though not without being sometimes of service both to his friends and country, but without an eye to any particular great undertaking. He now fixed his choice upon a most useful and important subject, *the grounds of the Law from original records* [M]. With this design he made it his first business to collect all such books and manuscripts as related to that Article. And with indefatigable diligence he read over the Fathers, Councils, and as many of the historians of the middle age as he could meet with, whether foreign or domestic (b). He had not been long engaged in this study, when he was interrupted, in some measure, by an incidental discourse with his Uncle, Mr Francis Saunders, who complained to him of many crosses and disappointments that he unexpectedly met with in a building he had then in hand upon the Glebe of his Appropriate parsonage at Congham. The Nephew was glad of so favourable an opportunity, and presently took occasion to declare his sentiments freely upon it, which were, that God was not pleased with his Uncle's design, since it tended to the defrauding of the Church; adding moreover some reasons which induced him to think it utterly unlawful to keep Appropriate parsonages in Lay hands. He had the satisfaction to find that what he said, notwithstanding it so nearly touched his Kinsman in point of Interest, had made some impression upon him (i). Wherefore, while he was in a disposition to listen to such arguments, our Author drew up his Thoughts in writing, and sent the paper to Congham. But his Uncle dying upon the same day, August 16, 1613, that the Messenger arrived there, gave occasion to its being printed that year (k) (though without any design of publishing it) (l)

(b) Prefat. ad Archæolog. ubi supra.

(i) See a letter to his Uncle, prefixed to the tract *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*.

(k) Epilogue to the same tracts, p. 105, 106.

(l) Ibid. in the Appendix, p. 115.

of his reign, did authorize certain Commissioners (among whom our Author was one) by Letters patents to make grants of the said lands and manors to the respective owners. This Commission held several Years, and our Author tells us himself that he was three times in Ireland, twice in the remote Counties, and once in the nearer parts of that Kingdom. Several Letters patents passed under his Majesty's great seal by virtue of the commission for the strengthening of such titles as might otherwise seem defective; and Sir Henry himself intimates that he had been of service to the Owners of those Estates, *his Hiberniæ tractum ultimum, propinquiorum tertio ex re lustro aliena, fideique multa credita per annos plures satis (si et mibimet) auspicate sequor*. These are his words in the preface to his Glossary, where he expressly intimates, that his attendance on this public affair had been some disadvantage to his private affairs; immediately after which he relates how, grown weary of a country life, he therefore went to settle in London; nor do I see any thing in this preface to ground such an observation upon as is made by Dr Gibson (10), and that in it Sir Henry seems to complain of the like prejudice to his family, occasioned by his attendance on the other commission he was afterwards engaged in, which was to enquire into the oppression of Exalted fees.

(10) In the Life of Sir Henry, ubi supra.

[L] He had met with some remarkable disappointments in it.] This had happened in his purchase of Blackburgh and Wrongey Abbies, mentioned in the text, his right to which was, it seems, about this time, called into question. The case was thus: These two Abbies had been granted and annexed to the Bishopric of Norwich, where Edmund Sclater, being made Bishop 27 of Eliz. made a lease of most of the manors and lands thereof, and amongst them of these two Abbies to the Queen for twenty-nine Years at the lowest rent he might. Queen Elizabeth assigneth this lease to Sir Thomas; he leaseth it to his Lady, afterwards Countess of Southampton; she selleth her term in these Abbies, with the manors and lands belonging to them, to one Fisher, a Skinner in London, by the procurement of one Wrenham her Servant; Fisher entereth and enjoyeth them as undoubtedly his own, leaseth them for twenty-one Years to one Harpley at a great encreased rent. Wrenham dieth without contradicting any thing; his Son, John Wrenham, pretending that Fisher had the grand lease but in trust for his Father, exhibits one bill in Chancery

against Fisher; another against his Son, Sir Edward Fisher, as having it from his Father; and a third against Harpley the Underleaser. Lord Chancellor Egerton by a decree declareth Harpley's lease to be good, who thereupon enjoys it quietly, and dieth; his Executrix selleth it to Sir Henry Spelman, and Wrenham exhibits a bill against him. It is true, it does not appear, by any thing here produced, that this Law-suit commenced before Sir Henry's settling in London; but as the same Author [Mr. Jeremy Stephens] afterwards informs us, that by this affair Sir Henry first discerned the Infelicity of meddling with consecrated places, and it will appear presently, that he had been of this opinion for some time before he came to London; thence I have ventured to place it here.

[M] *The grounds of the Law from original records.*] We have already taken notice, from Sir Henry's own words, that he had some knowledge of the laws and customs of the kingdom then in use before he left Lincoln's-Inn; and there can be no doubt but that knowledge had been continually improved as his Occasions required, especially as we find him afterwards very pathetically regretting the distaste he had to that study in his Youth. But such a general knowledge would not satisfy a mind so curious, and a Judgment so solid, as his appears to have been in all his Writings. These inclined him to search into the reasons and foundations of the law, which he knew were not to be learned but from the customs and histories of our nation in Elder Ages, nor these usages to be traced but by a strict Examination of the most ancient records. Upon this Dr Gibson makes the following remark: It is very much, says he, to the disadvantage of the law, that they, who by their abilities are best qualified to improve the knowledge of it from original records, are so much taken up with the business of their profession, that they have little time to bestow upon such enquiries. As, on the other hand, Men who are born to leisure and Estates, however inclinable they may be to the polite parts of learning, do seldom care to engage in a study which, at first sight, seems to be so rough and tedious; but it was the Happiness of Sir Henry Spelman (and much more of the English nation) that he had both time and inclination to it, I mean to examine the ancient laws and monuments, not only of our own, but also of most other Northern kingdoms.

with

with the title *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*. The meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, having been discontinued for twenty years, was revived in 1614 by Sir Henry, together with some others, particularly such as had been of the old Society. Upon this occasion our Author wrote *A discourse concerning the original of the four Law terms of the year* [N]. And an unforeseen accident gave occasion to the reprinting and publishing his tract *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* in 1615, 8vo [O]. About the same time he wrote an Apology for this treatise

(N) *A discourse concerning the original of the four Law terms.* Upon the revival of the Society of Antiquaries, Sir Henry says (11), 'at their first meeting several rules for their government and limitation being drawn up, and Mr Hackwell chosen their Register and Con-vocator (it is his expression) of their Assemblies for the present, they agreed upon two questions for the next meeting, and so supping together, departed. One of the questions was touching the original of the terms, about which, as being obscure and generally mistaken, I bestowed, says he, some extraordinary pains, that coming short of others in understanding, I might equal them, if I could, in diligence. But notwithstanding one of their rules was, that they should neither meddle with matters of state, nor of religion, yet before their next meeting, they had notice that his Majesty took a little dislike of their Society, not being informed that they had resolved to decline all state affairs. Hereupon they forbore to meet again; and so, says Sir Henry, all our labours lost. But mine lying by me, and having been often desired of me by some of my friends, I thought good, upon a review and augmentation, to let creep abroad in the form you see it, wishing it might be rectified by some better judgment.' As to the Society of Antiquaries, it appears by a manuscript supposed to be printed in 1619 (12), that there was a design to revive it, and some attempts made to procure a grant from King James I. to constitute it a royal corporation, under the title of King James's Academy or College of Honour, but it came to nothing. What Mr Hearne observes (13) of them, is seen by what is related of them in Remark [H] to be very just, that this Society, in the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James, was made up of right learned Antiquaries, who as they undertook great matters, so their performances were answerable to their undertakings; and had they gone on, there is no doubt but we had had a complete account published of the most material things in our history and antiquities. What follows is an account of their dissolution, which, because it is something different from that of Sir Henry, we shall give it in Mr Hearne's own words, thus. 'But it being suggested, that the said Society would be prejudicial to certain great and learned bodies, for that reason the members thought fit to break it off. Nor were there wanting powerful men that proved enemies to them, and among other things they were pleased to alledge, that some of the Society were persons not only disaffected to, but really of a quite different persuasion from the Church of England (14).'

[O] *Occasion to the reprinting and publishing his tract De non temerandis Ecclesiis in 1615* The whole title runs thus: *De non temerandis Ecclesiis, Churches not to be violated. A Tract of the rights and respects due unto Churches, written to a Gentleman who, having an appropriate Parsonage, employed the Church to profane Uses, and left the Parishioners uncertainly provided of divine Service in a parish there adjoining.* There can be no better proof of Sir Henry's Sincerity in this advice to his Uncle, than that which he gave from his own practice. For, being possessed of the Impropriation of Middleton in Norfolk, he took a Course to dispose of it for the Augmentation of the Vicarage, and also some additions to Congham which lies near it. He never put up any of the rent to his own private uses, but disposed of it by the assistance of Mr Thorowgood, a neighbouring Clergyman, to whom he gave a power to augment the Vicar's portion, which was carefully performed; and, having a surplussage in his hands, he waited an opportunity to purchase the Appropriation of Congham, to be added to the Minister there, where himself was Lord and Patron. The same Author informs us likewise, that, while Sir Henry Spelman lived, there came some unto him, almost every term at London, to consult him how they might legally restore and dispose of their Impropriations to the benefit of the Church; and there wanted not others that thanked him for his book, promising they would never purchase any appro-

priate parsonages to augment their Estates. Sir Ralph Hare, in particular, who was an intimate friend to Sir Henry, upon reading this book offered to restore a good Parsonage (the only one he had in his Estate) which he presently performed, and, procuring a licence from the King, gave the perpetual advowson to St John's college in Cambridge. Then follows the particular instance of Sir Roger Townsend, and several others, to which Dr Gibson has added (15) what was then, in 1695, a late benefaction of this kind, made by Mrs Anne Saville, then living, and daughter of John Saville of Medley, Esq; which Lands purchased the rectory of Ardwick in the West riding of Yorkshire, for which she gave about 900l. and settled it in the hands of Trustees for the use of the Church for ever, and this from a generous and pious principle, upon the reading of Sir Henry Spelman's treatise *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*. Mr Jeremy Stephens takes notice of several colleges in Oxford, who, being possessed of Impropriations, had taken a Course, by lessening their fines upon renewal of the leases, to reserve a good portion of their tythe Corn from their tenants, thereby to increase the Vicar's maintenance. But it may be questioned whether this was occasioned by what Sir Henry Spelman had said, so much as by K. James I's letter, sent for this purpose, to the Universities in 1603 (16), and more particularly to the disposition shewn by K. Charles I. to restore all such Impropriations to the Church as were then in possession of the Crown. The occasion of reprinting and publishing this piece in 1615 is declared by the Printer, who, having printed it for the Author above two Years before, with no Intent to have it published, found it to be lately printed in Scotland (contrary, says he, both to the Author's and my Expectation) and dedicated by another man to the Bishops and Clergy there, which I suppose, continues he, had the Author known, or once misdoubted the sequel, instead of *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, he would have put another title, *De non temerandis Scriptis alienis*; wherefore I have, in the right as well of the Author as of myself, to whom the right of the sole printing belonged, caused it to be reprinted (17). As Our Author omits no opportunity of doing honour to his Countryman Lord Chief Justice Coke, so in this tract [page 98. Edit. Ox. 1668.] he inserts a passage from the second part of his reports (18), where that Great Lawyer observes, that it is recorded in history, that there were, amongst others, two grievous persecutions; the one under Dioclesian, the other under Julian named the *Apostata*; for it is recorded, that the one of them (19) intending to have rooted out all Professors and Preachers of the Word of God, *occidit omnes presbyteros*. But, this notwithstanding, religion flourished, for sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiae, the blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church, and this was a cruel and grievous persecution. But the persecution under the other (20) was more grievous and dangerous, *quia*, as the history saith, *ipsum occidit presbyterium*, he destroyed the very order of priesthood, for he robbed the church and spoiled spiritual persons of their revenues, and took all things from them whereof they should live. And upon this, in a short time ensued great ignorance of true religion and the service of God, and thereby great decay of Christian profession. For none will apply themselves or their sons, or any other that they have in charge, to the study of Divinity, when after long and painful study, they shall have nothing whereupon to live. The contrast between these two persecutions has been lately set in the strongest light by Mr Warburton (21), now Bishop of Gloucester, who endeavours to shew, that the defeat of the less violent attempts of Julian to ruin Christianity was a more signal attestation of its divine original, than that of turning the blood of the Martyrs into the seed of the Church, since the disappointments that the Apostate continually met with in the pursuit of that, as he calls it, more artful method, threw him upon the daring and desperate attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, which gave occasion to the most remarkable miracle that had been wrought since the destruction of that

(11) In the Introduction to this Discourse.

(12) Intituled an Address for a Corporation Royal to be founded, under the title of King James his Academy, or College of Honour, in the possession of the late Mr Vertue, the Engraver.

(13) In his Preface to A Collection of curious Discourses, written by eminent Antiquaries upon several heads in our English Antiquities. Oxford 1720, 8vo.

(14) See a further account of this Society in Abp Whiggist's Article.

(15) From his own Edition of Camden's Britannia, p. 724, and Edit. 1722, p. 848.

(16) That to Oxford is dated from Windsor, the 10th of July, 1603.

(17) The Scotch man made it his pretence, that he did it purely to encourage Sir Henry to print his larger work.

(18) L'Evesque de Winchester's case, fol. 44. b.

(19) Dioclesian. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 3. and Nicephorus, lib. 7. cap. 3.

(20) Julian. See Theod. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 6. and Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 5.

(21) In a treatise intituled Julian: or A Discourse concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.

treatise [P]; and a Latin Epistle to Mr Richard Carew, who had expressed his dissatisfaction at some particulars in that piece [Q]. And it was either this or the next Year that, in the prosecution of the same subject, he struck a remarkable Circle in the map of Norfolk [R], with
a view

that Temple in the defence of the Christian religion. However, in justice to this writer it ought to be observed, that as he declares he has taken more pains than any writer had before him to prove Julian's defeat to be a miracle, so he acknowledges it was not the general opinion. We gladly also take this first opportunity of doing another piece of Justice to this Bishop, by declaring, that since the letter at the end of Dr Joseph Smith's Article was printed off, where it is said, that his Lordship [then Mr Warburton] was introduced by the Bishop of Salisbury to Sir Thomas Hanmer, we have been since shewn a passage in his Lordship's preface to his edition of Shakespeare, where he asserts that Sir Thomas was introduced to him as a poor Critic, which, if we had then known, should have been inserted as a marginal note to the aforesaid letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer. However, the difference between them may be easily adjusted. We need only suppose (what is highly probable) that the ceremonial was conducted by the Bishop of Salisbury with such a respectful address to both, that each might well enough look upon the introduction to be made to himself.

[P] *He wrote an Apology for this treatise.* This was written in answer to some reflections upon his book *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* by an unknown Author, who had called upon Sir Henry for a further explanation and defence of his opinion concerning the right to the set portion or *quantum* of Tythes, as also with respect to such Parsonages as have Vicarages well endowed. Both those articles Sir Henry excuses himself from entering into at present. Though he had declared in the Epilogue to that work, that he then designed to shew his mind further, particularly on these two passages, having already spoke to both of them in his *larger work of Tythes*, to which he had referred in an advertisement before this *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*. In the Appendix to the second edition of which book, written about the same year with this Apology, he observes 'that the argument had many adversaries, not only of the Laity, but of the Churchmen themselves. All were not pleased with this form of maintenance, others not satisfied how it is due. Some take Scripture in one sense, some in another. Thus he that cometh upon the stage is the object and subject of every man's opinion. To satisfy all I labour not, says he, but to the worthier sort I would perform what I could. To these latter sort, some of whom had objected to his application of the 12th verse of the 83d Psalm only to the sanctified things of the Jews, which they said were spoken of all the houses and cities in general, he had given his reason *et fidei et facti*, which because it had satisfied them, he printed it in this Appendix.' The Author, to whom the Apology now under consideration is directed, was, it seems, displeased with him for paying so much respect to Churches, and particularly for applying the word *Ecclesia* to a material Church, urging that the term belongs to an assembly or congregation: this Sir Henry takes notice of in his *Glossary*, under the article *Ecclesia*, producing some instances of the use of that word in ancient Authors, to defend his acceptance of it.

[Q] *A Latin Epistle to Mr Carew.* That Gentleman had objected to Sir Henry's arguments against Impropriations, that the Clergy themselves [in the Bishops] had consented to it in passing the Act of the 27th year of Henry VIII; to which he answers in this Epistle, that in the first place he could not but agree with Baronius, who in his answer to Cardinal Ascham, had maintained, that the Church had no power to ordain any thing against itself, *Ecclesiam nihil posse in se statuere h. e. in suam perniciem cum Baronio Ascanio Cardinali respondente in sententiam iniero*. However, he endeavoured to prove that it was his opinion the Bishops did not consent in that Act to the taking away of parochial tythes, which was not the intent of the Act. *Mihi autem videtur cum de abolendis monasteriis cogitaret Senatus ille Consultus (an. 27 Henrici Octavi) nihil etiam tunc in animo habuisse de tollendis parochianis decimis prædiorum, sed de his tantum egisse, quæ ipsis cænobiiis inhærebant. Et si quis id in cornu haberet fæni, latuisse hoc opinor sanctos Patres, qui Concilio aderant. In illo enim Actu ne verbum quidem de parochianis decimis, nec de Ecclesiis prædiorum parochialibus, sed nec de ipsis quas vocant appropriatis.*

Cum vero in vulgus jam exisset Actus ille Parliamentarius, reperintque omnia demoliri et vi eripi, e Jurisconsultorum prodiit interpretatione ut præda hoc etiam in casses Regios redigeretur: Partita ergo Ea demum inter regni Nobiles, necessario tandem habitum est, ut subalternis corroboraretur legibus.

[R] *He struck a remarkable Circle in the map of Norfolk.*

This is in the eighth chapter of his History of Sacrilege, where he tells us he described with a pair of compasses, in the map of Norfolk, a circle of twelve miles in the semidiameter, according to the scale of the map, placing the center about the chief seat of the Yelvertons. Within this circle and the borders of it were inclosed the mansion-houses of about twenty-four families of gentlemen, and the site of as many monasteries, all standing together at the time of the dissolution. He then observed, that the gentlemen's seats continued at that day in their own families and names. But the monasteries had flung out their owners, with their names and families (all of them save two) thrice at least, and some of them four, five, or six times, not only by failure of issue or ordinary sale, but very often by grievous accidents and misfortunes. He observed yet further, that though the seats of these monasteries were in the fattest and choicest places of all that part of the country (for our ancestors, says he, like Abel, offered the best unto God,) yet it hath not happened, that any of them, to my knowledge, or any other in all this country, hath been the permanent habitation of any family of note; but, like desolate places, left to the Farmers and Husbandmen. No man almost adventuring to build or dwell upon them, for dread of infelicity that pursueth them. Among the Abbies contained in this remarkable circle, are those of Blackborough and Wrongey, the lease of which was purchased by Sir Henry, and it is not improbable that purchase gave occasion to this his so uncommon a curiosity. What makes it still more credible is, that about the time of drawing it, there seems to have been a hearing of his cause before my Lord Chancellor. For after Wrenham had exhibited a bill against him, as is mentioned in Remark [L], the suit proceeded to a hearing between Wrenham and the Fishers, when the Chancellor decreed it against the Fishers, and all claiming under them. This explains an expression of Sir Henry, in his Epistle to Mr Carew, written in 1615. *Otti desiderio captus Londinum veni pace vero mihi videbar exoptatissima fruiturus, qua Musarum limina ex voto delibarem. Sed Eu! nova in me rerum tempestas, nova licetium moles inopinata proruit, qua luctantem adhuc varieque agitatum nescio quousque detinuerit: Poetæ autem illud teneo, Dabit Deus his quos finem.* Here he alludes to the two contrary decrees of Lord Chancellor Egerton; by the first Sir Henry was encouraged to purchase this lease, which was taken from him by the last. Yet his fortune was still harder afterwards by the next decree. For the Lord Chancellor Egerton going out of his place, is succeeded by Sir Francis Bacon, who reverseth the former decree, and decreed it back again to Sir Edward Fisher; and by another decree giveth to him Sir Henry Spelman's lease, without calling or hearing Sir Henry. This, it must be owned, was singularly unlucky, to lose his lease in consequence of a decree made in favour of it. But the matter did not end here: Wrenham complaineth in a petition to King James, and taxeth the Lord Chancellor Bacon with corruption and injustice. The King himself peruseth all the proceedings, and approveth the Lord Bacon's decree; and Wrenham is censured for his scandal to lose his ears in the pillory, &c. A parliament followeth in the nineteenth year of King James; both Wrenham and Sir Henry Spelman severally complain there. It is found that the Lord Chancellor Bacon had, for these decrees, of Sir Edward Fisher a suit of hangings of eighty-nine pounds. The Lord Chancellor for this, among other such crimes, is deposed. The Bishop of Lincoln is set in his room. The suits are again in agitation before him, between Wrenham and Fisher; and Sir Henry Spelman, by a petition to the King, obtaineth a review of the proceedings against him, upon which a recompence is given him by a decree against Sir Edward Fisher. The Bishop of Lincoln is removed by King Charles I, and the Lord Coventry made Lord Keeper,
by

a view of shewing the unhappiness that attended the Lay Possessors of Abbey Lands (*m*). In 1621, an Apology for Archbishop *Abbot*, touching the death of *Peter Hawkins* the Keeper, wounded in the Park of *Bramsil*, July 24, came into the hands of Sir Henry on the 28th of October, and he wrote an answer to it on the 19th, wherein he endeavours to shew, that the Archbishop not only contracted an irregularity by that Act, but also intimates, that he could not be effectually reinstated without some extraordinary form of a new consecration (*n*) [*S*]. All this while he continued in the eager pursuit of his grand Inquiry into the foundation of our laws. The chief discouragement he found in these studies was the vast number of obsolete words which were hard to be understood, and yet are so important, that the drift and meaning of the whole sentence depends upon them. However he went forward, and whenever he met with any such word, he set it down in its proper order, with a distinct reference to the place, till by degrees he had collected a variety of instances, and, by comparing the several passages where the same word occurred, he was able to give a tolerable conjecture of the true signification of it. After he had made a considerable collection of this kind, and observed how by this means the reading of the old historians became every day more easy, he began to digest his materials, and from the several quotations to draw a judgment of the strict acceptation of each word in the respective ages when it was used. But, though a number of instances gave him good satisfaction as to the words or terms, yet, finding that many of our laws since the conquest were taken from the constitutions of the Saxons, and that many obsolete terms in our Latin historians are

(*m*) An Account of it is printed at the end of his History of Sacrilege, p. 243, et seqq.

(*n*) This is in Reliquiæ Spelmanianæ by Mr Gibbon, who has also inserted the letters and instruments relating to the killing of Hawkins by the Archbishop.

by whom the other differences are at last compounded, and the grand lease divided into many parcels. Wrenham, that raised this tempest, is never the richer by it, but liveth a Projector. Sir Edward Fisher, of 8000 l. (as Bedon, his servant, protesteth) spent in the suit, is consumed, and not to be seen of every man. Sir Henry Spelman, a great Loser, and not beholden to Fortune; yet happy in this, that he is out of the briars; but especially in this, that he hereby first discerned the infelicity of consecrated places.

[*S*] *An Answer to the Apology for Abbot.*] Our Author's zeal for the sacred honour of the Church flames out no where with so much warmth, as in this piece. He produces several canons which absolutely forbid hunting to the clergy, and particularly the use of the cross-bow (used by the Archbishop in this action,) 'that deadly engine, says he, which imagineth mischief as a law, whose force a man cannot mitigate, as in other weapons, and is properly numbered among the instruments of war, and therefore by a multitude of canons prohibited to clergymen.' He observes, likewise, that the use of this engine has not the advantage of exercise common to all others, since every limb and feature in the body, even the eye itself, the minutest of all others, is kept absolutely without any motion at all. He likewise takes notice, that Archbishop Abbot must needs have been very unskilful in handling the cross-bow, otherwise this misfortune could not have happened to him, as appeared by the situation of *Hawkins* with respect to him, and the deer; which he takes to be an aggravating circumstance in the offence. The Apology having alledged the *Charta de Foresta* in the Archbishop's favour, our Author very tartly, in his Reply, observes, that the *Charta de Foresta* is *Clevo lachrymabile nomen*; for the first breach that ever was made on the freedom of Clergymen, and which gave passage to all that followed, arose from the occasion of Clergymen's hunting in Forests, which Henry II, greatly discontented with, never rested till, by assent of the Pope's Legate, Hugo Petreleonis, he obtained a law, in the twenty-first year of his reign, ann. 1157, to convene them before secular Judges, and there to punish them. The statute of Richard II. had been likewise alledged by the Apologist, which only forbids persons not possessed of 10 l. per ann. from keeping a greyhound, and thence concludes, that Clergymen of that worth are not excluded, and consequently may legally hunt, at least, with greyhounds. In consequence of this argument, Sir Henry distinguishes three faculties in the person of a Bishop; 1. his spiritual function, wherein he is a Bishop; 2. his legal ability, wherein he is a Layman, and has liberty to contract; 3. his temporal dignity, wherein he is a Baron and Peer, and possesseth their privileges. Hence it appears what portion the Church had in the Bishops, what the Commonwealth, and what the King. When the King granted temporal lands, they take them as Lay-Barons do; yet they could not use them otherwise than might consist with their spiritual function. Hence notwithstanding they are not forbid, if possessed of 10 l. per ann. to keep a greyhound by the statute law, yet they are forbid to hunt by the canon law. The Apologist had further urged an ancient record, whereby the

Bishop of Rochester, at his death, was to render the Archbishop of Canterbury his kennel of hounds as a mortuary, whereof, as he was credibly informed, the law taketh notice for the King *sede vacante* under the name of *muta canum*, or *mulçura*. For the Record, says King Harry, that relateth, &c. I must, says Sir Henry (as it is in the law,) demand oyer of the record, we shall otherwise spend many words in vain: but that dogs should be given for a mortuary, is against all likelihood; for a mortuary is an offering given by him that dieth unto the Church, in recompence of his tythes forgotten; and it is a plain text, Deut. xxviii. 18. *Non offeres mercedem prostibuli nec pretium canis in domo Domini.* But if there be no other words to signify a kennel of hounds, than *muta canum* and *mulçura*, the exposition may be doubtful, though it comes really near it. Frederic II, Emperor, in the prologue to his second book *De venatione*, speaking of a hawk's mew, says, *Domicula quæ dicitur muta*, following the Italian vulgar, which cometh *a mutando*, because the hawk doth then change her coat (21); and for the affinity between dogs and hawks, it may be *κατακρησικως*, transferred to a dog-kennel. But all that may have dogs, may not use them; as I may have a coat of cloth of gold, but not wear it, notwithstanding the statute of Apparel. Besides, religious persons were in ancient times driven to keep dog-kennels for the King's hounds. For *Rad. Niger in Ann.*—saith, that King Henry II. *Abbatēs Hippodromos & canum Custodes fecit.* Lastly, whereas the Apologist would justify the Archbishop from the practice of his Predecessors, especially Cramer and Whitgift, and more particularly the latter of these, who, says he, killed twenty bucks in Lord Cobham's park, near Canterbury, in one Journey, using hounds, greyhounds, or his bow at his pleasure, although he never shot well. Sir Henry very alertly replies, that this argument only proves the offence to be grown inveterate, and therefore God had now sent this misfortune to remind them of it. After all, he concludes, that the case of that reverend and most worthy person deserved commiseration and most tender handling, for who can prevent such unexpected casualties? Yet may the consequence prove so mischievous, both to himself, and those that are to receive their consecration from him, as of necessity it must be carefully lookt into, and provided for. And because, says he, we are fallen into a case, wherein perhaps some extraordinary consecration may be required, I will relate two which I have met with. The first is of Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury in the time of Henry I, who being elected to be Bishop of St Andrew's in Scotland, then in the diocese of York, was consecrated by taking the Staff from the Altar, which had been laid solemnly thereon; and William Wallaston, the good Bishop of Worcester, both resigned his Bishopric, by laying the Staff thereof upon the Shrine of St Edward the Confessor, by the agreement of a Council holden under Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in ann. 1095, and in like manner received the same from thence in the presence of King William, Lanfranc, and many others; if we may believe Matthew Paris * not without a miracle.

(21) Sir Henry refers to this passage under the words *Muta Canem* in his Glossary.

* In anno 1095.

of Saxon original, he despaired of accomplishing his design for want of understanding that language; at least he was certain, that the knowledge of it must needs lead him to a clearer interpretation of many obscure passages, and enable him, throughout the whole work, to deliver his opinion with greater perspicuity and certainty. This language was not to be learned at that time without great difficulty; little assistance was to be expected in that age upon the subject of a language which few people regarded [T]. However he set about the task, and made himself a tolerable master of it. And thus, after he had made large collections, and acquired a pretty good knowledge of the Saxon tongue, he resolved to go on with his undertaking. But his modesty not suffering him to rely upon his own judgment, he printed one or two sheets by way of specimen about the year 1621 (o). These he communicated to his friends to have their opinion of his design. And he was encouraged in it by the most learned persons of that age; at home, by Mr Camden, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Williams, then Lord Keeper, Sir Robert Cotton, and Mr Selden; abroad, by Peireskius, Rigaltius, Salmassius, and others. He was likewise assisted in it by Cowel, Skene, and Lydia at home; and abroad by Bignonius, Meursius, and Lindenbrogius; whose favours he gratefully acknowledges. Upon these encouragements he prepared part of it for the press, and offered it to Mr. Bill the King's Printer. He was very moderate in his demands, desiring only five pounds in consideration of his labour, and that sum too to be paid him in books: but the Bookseller refusing to give that small rate for the copy, he ventured to print part of it, to the end of the letter L, at his own charge (p). This he published in 1626, under the title of *Archæologus*, &c. [U]. In 1627, he compiled a history of the civil affairs of the kingdom from the conquest to *Magna Charta*, taken from our best historians, and generally set down in their own words [W]; and the following year he was very active

(o) Among the friends who encouraged him, on seeing this specimen, he mentions Bishop Williams, Johannem Lincolniensem antistitem, Magistram Sigilli Custodem, Prefectum ad Archæolog. and this Bishop was made Lord Keeper of the great seal in 1621.

(p) Answer to Petit's *Jani Anglorum facies nova*, by Dr. Brady, p. 229.

(22) In his *Life of our Author*, ubi supra.

(23) Brother to Alexand. Nowel, the famous Dean of St Paul's. Ath. Oxon. V. 1. col. 185. It came at last into the hands of Sheldon, and thence into the Bodleian library, whence Somner made use of it in compiling his *Saxon Dictionary*.

(24) In his *Description of Cornwall*.

(25) This dedication being omitted in the editions of 1664 and 1687, we thought proper, with Mr Gibson, to preserve it, as a mark of our Author's modesty and love of truth.

[T] Few people then regarded the Saxon Language.] The Bishop of London tells us (22); that Sir Henry had neither the directions of grammar or dictionary, as we, says he, at this day are accommodated with, both very accurate in their kinds. By which he must mean, that Sir Henry had not so good helps in this kind, as were to be had at the time of writing his *Life* by Mr Gibson. For it is certain, and could not but be well known to that writer, who was so great a proficient in the Saxon language, that something of this kind had been wrote in Sir Henry's time, as particularly a *Vocabularium Saxonicum*, or *A Saxon English Dictionary*, by Laurence Nowel (23), and could have hardly escaped the diligence with which Sir Henry applied to this Study. For though this manuscript, which was written in 1567, lay in private hands in the time of Sir Henry Spelman, yet the author, Mr Nowel, must have come to his knowledge, as he was Tutor to the famous William Lambard in the Saxon language, and particularly because Mr Camden (24), our Author's old acquaintance, in his *Britannia*, the last edition of which by himself was published in 1607, mentions this Laurence Nowel, and says, that he was a man of good note for his singular learning, and was the first in our age that brought into use again and revived the language of our Ancestors, the Saxon, which through disuse lay forlorn and buried in oblivion. It is true, it is not hence certain that this manuscript did ever come to the knowledge of Sir Henry Spelman; neither, I presume, did Mr Gibson mean to take upon him to assert, it did not, notwithstanding his words seem to imply so much; and for that reason it is, that the above stricture is made upon them, to prevent the Reader of them from being led thereby into too hasty a conclusion. The remark which Mr Gibson makes afterwards, though I think, says he, Sir Henry never perfectly conquered it [the Saxon tongue], may undoubtedly be depended upon, and is closed with a very pertinent and just observation, that yet under so many great inconveniencies, it is a greater wonder, that he attained so good a knowledge in it, than that he did not make himself absolute master of it.

[U] He published under the title of *Archæologus*.] In an advertisement prefixed to the book, he gives the reason of his chusing this title rather than *Glossarium*, as we commonly call it: a glossary, strictly speaking, being no more than a bare explication of words, whereas this treats more especially of things, and contains entire discourses, and dissertations upon several heads. Before this edition is the following remarkable dedication:

Deo, Ecclesie, Literarum Republice
Sub protestatione de addendo, retrahendo, corrigendo, poliendo,
Prout opus fuerit, et consultius videbitur,
Deo clementissime annuente,
HENRICUS SPELMANNUS
Omni supplex humilitate, D. D. (25).

Mr Gibson tells us why Sir Henry went no farther than the letter L, is not known, nor, says he, has Sir Henry so much as hinted the cause of it, either in his Preface, or

in any part of his works, as we know of. M. du Fresne, who very much laments that he did not publish the second part himself, fancies that his design of publishing the English Councils, might be the occasion of his breaking off in the middle of his Glossary; and it has been affirmed by others, that he stopt at the letter M, because he had said something under *Magna Charta* and *Maximum Consilium*, that his friends were afraid might give offence. This opinion the Bishop of London, Dr Gibson, agrees with, and observes further, that it was not a season to speak freely, either of the prerogative of the King, or the liberty of the subject, both which would, upon many occasions, fall in his way. Yet after all, the true reason why Sir Henry went no further in the impression, was very plainly hinted by him (though not in any of his works) to Sir William Dugdale afterwards, who about the year 1637 acquainted him, that many learned men were very desirous to see the second part published, and requested of him to gratify the world with the work intire. Upon which Sir Henry shewed him the second part, as also the improvements which he had made in the first, which was interleaved with blank leaves, wherein he had added and altered much, as also in the second part in manuscript; but withal told him the discouragements he had met with in publishing the first part, mentioned in the text; and indeed so little was the work regarded at its first coming out, as the printer Bill had rightly presaged, that eleven years after, the greatest part of the impression remained unfold, till in the year 1637 two bookfellers, viz. Stephens and Meredith, took it off his hands. Upon his death all his papers came into the hands of his eldest son, Sir John Spelman, a gentleman who had sufficient abilities to complete what his father had begun, if death had not prevented him. After the restoration of King Charles II, Archbishop Sheldon and Lord Chancellor Hyde inquired of Sir William Dugdale what became of the second part of the *Glossary*, or whether it was ever finished. He told them, that it was finished by the Author, and that the copy was in the hands of Mr Charles Spelman, grandson to Sir Henry. They expressed their desire that it might be printed, and that he would prevail upon Mr Spelman to do it, which he did, and Mr Spelman offered it to the Bookfellers; but finding they would give nothing for the copy, and not being willing to do it at his own expence, the two Lords procured a good number of subscriptions, and referred it to Sir William Dugdale to agree with the Printer to perform the work, who willingly undertook the management of that part.

[W] *A History of the Conquest*, &c.] The manuscript in the Bodleian library is intituled *Codex legum veterum et statutorum Regni Angliæ quæ ab ingressu Gulielmi usque ad annum nonum Henrici III. edita sunt. h. e. ante primum statutum omnium impressorum in libris Juridicis quod Magna Charta appellatur ab Edwardo I. confirmata. Evaris monumentis, authoribus, manuscriptis, et antiquis paginis concinnatum. Opera et studio Hen. Spelman, collecta Ann. Dom. 1627, with the Imprimatur of Sir John Bramston,*

active in inquiring into the oppression of exacted fees; upon which occasion he wrote his treatise *De sepultura* (q), or of *Burial fees* [X]. He had been appointed, by the recommendation

(q) It was published in 1640. Mr J. A. tells us it was only two leaves, but Mr Gibson rightly observes it was five sheets in 4to.

(27) April 25, 1628.

July 7, 1640. Many of these instruments are printed in the second volume of the Councils, and it has been since printed by Dr David Wilkins, at the end of his edition of the Saxon Laws.

[X] Upon which occasion he wrote his treatise *De sepultura*. The particular fact that immediately gave occasion to it, was this. A complaint was brought before the Commissioners, of a Churchman, since deceased, and his Clerk, that came together to the house of a person in their parish, then newly dead, and speaking with the executors, would not suffer the body to be brought out of the house till he had 14 l. paid to him and the parish-officers, according to the bill of particulars then shewed unto them; nor could the executors compound with them for any abatement more than 10 s. in the Clerk's share, and paid them thereupon 13 l. 10 s. We here see several such corrupt practices of the Clergy in those times in extorting their fees, which our Author has not spared to censure very severely. He shews, from the Canon-law, that the Clergy had no claim to any money, either for the grave, or for the office of burial. For this he alledges seven different Councils, where it is declared, 1. To be a vice, and a vice of Covetousness; a bad custom that may be said to be most irreligious, as a selling of the Church; a cause of joy to the Parson when men die, a reaping of commodity out of the carcasses of the dead, and the sorrow of the living. 2. A discourtesy to the dead by him that must die, a selling of earth by him that is earth, a selling of that is none of his own, a selling of what was given freely to give freely, a denying of burial. 3. A thing too horrible, that bringeth the portion of *Gibazi* upon the offender, that is, the brand of Simony, as the Glossary expounds it; a Curse, an uncleanness, and cause of separation from common Society. And, lastly, as maladies are the most grievous and contagious that continue longest, so in these Councils the Fathers conclude this to be so much the more grievous, by how much the longer it hath continued, and declare it to be *abolenda consuetudinis perversitas*, the perversity of a custom that must be abolished. He then proceeds to give the sum of their censure, which is, 1. That nothing be exacted, or required for any sepulture; which words the Glossary declares to comprehend the ground or place of burial, and the ministry of the Priest or Parson about the same: and in some of the Councils it is particularly so expressed. 2. That all customs for such taking, are evil, impious, and void. 3. That the offence in taking is Simony. 4. That the cognizance thereof belongeth to the Bishop of the place. 5. That gifts of piety for the use of the Church may notwithstanding be taken. 6. That none shall be buried in the body of the Church. He distinguishes ground into three kinds, 1. *Locus purus*, secular ground, never used in burial, for which a fee may be taken; 2. *Locus religiosus*, when once any corpse has been buried in it, after which, by the Canons, nothing may be taken for burial. Some such places, says he, I suppose are about this city, adjoining to Churchyards for enlarging thereof: and some of them, for which the Owners do take a yearly rent of the parish that useth it, let it unto them to sow dead men's carcasses in, as they were to sow corn, and as though the carcasses would grow, like the Fable of *Cadinus*, and bring them a crop to pay the rent with: this the Canons do merely forbid, as doth also the Civil law and law of humanity, the Fathers, the Councils, and St Jerome, in the case of *Ephrem*. For my own part, continues he, I take it to be a kind of usury, to let that for money, whereof the hirer can make no kind of profit. 3. *Locus sacratus*, is that which is settled by the Donor upon God and the Church, as Churches and Churchyards, the fee simple of which is *in nabibus* and abeyance. He then proceeds to shew several instances of the exaction of these fees, as follows. Give me leave, says he, to present unto you what I find in a Vestry constitution, lately made (26), and subscribed by the Churchwardens, with twenty-three more of the assembly, confirmed by the Bishop, approved by his Chancellor, declared to be a laudable custom of that parish, and in testimony thereof, entered as a solemn Act in the principal registry of the Lord Bishop of the diocese, and finally ratified with the Chancellor's hand and seal of office, I may say, *vidi pudetque vi-*

dere (27). Whosoever will be buried in the chancel shall pay to the Parson as shall be agreed . . . for interring the corpse. In the isles of the chancel. To the Churchwardens for the ground, 2 s. 8 d. To the Parson for interring the corpse, 6 s. 8 d. In the body of the Church, 20 s. To the Parson, &c. 6 s. 8 d. In the Churchyard. To the Parson, 26 s. 8 d. and the same for every child under seven years. These if coffined, if uncoffined, 2 s. 4 d. each. All these double to every stranger. In another parish I find 6 s. 8 d. to the Parson for the duty of burial in the Church, when himself doth it, not, but his Curate, who for his pains, by the same certificate, 10 s. besides other, 10 s. for a sermon, though there be none. Upon this Sir Henry thus exclaims. The grave is the only inheritance that we are certainly born to, the inheritance which our grandmother hath left to descend to us in gavelkind among all her children; shall one enter and hold another out, and drive him to pay a fine *pro adeunda hereditate*, as they say in the Feudal Law, or *pro ingressu habendo*, as we now say in the Common Law? Is our tenure base, like a Copy-hold, *ad voluntatem Domini*, or not rather noble by frank almoigne, free from all payments and services? And how do the dead rest from their labours, if they be taxed with payments? how go they to their grave in peace, if they pay for their peace? *laborat are alieno qui debito tenetur*; and his peace is not worth thanks, if he must pay for it; he payeth for his peace, if he payeth for the place where his peace cannot otherwise be had; he payeth for his rest, if he may not enjoy it without payment; he payeth for his inheritance, if he cannot enter into it without paying a fine *pro ingressu*, his inheritance settled upon him by the great charter, *terram dedit filiis hominum*, a royal gift, but as it is used, *male collocatum*, ill distributed; the poor man, alas! hath nothing of all this but the grave, and may not now have that, unless he pay for it. Well, to whom should he pay? reason answers, if to any, to the Owners of the land; true; but the Owner of the soil was the founder of the Church, and he, out of piety and charity, gave the Church freely for prayer, the Churchyard freely for burial, *absque allo tenemento*, without any rent, any service, any reservation; nor could he if he would have done otherwise, for the Canons would not suffer him; not, though he were the absolute Owner, yet if he had reserved but a pepper-corn out of a grave, it had been not only void, but execrable. A pepper-corn? what talk we of a pepper-corn? no ground in the kingdom is now sold so dear as a grave, that poor little Cabinet, that is not commonly above six feet long, and a foot and a half in breadth, where is no room to stir either hand or foot, and the roof (as St Bernard says) laid so low, as it toucheth the nose: this silly cabinet is sometimes in the Churchyard sold to the priestman for 16 d. sometimes for 2 s. 8 d. sometimes 3 s. sometimes 6 s. In the Church it is at 10 s. 20 s. 40 s. 3 l. 4 l. 5 l. yea 10 l.; and yet the purchaser has no assurance of it, but is constrained to hold *ad voluntatem Domini*, or is a tenant for seven or ten years, within which term, he is sometimes cast out, and another put into his room; no writ of *quare ejecit infra terminum* lieth for him. Shall I tell what I was ashamed to hear. A grave or burying place, let to farm at 20 s. a year, the rent duly paid for divers years, and being then behind, the Parson threatened to uncase the corpse, by pulling down the monument, if he were not satisfied, and shame was so far from him, as he spared not to defend it even before the Commissioners; to whom it was testified, that another had paid 40 l. for one grave in ten years, by 10 l. at a time; a strange thing to me, what to others I know not: but I suppose *cinclutis non exaudita Cethegis*, the oldest living has not heard the like. Is it not time that his Majesty should do as he doth? that, like Josias, he should reform the Temple, the House of God? God be blessed, that put it into his heart, and grant him well to finish the work in hand, being so noble, so pious, and so full of necessity. He observes, that the Clergy grounded themselves much upon a law of Canutus the Dane, cited by Mr Fox, which would be a very good voucher, if true; but Mr Fox, he shews, has given a wrong translation of that law in these words. It is meet and right that no funeral money be given for opening the earth; therefore if any body or corpse be carried from his own parish unto another,

tion of Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) Laud; one of the Commissioners for that purpose, and their power extended to all the Courts and Offices of England. To this business he gave his constant attendance for many years with great integrity as well as application; and the Government was so sensible of his good services, that the Council procured his Majesty's writ of Privy seal for three hundred pounds to be presented to him, not as a full recompence (for so they declared) but only as an occasional remembrance, till they should have an opportunity of doing something for him, that might be a more suitable consideration for his diligence in that and other public affairs. In reality, this Attendance obliged him to neglect his own private affairs, to the great prejudice of his family; and his eldest Son, Sir *John Spelman*, represented to the Privy Council, how much his Father's estate had suffered by it, appealing, for a proof of his great pains therein, to the knowledge of several of their Lordships, to the Journals of that commission, and to his papers and collections relating to the same (r). In the mean time Sir Henry spared no pains in carrying on and improving his *Glossary*; and before that work was quite finished he entered upon another, which was *The History of the English Councils*. To this he was particularly encouraged by Dr *George Abbot* and Dr *William Laud*, successively Archbishops of Canterbury, and above all by the most learned Primate of Armagh, Archbishop *Usher*. He was likewise much incited in this design by what he had heard from Dr *Matthew Wren*, first Bishop of Norwich, and afterwards of Ely, who told him, that Dr *Andrews*, the then late Bishop of Winchester, had been reflecting with great concern upon the diligence of the Germans, French, Italians, and other nations, in publishing the histories and decrees of their respective synods, whilst the English, who had greater plenty of evidences, both in Ecclesiastical and Civil affairs, than any of their neighbours, had not so much as attempted any thing of that kind. Upon this occasion he desired Dr *Wren*, that, for the honour of our religion and the service of our nation, he would think of such an undertaking; and, lest it should prove over tedious for any single hand, to engage a competent number of persons of sufficient Learning and Judgment to assist in the work. That thereupon he [Dr *Wren*] promised to consider of it; and had proceeded in it, but that the Bishop excused him, upon an assurance that Sir *Henry Spelman* was engaged in the same design. Sir Henry, having been told this passage by the Bishop of Norwich, did with great modesty express his concern at taking the work out of much abler hands: but, since it had happened so, he did not any longer look upon it as a matter of choice whether he should go forward or no, but thought himself bound in justice to make the best satisfaction he was able, for depriving the Church of the joint labours of so many learned men (s). As soon as he had digested the materials into some form, he communicated the manuscript to Archbishop *Abbot* a little before the death of that Prelate [Y], who earnestly desired him to prepare the work for the

press

another, the money of the burial shall be due to his own parish Church, whereas the sense is: It is just that the soul-shot, or money given for praying for the soul, be always paid at the opening of the grave, and if the corpse be buried elsewhere than in its own parish, yet let the soul-shot be paid to the Church to which it belongeth. Hence it appears how this grave silver, or money for graves, grew up to be taken. It was first given for praying for souls, and such like; but that being abolished, and given to the King, the Parson, it seemeth, taketh it for the grave: and to say what I think, do now take that which was given for praying for the soul, under their fee for their office of burying the corpse, and those for the grave besides; for they take them both. After all, he asserts the Parson's right to a fee in the following words. Somewhat, says he, doubtless, may be due to the Parson upon the burial of the dead; for why else should the Canons provide; that the bodies of those which die be not carried to burial out of their parishes, lest the Priest should thereby lose what is due unto him; and the Canon *ad Apostolicum* approves of godly and laudable customs, these are not usually defined, but according as devotion hath begotten them in any parish. My drift is only to shew, that they must not be those now in use, to take money for the grave, or office of burial; for those cannot be said to be godly and laudable customs, since so many Canons have declared them to be vicious, impious, injurious, irreligious, too too horrible, and the more grievous by their longer custom and continuance, and therefore damneth and annulleth them by express words, how ancient and how general soever they be; yet laudable customs are due, such as this, that for every one that dies there, so much as hath usually been given unto the Parson or the Church. This it is will hold water. But, I fear me, none of our Parsons can maintain it in this form. It cannot be a mortuary, for that is provided for by express statute of the twelfth year of Henry VIII. c. 6. turning them into a certain sum of money, and forbids any thing to be taken otherwise, either for mortuary or corpse. Other laudable customs, 1. for lights in the Church; 2. praying for the soul; the Parson, it may be, doth enjoy it,

not mentioning the original, and so it behoveth him to do, lest the King be intitled to it by the statute of superstitious uses. But I say no more. It hath fallen upon me to be an unworthy member of that most noble and most gracious commission of exalted fees and innovated offices, and thereby to have notice by certificate of divers Persons of worth, and chief Parishioners of the greatest parishes in London; yet none of them hitherto, to my remembrance, hath made any such claim, nor know I how they should approve it, if they did. It is hatched of late within this city of London against the Canons of the Church. Upon the whole it is observable; that Sir Henry at last comes to this conclusion; that they may take this money as a custom to be given for the use of the Church, and that is the footing upon which it stands at this day.

[Y] *A little before that Prelate's death.*] To the first volume of the Councils is prefixed, the following attestation. *Attestatio Cl. Viri Edm. Scot. Eq. Aurat. Rev. in Christo Patris Dom. Gulielmi nunc Archiepisc. Cant. Seneschalli Domestici. Memini me adfuisse, quum Cl. Vir D. Hen. Spelman. Eques Aurat. (28) duos libros manuscriptos D. Georgio Abbot nuper Cant. Archiep. volvendos obtulerit, quorum titulus fuit Decreta et Consilia Ecclesiarum Orbis Britannici. Multas horas in eis legendis impendebat Rev. Pater, et frequenter, me audiente, magnis encomiis honestabat. Presensque fui, quum sermo D. Henricum Spelmanum hortaretur, ut limatos ab Ipso et ultimam manum passos in lucem exire sineret, nonnihil enim in eis impolitum adhuc erat et imperfectum, et seposita mora, quanta poterat festinatione prælo daret, totum enim opus magni æstimandum duxit, quodque publico et posteritati donare jure suo videbatur meruisse. Ita testatur Ed. Scot. 13 Feb. 1633.* Here we find the Archbishop both saw and approved this work before it was finished; and hence, by a passage in another work of Sir Henry, it seems not improbable that this happened in 1632. In which year he was at Lambeth with the Archbishop, as appears from his *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, where he tells us (29), that he dined with the Archbishop at Lambeth, Nov. 13, 1632, and had much discourse with him. Hence, by the bye, likewise, we see the Archbishop either knew nothing of Sir Henry's answer to the

(r) Gibbon's life of Sir Henry, ubi supra.

(s) Prefat. ad Concilia, Tom. 1.

(28) This is a mistake, for Sir Henry's title of honour was miles.

(29) P. 287, edit. 1698. 8vo.

press as soon as possible, that the public might speedily be possessed of such a valuable treasure. Thus encouraged, he proceeded, and branched his undertaking into three parts, alligning an entire volume to each division: (1) *From the first plantation of Christianity to the coming in of the Conqueror in 1066*; (2) *From the Norman conquest to the casting off the Pope's Supremacy by K. Henry VIII.* (3) *The History of the Reformed English Church from Henry VIII. to his own time.* Every one of these Sir Henry expressly and separately declares that he had completed; and the first volume, containing the first of these heads, was published by him in 1639 [Z], about two years before his death, with his own annotations upon the more difficult places. He had been brought, about a year or two before, into the acquaintance of Mr (afterwards Sir *William*) *Dugdale*, who then, at the request of several learned men, informed him, that the second part of his Glossary was much desired by them; whereupon he shewed Mr *Dugdale* the second part, as also the improvements which he had made in the first; but withal told him the discouragements he had met with in publishing that which we have already mentioned. However, Messrs *Stephens* and *Meredith*, two booksellers in St Paul's church-yard, did this year, 1677, purchase the remainder of the impression then lying upon his hands (t). In prosecuting that work [the Glossary] he went to Cambridge, in order to consult several Saxon manuscripts in that University, especially some in the public Library. In this business the Principal Librarian, Mr *Abraham Wheloc* of Clarehall, very readily gave him all the assistance that lay in his power (u). This gentleman was Professor likewise of Arabic, and knew so much at least then of the Saxon, that he could read it to Sir Henry, which was of great use to him, being now almost fourscore years old; and he was the more sensible of this help, as he met with very few that were capable of doing even so

(t) Our Author's life, by Mr. J. A. It is not improbable, that these Booksellers were induced to make this purchase by a promise of the Copy of his Councils, which I find was printed by them.

(u) Wheloc's edition of Bede's history in Saxon, in the Preface.

the *Apology* abovementioned, or else had excused it. The forementioned conjecture is favoured by what Mr Wood relates (30), that it was in 1633 that Jeremy Stephens was joined with Sir Henry to assist in compiling the first volume of his Councils.

[Z] He published the first volume in 1639.] The drift of the Author's design in this work is seen in the Dedication, which is addressed to King Charles I, to whom he expresses his great dislike of the humour that then began to run high against the hierarchy. In opposition to which, he takes notice how much the Bishops and Clergy had been always honoured and esteemed, from the first foundation of the English monarchy by Alfred, and shews that the Clergy, in the reigns of the Saxon Kings, sat with the Lay-Judges in all the courts, from the King's Council in his palace, to the Hundred-Courts. He observes, that the Conqueror (who first introduced the slavish part of Feudal Tenures) though he promised not to diminish the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, yet the ancient immunities of the Church began to be attainted under him and the rest of the Norman race; that Henry II. absolutely cut the sinews of it in the Council of Clarendon, by enacting, among other things, that the Clergy should answer to the Court of King's Bench what was done, to use his own words, *Justo licet haud felici tamen auspicio, ex illo enim die usque ad nostra tempora in sequentibus plerisque Parliamentis coevertetur aequaliter res Ecclesiae.* But that they were still employed in all the highest offices of the kingdom. That of them there had been seven Regents, and twelve chief Justiciaries, at a time when that office was superior to all others in honour and extent of Jurisdiction, holding the precedency of the King's Council, and comprehending the several posts of Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, the Master of the Wardrobe, and several branches of the Lord High Chancellor, and Treasurer of England. That there had been of the Clergy a hundred and sixty Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal, eighty Lord Treasurers, all the Keepers of the Privy Seal, and Masters of the Rolls, to the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII, and a great number of the itinerant Judges to the time of Edward III. In the thirty-ninth of whose reign, he observes, that the Lord Chancellor, Treasurer of the Privy Seal, Master of the Rolls, ten Masters in Chancery, Chief Baron, Lord Steward, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Clerk of the Privy Seal, Treasurer of the Household, Master of the Wardrobe, the Puisne Barons of the Exchequer, the Treasurer of Aquitain, as also of Calais and Ireland, were all Clergymen. He afterwards takes notice, that the authority of the Ecclesiastical Law had always prevailed in England, not by virtue of the Papal Power, against whose usurpations the Clergy had often asserted their liberty; that thus these laws being often purged from the Roman leaven, were at last intirely freed from the Yoke by Henry VIII, ann. 25, by the third of Edward VI, and by the first of Queen Elizabeth; and if that part of the regal authority hath hitherto slept, or been too lukewarmly put in execution, it is a part, says he, of your Majesty's royal power and wisdom to define it as may be requisite,

and put the finishing hand to that affair. *Aurem mihi vellit Cynthius; non defuerunt autem qui residuos vellicare palmites aggressi sunt et integrum Ecclesiae jurisdictionem sic impetere, ut Excessa cruce (Ecclesiae simbolo) e Corona Regia, emblema seculi solum radiaret Lilium;* there have been those amongst us, who have not spared to deny the King's supremacy ecclesiastical, and attempted to deprive the Crown of that Jewel, *cobibuit hoc molimen Princeps Optima Regina Eliz. ann. 39, et alias; oppressitque Pater vester Prudentissimus Jacobus Rex, qui neutrum e sororibus columnis arcam et Coronam regni sui sustententibus violari passus est aut temerari; florentes autem ambas pariter, pariter ambas simul exercitio Regio vestro porrexit, uti acceperat, patrocinio, sub quo laeta et quiescens Anglicana Ecclesia, posthabitis tum externorum quam Indigenarum calumniis, hodie orat, et ovet, precor, in perpetuum, Pia Humilis, et Sincera.* In the Preface, our Author honestly tells us, that in such a confusion of thoughts and papers, he had omitted the accounts of some Synods, which he had ready by him; that he had received observations from many learned persons, after the press was gone too far, to have them inserted; and that, particularly, the learned Primate of Armagh had communicated his animadversions upon the whole volume. To which purpose the late Bishop of London informs us, that he had seen among Sir Henry's papers, the remarks of Salmasius and De Laet, but could not tell where the rest were to be found. Out of these, and the corrections and additions that Sir Henry had made, he resolved to publish an Appendix to this first Tome, but probably was prevented by death. However, to incline the reader to a favourable interpretation of the omissions and imperfections of his work, he desires him to consider, that most of his materials were fetched from manuscripts, of which indeed there were great numbers, both in the universities, and in other parts of the kingdom, but being neglected by the generality of scholars, they lay in great confusion, and were in great measure useless, either to his, or any other, design. As it is, he confesses it would have been impossible for him to finish it without the assistance of his own son, and Mr Jeremiah Stephens. Of the first of these, we have him speaking at large in the conclusion of this article; but as to Mr Stephens, to whom our Author left the care of some of his papers, it may not be amiss to observe in this place, that he was bred at Brazen-nose College in Oxford, and had the rectory of Quinton in 1621, and five years afterwards that of Wotton, both in Northamptonshire, conferred upon him by King Charles, and Archbishop Laud procured him a Prebend in the Church of Lincoln (31), for his assisting in the publication of the first volume of the Councils; and Sir Henry does, in effect, recommend him for preparing the second and third volume, as a person every way qualified to complete the design. Sir Henry's words are: *Quo autem auspicio in lucem prodibunt (me jam sane propemodum exhausto) secundus et tertius Tomus, haud ausim polliceri, nisi illos vir dilectus et bono natus publico Jeremias Stephens typis curaverit mandandos, cujus opera primus hic Tomus (me adhuc tantum non invito) in lucem prodit.*

(31) Wood informs us it was the Prebend of Biggleswade in that Church. Aih. Ox. Vol. II. col. 341.

(w) Mr Wheloc tells us he was first recommended to Sir Henry by his eldest Son. Hæres me huic muneri commendaverit. Ibid.

(x) Mr Wheloc tells us it was first signified to him by the Rev. Mr Thorowgood, which we the rather take notice of, as that Divine had the disposal of the profits of the improper rectory by Sir Henry's desire. See an Account of it in his treatise *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*.

(y) P. 35, 38.

(z) Vide Spelman. Glossar. Verbo feudum.

(aa) It is the first piece in Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, ubi supra.

much for him. He had himself found the excellent use of that language in the whole course of his studies, and much lamented the neglect of it both at home and abroad, which was so general, that he did not then know one man in the world who perfectly understood it. Hereupon, this same year 1639, he settled a Saxon Lecture in the University of Cambridge [AA], and appointed Mr Wheloc his first Professor (w), allowing him an annual stipend of ten pounds, and presenting him to the Vicarage of Middleton, near Lynn in the county of Norfolk, giving him likewise the improper Rectory of the same (x), both which were intended by him to be settled in perpetuity as an endowment of that Lecture; but this design was defeated. Our Author had likewise at this time an opportunity of displaying his profound knowledge in our old Feudal law, in the great case of Tenures upon *the commission of defective titles*, argued by all the Judges of Ireland, published, after their resolution, by order of the Lord Deputy Viscount Wentworth this year. It fell out, upon the fourth point of the case, to be affirmed, that Tenures had their original in England before the Norman conquest; and, in pursuit of this assertion, it was concluded, that Feuds were then and there in use. In proof whereof divers laws and charters of the Saxon kings, and some other authorities, were alledged, which being conceived to have cleared the point, it was followed in the report. And therefore it was said that Sir Henry Spelman was mistaken, who in his Glossary (*verbo feudum*) refers the original of feuds in England to the Norman conquest, to which their corollary (y) adds these words; *neither is the bare conjecture of Sir Henry Spelman sufficient to take away the force of those laws* (z). Being thus, by way of Voucher, made an Antagonist, as he himself observes, to the reverend opinion of those learned Judges, he humbly desires them to pardon his mistakings where they fall, and to hear without offence what may lead him to his conjectures, which they speak of. To this purpose he published a piece, intituled, *The original growth, propagation, and condition of Tenures by knight service in England* (aa) [BB], wherein he confirms what he

[AA] *He settled a Saxon Lecture at Cambridge.* As there is no such lecture at present in that University, it will be proper to give some account how so worthy a design came to be defeated. Dr Gibson's account is, that Sir Henry and his eldest son both dying in the compass of two years, and the civil wars breaking forth, and their estates being also sequestered, the family became incapable of accomplishing the design. But we have another account of this matter from Mr Somner, who, in the Dedication to his *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, takes notice, that when by the death of Mr Wheloc, in 1657, the disposal of that lecture fell to Roger Spelman of Hulm, Esq; eldest son of Sir John, and grandson of the Founder, he had designed to bestow it upon a learned Divine, named Mr Samuel Foster, but that Archbishop Usher recommended [Mr Somner] to the Patron for the stipend of ten pounds, to enable him to prosecute his Dictionary (in which he had then made a considerable progress) which would more improve the Saxon language, than bare Academic Lectures. Mr Spelman, who had not before heard of Mr Somner, being thus informed of his particular merits in the Saxon tongue, was prevailed on to comply with Archbishop Usher's recommendation, which was likewise consented to by Mr Foster; who, upon Mr Somner's application to him, was content to enjoy the living without the lecture. How long the stipend was paid to Mr Somner after he had finished the Dictionary, I know not; but the lecture being thus unfortunately separated from the endowment, was never heard of afterwards. Dr White Kennet (32), in relating this affair, observes, that herein the Prelate [Usher] was, like himself, judicious; for the endowments of public lectures, says he, has often met with this ill success, to make the Readers neglect, and the Hearers despise them: whereas, were the same rewards given on condition of printing those lectures, or publishing some other remains of that Art or Science, men's industry would be greater, and the republic of letters much better served. 'This, continues he, seems to be the intention of the Founder, Sir Henry Spelman, in establishing his lecture, the words of his foundation being to promote the Saxon tongue, either by reading it publicly, or by the edition of Saxon manuscripts and other books.' This writer tells us likewise, that the reason of the thing, and the will of his grandfather, inclined Mr Spelman to comply with the advice of Archbishop Usher. We have seen what this conclusion is grounded upon, viz. a passage in Somner's Dedication of his Dictionary, and another in Wheloc's Preface to Bede; but the reflection herein occasionally raised against the Universities, has no other ground to support it, except the writer's ill-will to those learned Bodies. In the mean time it is observable, that he could not be ignorant, that the case of this lecture of Sir Henry Spelman was, among others, a remarkable exception to his general censure, since what he has

(32) Afterwards Bishop of Peterborough.

turned, at the expences of the Universities in favour of Mr Somner, whose panegyric he was writing, is borrowed from the Preface to Bede, a Saxon book, which Mr Wheloc, the Editor, assures us was undertaken and published in pursuance of Sir Henry Spelman's Will in the foundation of his lecture, to say nothing of Mr Wheloc's appeal in that Preface to Archbishop Usher, who, he there assures us, had actually heard him read lectures upon the Saxon language in the University. Neither can it well be supposed, that though Sir Henry's first and principal intent in this foundation, was to promote the knowledge of our Saxon Antiquities, yet that he had not an eye in the next place to advance the honour and interest of the University; or at least that he judged his design was most secure from being, either dropt, or diverted to other uses, by being committed to the trust of that Community. And I hope I may observe without offence, seeing it is remarkably to the present point, that in the larger work of the Tythes, Sir Henry declares his opinion very warmly against changing that way of support for the Clergy into any other whatsoever, though never so fair seemingly, and promisingly advantageous. And one of the principal reasons he gives for it, is the danger thereby of having that support diminished by degrees, till at last the Clergy would be left with very little, or even no support at all, which he saw would be a sure way of ruining that religion itself, of which they are the Teachers and Professors. Dr Gibson seems to have been sensible of the objections to which Mr Kennet's opinion lay exposed, and therefore gave that aforementioned; and it is certainly much more candid and unexceptionable, and for that reason alone, if he had no other, deserves, in my mind, the greater credit.

[BB] *The original of Tenures by knight service in England.* The particular case that gave occasion for this treatise was, that Lord Dillon, in the county of Mayo, upon inquiry at this time into the title of his Majesty King Charles I. to that county, found there was an Act of State published, commanding all those who had any lands therein by letters patent from the Crown, in pursuance of the commission granted by James I, as abovementioned (33), to produce the letters, or an enrollment thereof, before the Lord Deputy and Council, by a certain day, to the end that they might be secured in the quiet possession of those Estates, in case the said letters were allowed by that board to be good and effectual in law. In pursuance of these orders, several letters patents were produced, and particularly those granted to the Lord Viscount Dillon, which last, upon the perusal and consideration thereof by his Majesty's Council, were thought to be void in law, and therefore it was ordered by the Lord Deputy and Council, that the doubt should be drawn up into a Case, and that Case to be openly argued at the Council board. It was drawn up accordingly in these words: 'King James, by

(33) In reman- [K].

com-

he had asserted in his *Glossary*; but observes, that the mistake was committed by the person that drew the breve for the judge; for that he himself had no where referred the original of feuds in England to the Norman conquest. On the contrary, in speaking of them he said, *habentur plurima, quæ huc apprimè conducunt, in Anglo-Saxonum nostrorum legibus*, which he still affirmed, and that the passage in his *Glossary* had been much perverted. It being

‘ commission under the great seal, did authorize certain
 ‘ Commissioners to grant the manour of *Dale*, by
 ‘ letters patents under the great seal of the kingdom,
 ‘ to A. and his Heirs; and there is no direction given
 ‘ in the said commission touching the tenure to be re-
 ‘ served.—There are letters patents, by colour of the
 ‘ said commission, passed unto A. and his Heirs, to
 ‘ hold by Knight Service, as of his Majesty’s castle of
 ‘ Dublin.’ Here it was agreed on all hands, that the
 letters patents were void, as to the tenure; and that
 the Commissioners had acted beyond their commission,
 in reserving a *mean* tenure to the prejudice of the
 Crown; when they ought, either to have reserved an
 express tenure by Knight Service *in Capite*, or have
 mentioned no tenure at all, but have left the law to
 imply a tenure *in Capite*. The question therefore was,
 whether the deficiency of the tenure did so far affect
 the grant, as wholly to destroy the letters patents, or
 whether the letters patents might not be good as to the
 land, and void only as to the tenure. The case was
 argued several days by Council on both sides, and was
 afterwards referred to the Judges, who were required by
 the Lord Deputy and Council to consider of it, and to
 return their resolution. But they, upon a private
 conference, not agreeing in their opinions, it was thought
 necessary, for the public satisfaction, to have it argued
 solemnly by them all; which was accordingly done:
 and when it came to be debated, whether the reserva-
 tion of a tenure, so different from that intended and
 warranted by the commission, could make void the
 whole grant, this led them to a more general inquiry,
 what the reservation of a tenure is to the grant? whe-
 ther it be part of the grant, and the *modus concessio-
 nis*, or whether it be a distinct thing, *aliud*, from the
 grant; for (as the printed case represents their opi-
 nion,) if the reservation of the tenure, and the grant
 of the land, be *aliud et aliud*, two distinct things in
 the consideration of the whole grant made, and the
 authority given by the said commission for the making
 thereof, then the letters patents may be void as to the
 tenure, and yet good for the grant of the land; but if the
 reservation of the tenure be incident unto the authority,
 and inseparably joined with it, and the reservation of
 the tenure, and the grant of the land, make up but
 one intire grant, so that the one is a part of the other,
 and the reservation of the tenure be *modus concessio-
 nis*; then the grant of the land reserving a diverse and con-
 trary tenure to that which their [made] authority did
 warrant them to reserve, is a doing of *idem alio modo*, and
 so the whole Act is void. They who pleaded for the
 validity of the letters patents as to the land, and their
 being void as to the tenure, urged, among other ar-
 guments, that tenures *in Capite* were brought into Eng-
 land by the conquest; but grants were by the Common
 Law, and therefore grants being more ancient than
 tenures, these must of necessity be *aliud*, from the thing
 granted: and to prove that these tenures came in with
 the Conqueror, they cited Mr Selden in his *Spicilegium
 ad Eadmerum*, p. 194, where he has that out of Bracton
*de acquir. rerum domin. b. 2. forinsecum servitium dicitur
 regale servitium, quia spectat ad Dominum Regem et non ad
 alium, et secundum quod in Conquestu fuit adinventum.*
 But this argument, and the authority, were both over-
 ruled; and it was affirmed, that tenures were not
 brought into England by the Conqueror, but were
 common among the Saxons. As to Selden, it was an-
 swered, that in *that* place, he barely recites Bracton’s
 words, not delivering his own opinion; for in that
 book cited, p. 170, and in his *Titles of Honour*, last
 edition, p. 612, we find he was of another opinion.
 What were the *Thani Majores*, or *Thani Regis*, among the
 Saxons, but the Kings immediate Tenants of lands,
 which they held by personal service, as of the King’s
 person by *Grand Serjeanty*, or *Knight’s Service in Capite*?
 The land so held, was in those times called *Thane-land*,
 as land holden in socage, was called *Reve-land*, Coke’s
 Instit. § 117. Sometime after the coming of the Nor-
 mans, the title of *Thane* grew out of use, and that of
Baron and *Barony* succeeded for *Thane* and *Thane-
 land*. Hence the true reason of Coke in Lord Crom-
 well’s Case, p. 81. That every Barony of ancient
 times was held by Grand Serjeanty. It is true, the

possessions of Bishops and Abbots were excepted by the
 Saxons, and turned into Baronies by the Conqueror,
 and so their tenure may be said in *Conquestu adinventum*:
 but Thane lands were held by that tenure before. What
 was that *Trinodia necessitas*, which so often occurs in
 grants of the Saxon Kings, under this form, *Excerptis
 istis tribus, Expeditione, Arcis, & Pontis extruentione* (34),
 but that which was afterwards expressed by *salvo forin-
 secu* in Bracton (35)? It is most manifest, that *Capite
 tenures*, Tenures by Knight Service, Tenures in socage,
 Frank almoigne, &c. were frequent in the time of the
 Saxons: and if we will believe what is cited out of an
 old French Customary, in a manuscript treatise of the
 Antiquities of tenures in England (36), many, if not
 all these tenures, were in use, even in the time of the
 Britons. There, it is said, the first British King di-
 vided Britain into four parts, and gave one part to the
 Arch-Flamines, to pray for him and his posterity. The
 second part he gave to his Earls and Nobility, to do
 him Knight’s Service. The third he divided among
 Husbandmen, to hold of him in socage. The fourth
 part he gives to mechanical persons, to hold of him in
 burgage. But that testimony was waved, there being
 little certainty or truth in the British Story before the
 time of Cæsar. Neither did they make use of that,
 which we are taught by William Rovinge of Alençon in
 his Preface to the *Grand Customary of Normandy*, that
 all these customs (among which are these tenures) were
 first brought into Normandy out of England by Edward
 the Confessor. Besides what hath been said, they
 found feuds, both name and thing, in the laws of
 these times. Among the laws of Edward the Confessor,
 cap. 5, where it is thus provided, *debent enim universi
 liberi homines, et secundum fœdum suum et secundum
 tenementa sua, arma habere, et illa semper in promptu
 conservare, ad tuitionem regni et servitium dominorum
 suorum* (37). This law was afterwards confirmed by
 William the Conqueror (38). As these tenures were
 common in those times, so were all the virtues of them,
 homage, fealty, socage, relief and wardship for relief,
 &c. (39). That wardships were then in use, and not
 brought in by the Normans, as Camden in his *Brit-
 tannica* (40), nor by Henry III, as Ranulph Higden
 in his *Polychronicum* (not understanding him) had
 persuaded. Among the privileges granted by Edward
 the Confessor to the Cinque Ports, that their Heirs
 shall not be in Ward (41), and in the customs of Kent,
 which are in Magna Charta of Tottel’s edition, and in
 Lambard’s Perambulation, there is a rule for the Ward-
 ship of the Heir in Gavelkind, and that he shall not be
 married by the Lord; and these customs say of them-
 selves, that they were *devant le conquest et en le conquest*.
 For the Antiquity of Wardship in England and Scot-
 land, see also *Hector Boetius*, lib. 11. *Buchanan Rerum
 Scoticarum*, lib. 6. and the *Laws of Malcolm*, 11. which
 prove the Antiquity of Wardship in Scotland, and
 therefore in England, before the Norman Conquest;
 for in those times, it is probable the laws of both na-
 tions did not much differ, as for the times after, it
 appears they did not by comparing their Regiam Ma-
 jestatem with our Glensvil. Upon these, among other
 reasons, they did conclude, that upon consideration of
 the Authority given, and grants thereupon made, the
 reservation of the tenures cannot be said to be *aliud*, i. e.
 a separate and distinct thing from the authority of
 granting the land, but rather concluded within it; and
 that the reservation of the tenure, though it be not
ipsa concessio, the grant itself, yet it is *modus concessio-
 nis*, and a part of the grant; and therefore the authority
 being not pursued in that, the whole grant is void.
 These were the arguments, which our Author has con-
 sidered severally, both as to the truth and force of them;
 not strictly confining himself to their reasons and reflec-
 tions, but taking occasion from thence to draw up a
 very elaborate treatise of the nature and origin of feuds
 and tenures; wherein he has clearly shewn, that these
 tenures, such as were granted in the letters patents by
 himself and the other Commissioners in Ireland, were
 not in use before the Conquest, and therefore the
 grants being made before that time, the tenures must
 of necessity be *aliud* from the thing granted, and con-
 sequently the Patents were good, as to the lands.

(34) Coke’s 6th Report.

(35) Lib. 2. c. 26. in the 35th year of Edward I.

(36) Selden’s A-nalect. Anglo-Brit. 78.

(37) Lambard’s Archion. p. 35.

(38) Coke’s Instit. sect. 103.

(39) Ib. p. 178.

(40) Selden’s Notes on Fortescue de Laudibus, Leg. Angliæ.

(41) Lambard’s Perambulations of Kent, p. 181. See the laws of K. Canutus, cap. 66. and 69. Of Edward the Confessor, cap. de heterochiis. And from Doomsday book in Coke’s Instit. sect. 103. Camden in Berkshire, and Selden in Eadmer, p. 154.

neither his words, nor his meaning to say, that William the Conqueror first brought in the feuds or military service, in a general sense: but that he brought in the servitudes and grievances of feuds, as wardship, marriage, and such like, which to this day were never known to other nations that are governed by the feudal law. He observes there is a great difference between *servitia militaria* and *servitutes militares*. The one noble, heroic, and full of glory, which might not therefore be permitted to any that was not born of free parents, no not to a king's son (as appears in Virgil), wherein our Saxon laws were very cautious, and wanted a soldier's shield to be *insigne libertatis*. The other not ignoble only and servile, but derived even from very bondage (*bb*). This seems to have been the last of our Author's performances in his study; and it is an illustrious instance of the vigour both of his spirits and understanding, such as is not ordinarily met with at his years, being then upon the verge of fourscore. He had passed the latter part of his life very agreeably with his son-in-law Sir *Ralph Whitfield* in Barbican (*cc*), at whose house he died in 1641, having passed the eightieth year of his age (*dd*). From this place his corpse was carried with great solemnity, by order of K. Charles, to Westminster Abbey, where it was interred in the South isle, near the door of St Nicholas's chappel, at the foot of the pillar, opposite to the monument of his ancient friend Mr Camden. The late bishop of London gives the following short sketch of his character: 'A gentleman, says he, of great learning, and a hearty promoter and encourager of it. In his temper calm and sedate, and in his writings grave and inoffensive; a true lover of the established church, and a zealous maintainer of her rights and privileges;' to which I will venture to add, that he was not less hearty in wishing well to the rights and liberties of his country in general. The first article of this character, which is taken upon a perusal of his works, will be abundantly confirmed by the general voice of the nation in particular. Since every one that looks into the history of his own country, cannot but observe, from the several quotations from Sir Henry Spelman, that his works have been, and to this day continue to be, a necessary storehouse to every writer of the English history since his time [*CC*]. How much he had the advancement of learning at heart is seen, as in other instances, so particularly by his foundation of a Saxon lecture at Cambridge, by which he merited the title of being *The Reviver and Restorer* of that branch of literature; and the encouragement he gave to men of letters, besides what has been already taken notice of in regard to Mr *Speed*, both in the supplies which he furnished to that collection of records made by Mr *Dodsworth* relating to the foundation of monasteries in the Northern parts of England, and especially afterwards, when, becoming sensible that those might be improved into a *monasticum Anglicanum*, lest that design should miscarry by Mr *Dodsworth's* death, he prevailed with Mr *Dugdale* to join Mr *Dodsworth* in so commendable a work, promising to communicate his transcript of foundation-charters belonging to several monasteries in Norfolk and Suffolk, and, for Mr *Dugdale's* further encouragement, recommended him to *Thomas Earl of Arundel*, then earl marshal of England, as a person well qualified to serve the King in the office of arms; by means of which recommendation, seconded by Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Mr *Dugdale* arrived to a good skill in them, was settled in the Heralds office (*ee*), which gave him an opportunity to fix in London, and, from the many assistances there, to compile those and the other laborious volumes afterwards published by him. Sir Henry likewise not only first advised Dr *Watts* (the celebrated editor of *Matthew Paris*) to the study of Antiquity, but was the principal Author of the Doctor's undertaking a new edition of that valuable historian (*ff*). His zeal for the honour and interest of the clergy does not stand so much in need of an illustration, as some humanities that were incident to it seem to do of an apology. But, on the other hand, he was so much distinguished by the steadiness of his loyalty both to K. James and K. Charles I, and was so highly in their favour (*gg*), as might have given room for some persons to think him not so hearty, as he really was, in the cause of liberty, did not that heartiness appear to be a just part of his character from a letter of his to Archbishop *Usher*, which has been preserved by Dr *Richard Parr* [*DD*]. Upon Sir Henry's death, all his papers fell into the hands of his eldest son, Sir *John Spelman*, after whose decease Sir *Ralph Whitfield* had them in his possession (*bb*). In 1647, Mr *Jeremiah Stephens*, in pursuance of his trust, printed a piece upon tythes, under the following title, *Sir Henry Spelman's larger treatise concerning tythes* [*EE*]:

whereunto

[*CC*] *A storehouse to every writer of the English History since his time.* We have a late instance of the truth of this observation in Mr *Carte's* History of England. That Historian makes frequent use of Sir Henry's works; but he seems to have neglected this store, in speaking of the unktion, and rejecting the common opinion, that our Kings were endowed with their ecclesiastical supremacy by virtue of their unktion, he declares, that such a power is inherent to Royalty, which, though true enough, yet is not so much to the purpose of an historian, as what Sir Henry observes, that our Kings actually exercised that authority before the unktion was performed in England, or before King *Alfred*, viz. in the year 850, whereas *Alfred* was not crowned at Rome by Pope *Leo*, who gave him the unktion, till the year 860 (*42*).

[*DD*] *In a letter preserved by Dr Parr.* This letter is dated from Barbican, July 1, 1628 (*43*), and begins thus: 'I here present your Grace with the first printed Copy of the Petition of Parliament to his Majesty for their ancient rights and liberties, with his Majesty's

gracious answer thereto: and by much instance I have got, even in this hour, from Mr *Bill*, before they are yet become public, and to the laming of the book from whence it is taken.' This shews his zeal to serve his friend, who had desired the petition to be sent. And his zeal for the cause of liberty further appears from another letter [*Numb. CXXVIII*], dated May 26, the same year, wherein Sir Henry acquaints him, that the House of Commons had admirably evinced the rights of the subject in every part of that petition.

[*EE*] *His larger treatise concerning Tythes.* This piece had been long expected, and was much desired in Sir Henry's life-time by his friends, to whom he constantly excused himself (*44*) upon one account or other. In his Apology for the tract *De non temerandis Ecclesiis*, he writes thus: 'As to asserting Tythes to be due *Jure divino*, and his answers, my purpose is not here to meddle with them. They require a more spacious discourse than either that volume admitted, or I now mean to enter into, it being not a question between him and me only, but long controverted by greater Clerks, and left at

this

(*bb*) The Introduction to this treatise.

(*cc*) Mr *Wheloc*, ubi supra, expresses it thus: Quorum [Rad. Whitfield] ætatem suam suavisissimam agebat Heros. That the house was in Barbican, I gather from a letter of Sir *Henry's* to Archbp *Usher*, dated from thence in 1628.

(*dd*) See Remark [*B*] compared with the expression employed in the entrance of his life: Jam anni bis deni sunt & quod excurrit, ex quo, &c. where he evidently means upwards of twenty years.

(*ee*) *Fasti Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 8.

(*ff*) *Watt's* preface to his edition of that History. Sir *Henry* had a MS. of *Matthew Paris*, which contained several things not then in the printed copies. History of *Sacrilege*, p. 135.

(*gg*) He was knighted by K. James I.

(*bb*) *Wheloc's* preface to *Bede*, ubi supra.

(*42*) *Councils*, p. 153.

(*43*) *Numb. CXXX.*

(*44*) See the Appendix to *De non temerandis Eccles.* p. 114. 115. Edit. 1668

whereunto is annexed, An answer to a question of a gentleman of quality, by a reverend and learned divine living in London, concerning the settlement or abolition of tythes by the parliament, which caused him to doubt how to dispose of his son whom he had designed for the ministry; (2) Some animadversions on a late pamphlet called *The country's plea against tythes*, discovering the ignorant

' this day as *questionem vexatam non judicatam*. The
' truth is, the course of my argument led me upon it,
' and I therefore produced some arguments tending to
' the maintenance thereof, but referring the point unto
' a greater work (45), and forbearing to deliver myself
' therein without ample, and more laborious examina-
' tion of so great a controversy (46). But perhaps no-
' thing had raised the curiosity of his friends (such I mean
' as were inclined to reverence his judgment) more than
' what he had there dropt concerning Tythes, *in quoto*.
Upon which point, having declared that he could not
say the law of nature had determined the set portion
of a tenth, he subjoins the following note. ' Yet there
' be diverse natural reasons that commend this number
' (for this purpose) above others.' We have already
observed, that he expressed an inclination to have ex-
plained the words in this note, had it consisted with
his designed brevity in that piece. This therefore
appears in the fourteenth chapter of his large work,
now before us, which being not a little curious, we
shall give the substance of. He sets out with an
honest declaration, that in all his inquiries upon this
article of tythes, he had never met with any thing
concerning this point of limitation to the number ten;
' from the nature of it therefore, says he (47), wanting
' a guide to direct me, I shall walk this way the more
' respectfully. He then proceeds to declare, that in
' his apprehension there are two reasons thereof, one
' mystical, the other political. First, Reason teacheth
' that God should have the best and the chiefest, and
' that is mystically contained in this number ten. For
' it is the number appointed in Scripture, and St Austin
' teacheth, that we do not perfectly understand many
' things there for want of having the mystery of num-
' bers; and both he and St Jerom observe, that in
' numbers there are great secrets. The number ten is
' said to signify the first and the last, the beginning and
' the ending. It is, *finis simplicium et initium composi-*
' *torum*, the first radical number, and the last number
' of single dimension; the number wherewith the pro-
' gress of numeration, running as it were circularly,
' always endeth and beginneth again: *representat*,
' saith Bartholomæus, *merito ipsum Christum, qui est et*
' *ALPHA ET OMEGA, PRINCIPIUM ET FINIS*. In this,
' and such other respects, it is also said to be like a
' circle, the greatest and the perfectest body in Geo-
' metry, having neither beginning nor ending, as in
' the attributes of God. Hermes, justly stiled Tref-
' megist, labouring to describe God by the most signi-
' ficant resemblance that man's wit could attain unto,
' said, God is like an imaginary circle, whose cen-
' ter is every where, and circumference no where;
' and as the circle or sphere of all forms, is most
' spacious and of the greatest capacity, comprehending
' all other, and itself comprehended of none;
' so the number ten comprehends all numbers, and is
' itself comprehended of none of them; neither is there
' any number beyond it, but that ariseth out of it. It
' is the foot and basis whereon all of them are founded,
' and it containeth not only all dimensions, but, to be
' short, all the reasons of arithmetick, geometry, and
' musick; therefore *Philo Judæus* saith, they who first
' gave names unto things, seemed to me to have
' named *decadem* quasi *δεκάδα*, i. e. *capacem àπὸ τῶ δέ-*
' *καδα*, *quod capiat et amplectatur omnia genera numerorum*
' *reliquorum ex numeris collectorum proportione harmoniarum*
' *rursus et concentuum proprie appellasse*. In this manner
' the number ten represents to us (as such things may)
' the nature of God, the most perfect and greatest,
' comprehending all, and comprehended of none, the
' beginning and the ending, yet infinite and without
' beginning or ending. So that the number ten, this
' tribute money in question, hath in all these respects
' the apparent image of God; and therefore let us see
' whether it hath his inscription or not. For sure if it
' hath his image and inscription, it is due unto him
' by his own word, and his own argument. First then;
' the Hebrews and the Greeks express this number by
' ' and ' , the first letter of his greatest, and most essen-
' tial name. The Romans, and other Western nations,
' by the letter X, which stands always for the name of
' Christ. The arithmetical figures 1 and 0, 1 signifies
' the same that *alpha* does in Greek, and 0 *omega*;

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' therefore the figure of the number signifies the first
' and the last, the beginning and the ending; but as the
' cypher 0, in this respect, signifies the end, we must
' mark, that it is a circle, and hath no end; being
' therefore joined to the figure of one, which signifieth
' the beginning, it sheweth unto us, that the beginning
' is without end, and the end itself without beginning
' or end, both infinite, and without any limit. The
' first character in the figure of 10, viz. 1, begetteth
' all numbers, for it is *semen numerorum*, and is be-
' gotten of none, so that it is *Unus et Omnis*, one and
' all, and so the very figures signify *in notis Antiquorum*,
' according to Valerius Probus and Paulus Diaconus.
' Therefore to conclude, it hath both the image of
' God in signification of his Essence, and the Inscrip-
' tion of his name in the form of the characters and fi-
' gures in all languages, and in all nations, after one
' manner or other; so that nature herself had taught
' them, that this part belongeth to God, which by no
' wit, or any learning, can be applied to, or found in
' any other number between one and millions of thou-
' sands.—God will have such a part as comprehendeth
' all; therefore, as in the sacrifices, he especially did
' require the head and tail, as comprehending all the
' rest; so the laws of our land did anciently reckon
' these parts for all; for that the whole fish-royal be-
' longs to the King, yet Bracton saith it sufficeth if
' he had the head and tail, for that in these parts the
' whole is implied: and, consequently, when we give
' God the tenth part, we put him in possession of all.
' This number is the number of fulness, and expresseth
' the greatest things; and it has been of old observed,
' that in natural things the tenth is usually the fullest
' and greatest. *Vastius insurgens decimæ ruit impetus*
' *undæ* (48), and Valerius (49) Flaccus terms it, *decimæ*
' *tumor ardens undæ*. So likewise it is noted by Silius
' Italicus, Lucan (50), and Seneca (51). And this
' observation among the Ancients hath been so noto-
' rious and remarkable, that they commonly used the
' word Tenth in Latin, to express the greatest things—
' *decumanum limitem, decumanam portem ferte fluctus*
' *ova*, as Cicero in Verrem et accipenserum; and for
' the like reasons they used the word *decimare* for
' chusing and culling out the choicest and principal
' things, as Perrot observeth. And because in the
' procreation of man and other living creatures, the
' number ten is most happy and most effectual, as the
' tenth month in some, and the tenth week in others,
' the Romans admired the secret virtues of this num-
' ber so superstitiously, as they canonized it among
' their Gods by the name of *Decima*, as Tertullian and
' Gellius inform us; and for this cause Romulus closed
' the year within the compass of ten months, as the
' time of fulness and perfection. Lastly, therefore, for
' more of this sort of observations, *de ratione decima-*
' *rum et denarii numeri*, he refers to Philo (52), and
' concludes with this smart epigram upon the letter X.

' *Exprimit antiquis hæc Xium litera scriptis,*
' *Exprimit et partem quam petit Ille suam.*
' *Ergo citus Xti, quæ sunt dato, munera, Xto;*
' *Cæsaris accipiat Cæsar; uterque suum.*

' *This X of old express'd Christ's holy name,*
' *And eke the sacred tenth which he doth claim.*
' *Give then to Christ what's his without delay;*
' *To Cæsar Cæsar's due; and both their pay.*

We have given this reasoning as an instance of a very great weakness in a truly great mind. Whoever considers how full the Canon Law abounds with such flowers, and how much Sir Henry read and admired the sanctity of that law, and the makers of it, and at the same time reflects how much real service and honour his country reaped from his studies in this law, will easily excuse one failing. Besides, we are assured by Mr Stephens (53), that this piece was left imperfect by Sir Henry; and moreover, that he had been plundered of some of the papers: upon which account, he was forced to omit divers additions material to the argument committed to him by the learned Knight.

(48) Ovid. *Me-*
tamorph. lib. 4.

(49) Id. lib. 14.

(50) Pharf. 5.

(51) In *Agam-*
emna.

(52) *Liber de*
congr. eruend.
gratia.

(53) In the *De-*
dedication to Mr
Crew and
Knightly of
Northampton-
shire.

mistakes of the authors of it touching the maintenance of the ministry by such means; (3) *Animadversions on the Kentish petition*, published by Jeremiah Stephens, B. D. according to the appointment and trust of the Author. In this treatise Sir Henry shews the danger of changing tythes for any other way of maintenance, as of a pecuniary stipend, from the alteration in the value of money; and observes, that the change of the laws, which have continued for above a thousand years, and of a right settled by common law, will produce many mischiefs, especially to the crown, in payment of tenths and first-fruits. He likewise takes notice of the peculiar fitness of this way of support above all others, from the Clergy's sharing the same fortune with the people, according to the times of plenty or scarceness. In 1656 came out a piece, intituled *Villare Anglicanum*, or *A view of the towns of England*, collected by the appointment, at the charge, and for the use, of that learned antiquary Sir Henry Spelman [FF]. In 1663, the same trustee, Mr Stephens, entered upon the execution of the other part of his trust, and began to print *The History of Sacrilege* [GG]; but, being forbid to

[FF] *Villare Anglicanum*.] By the title it does not appear, whether our Author had any, or what share he had in this work; but the point is, in some measure, cleared up by Bishop Nickelson, who tells us (54) it was said to be composed by Mr Henry and Mr Dodsworth: though he thinks the greatest part of it was drawn out of the alphabetical tables on the back of the maps in Speed's *Theatre of Great Britain*.

[GG] *The History of Sacrilege was burnt in the fire of London*.] Mr Wood tells us, that both the whole Copy, and all the sheets printed off, were then destroyed. That account, it seems, made it generally believed at Oxford that the whole book was irrecoverably lost, till the manuscript given by Bishop Barlow came into the Bodleian library in 1693; not long after which, Mr Gibson, then of Queen's College, upon examining those manuscripts, happened to meet with a part of it among them, which putting him upon a further enquiry, he found other parts in other places, and throwing all together into order, brought the work, as seemed to him, to be pretty intire; and in 1695 printed a kind of plan of it, as we have already mentioned, when he published our Author's posthumous works, amongst which he tells us, this might have appeared, had not the same reason still continued in force, which he had been told by a learned Bishop put a stop to the first attempt for publishing it, still subsisted, since some persons, says he, in the present age would be apt to interpret the mention of their Predecessors in such a manner, and upon such an occasion, as an unpardonable reflection upon their families (55). But three years afterwards, in 1698, it happened, that the copy of the manuscript fell into the hands of (it seems) a less discreet person (56), who resolved to let the world make what use of it they pleased. And, at the same time, to prevent all suspicion of any indirect dealing with Mr Gibson, does him the justice to aver, that he was no way, either by advice or consent, or so much as connivance, privy to the publication of it. The Editor likewise pays another office of respect due, he says, to the ashes of the author, which is, that his rare talents and pen are not to be measured by this one performance; for indeed, says he, this *History of Sacrilege* seems to be the most abortive of all his posthumous works. This is so amply true, and it is so very rude a draught, that I cannot forbear thinking it might be one, if not the chief reason why Mr Gibson contented himself with giving the general plan of it, by which his Reader might form some idea what the structure would have been, had Sir Henry found leisure to compleat it, or had not Mr Stephens, to whom it was left to perfect and complete, been prevented in the execution of his trust. As it is now printed, the Author having first laid down a general definition of sacrilege, then reckons up the various kinds of it, as to places, persons, and things, and thence enumerating at large the many signal punishments of it in Heathens, Jews, and Christians, in general, proceeds afterwards to the *History of England* in particular, beginning ann. 996. with Egbert, the third King of Kent from Ethelbert, and so proceeds through the Saxon, and then the Norman race, sufficient to incite the curiosity of Persons of the same turn with the Author to peruse it, without exposing him to the derision of the generality. He gives an account of Edward I's seizing the revenues of the Priories aliens, and the riches of the Monasteries, for the support of his wars, as also the same of Edward III; and afterwards he relates the attempt, together with the defeat of it, upon the lands of those Priories, made by Henry IV, which, he takes notice, was at the time of Wickliff's attempt to introduce a change in the religion. From thence he descends to the actual suppression of those Priories by Henry V, and so to the general dissolution

under Henry VIII (57), which, in respect of the rest, (stiled rivers) he calls the *ocean* of iniquity, and mentioning the calamities that ensued upon that King and his Posterity, he makes this singular remark, that as the Issue of Nebuchadnezzar was extinct, and his kingdom given to another nation the Sixty-Sixth year after he had rifled the Temple of Jerusalem; so about the same period that King Henry VIII. began to sack the Monasteries, with their Churches, was his whole issue extinct, male and female, legitimate and illegitimate, and his kingdom transferred to another Nation. However, that section is not concluded without declaring, that the extinguishment of Henry's issue by the immortally renowned Queen Elizabeth, was a golden period. This affinity dwelt much upon our Author's mind. He takes notice of it, both in his *Great work of Tythes*, and in the tract *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* (58), with the same application of it to King James, in these elegant Latin words; *Nescio quo fato ut eadem temporis periodo, viz. ann. 68, post ereptas a Nebuchad. et Hen. VIII, res templorum stirps utrisque regia extincta sit, imperium sublatum et ad aliam gentem devolutum. Uterius igitur speremus Cyrum nostrum Jacobum Regem, qui Sceptra dissidentia comescuit, restitutionis etiam munus aliquando aggressurum* (59). After relating the fate of the King and Royal Family, he extends his remarks to the principal Agents in that affair, and so to the new Owners of the lands, and to the Lords who promoted and passed the Dissolution Act (60). Whereupon Mr Gibson justly observes, that he is far from affirming that the Persons being concerned in the affair (either as Promoters of the alienation, or Possessors of the lands) was directly the occasion of the calamities that ensued. On the contrary, he declares more than once, that he will not presume to judge, but only relates plain matters of fact, and leaves every man to make his own application. But though he was wise enough not to wade so far out of the depth of human reason, in attempting to convince the understanding by a method liable to unanswerable difficulties; yet his professed design is to incline the will, and govern the actions, by possessing the mind with a fixt belief and persuasion, without such conviction. This is a common weakness, and indeed the bulk of mankind in most things are, and must unavoidably be, governed by these kind of reasonings. In the mean time, it is through this weakness, that the corruptions of the Church of Rome crept in, and took sure hold of the people. And it is owing to the same weakness (inherent to human nature) that in England we are not yet, and perhaps never shall be, purged from a fond belief of the continuance of miracles, even to the third and fourth centuries. An illustrious instance of this has been lately given by a very celebrated Author, who, though purged from the lump, yet retains some crums of the old Leaven. The late Bishop of London, Dr Gibson, likewise has not omitted to push this engine of government, in the case now before us. After he had taken notice, that our Author relates *rem gestam* only, without making particular applications, he proceeds in these words. 'Though it must be granted, that many of the Instances, and those too well attested, are so terrible in the event, and in the circumstances so surprizing, that no considering person can well pass them over.' The mischief that has formerly, and may still accrue from this method of leading the people by that mixture of enthusiasm, which enters into the composition of every Englishman, has extorted these animadversions. Otherwise it must (if ever) be excusable in the case of restoring tythes to the Church, the right being asserted by so many much better, not to say convincing, arguments. In the last chapter of this *History of Sacrilege* containing an account of some Monasteries in Norfolk, our Author observes (61), that having

(57) Here he gives a particular detail of the succession to Sherburn castle in Dorsetshire, observing that it was given by King James to Prince Henry, but the King would not suffer Prince Charles to have it because of the ill success. Received from the Lord Keeper, May 9, 1626, p. 128.

(58) In a note at p. 92, fourth Edit. in 1668.

(59) In the *History of Sacrilege* he takes notice of King James's promise to this purpose in his letters to the Universities, on his first coming to the Crown, in 1603.

(60) Among these are the Bishops, notwithstanding he had elsewhere offered an argument to clear them from any guilt in this matter. See Remark [Q].

(61) P. 262, 263.

(54) In his *Historical Library*, part 1. p. 13. Edit. 1696.

(55) Mr Stephens made several additions long after Sir Henry's death, as appears in the printed Copy, p. 48. et seqq. p. 129. et 177.

(56) Dr White Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. See in his Article, p. 2823. and Remark [L].

to proceed, lest it should give offence to some of the nobility and gentry (ii), the work stuck in the press till the fire of London, when it was burnt. And the second volume of *The Councils* [HH] being put to the press about the same time, the greatest part of the impression suffered the same fate in that dreadful conflagration (kk). The copy had been put into the hands of Sir *William Dugdale* by Archbishop *Selden* and the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, after the Restoration of *K. Charles II.* And those Lords at the same time enquired of Sir *William*, what became of the second part of the *Glossary* [II], or whether it was ever finished.

He

(ii) So says Mr *Gibson*, see Rem. [GG]. But Mr *Wood* mentions no such hindrance. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. ed. 341.

(kk) *Gibson's* life of our Author.

having gotten his information privately, many things, no doubt, had been mistaken by his Informers, and therefore he desires, that wherever it so falleth out, his credit may not be engaged on it. I shall therefore take the liberty to mention one notorious mistake, which however, by the account of it, could not well be wilful, and that is, in the Instance of *Walsingham Abbey*, which, says our Author, was Sir *Thomas Gresham's*, who died (as was said) suddenly in his kitchen, without Issue male, which is confirmed by *Holingshead* (62). But what follows, that his daughter and heirs was married to Sir *William Read*, who had this Abbey, wants correction. For this *William Read*, who was first husband to Sir *Thomas Gresham's* wife, had by that Lady Issue *William Read*, Esq; who was knighted in the beginning of *King James's* reign, and was heir to his mother, Lady *Gresham*, whence his son, Sir *Thomas Read*, became possessed of *Osterley-park*, and died without Issue, having married *Mildred*, second daughter of *Thomas Cecil Lord Burleigh* (63), as is related by our Author.

[HH] *The second volume of his Councils.*] This, together with the second part of his *Glossary*, was put, by the direction of Archbishop *Selden* and Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, into the hands of Sir *William Dugdale*, who made considerable additions to it out of the Archbishop's Registers, and the Cottonian Library; inasmuch, that he affirms, in a letter to Mr *Spelman*, Sir *Henry's* grandson, that of the two hundred sheets in that book, not above fifty-seven were of his grandfather's collection. And it appears from some papers in the Bodleian Library, under the hands of Sir *William Dugdale* and Sir *Henry Spelman*, that the latter had left little more towards the second volume, than hints and references, where the Councils were to be met with. In this edition of 1664, there are abundance of faults, occasioned by the negligence, either of the Copyer, or Corrector, or both. Mr *Somner*, sensible of this, took great pains in collating the printed copy with many of the original records, and corrected the errors in the margin of his own book (64). This book is now in the library of the Church of *Canterbury*, and will be a good help, as Mr *Gibson* observes (65), towards a more accurate edition, as well as those collections of Mr *Junius*, which were in the possession of the Reverend Mr *Jones*, Rector of *Sunningwell*, not far from *Oxford*. Accordingly, a complete edition of the English Councils was published by Dr *David Wilkins*, in 1737, in four volumes folio. To which he was further encouraged, doubtless, by what Archdeacon *Nicholson* observes (66) concerning such an undertaking. 'The truth is, says he, we much want a new edition of that volume [of Sir *Henry Spelman*,] the greatest part of the impression having been burnt in the Fire of London, so that the book is hardly to be met with, and incorrect as it is, hath ever since borne an immoderate price. I know no work, that would be a greater service to our Church, than an intire History of all the Councils before the Reformation, (for the account of them which we have already, is far from being intire) with the addition of a Third Volume, to contain the public affairs of our reformed Church. The great discoveries of manuscripts, the many observations made by the learned Bishop of Worcester [Dr *Stillingfleet*], and others upon the constitution of the British and Saxon Churches, and the general approbation that the work must needs meet with, are all of them very good assistances, as well as encouragements to such an undertaking. It is probable, that toward the last part, some assistance may be had from that manuscript of Sir *William Dugdale*, intitled Papers to be made use of for a Third Volume of Councils, in *Musæo Ashmoleano Oxon.* Though I fear not so much as the title promifes.'

[II] *The second part of his Glossary was published by the care of Sir William Dugdale.*] The share that Sir *William* had in the publication of this second part, has been made the ground of a suspicion, that he inserted many things of his own, which were not in Sir *Henry*

Spelman's copy, and particularly some passages which tend to the enlargement of the prerogative, in opposition to the liberties of the subject. The objection was raised on occasion of a controversy between Mr *Petyt* and Dr *Brady*, about the Antiquity of the Commons in Parliament. The authority of Sir *Henry* being urged to prove, that there was no such thing as a House of Commons till the time of *Henry III.* it was agreed on both sides, that this learned Knight was a very competent Judge of that Controversy; that as he had thoroughly studied our Constitution, so he always wrote without partiality or prejudice; and that he was not engaged in a party, nor had any other design, but to publish the truth fairly and honestly, as he found it asserted by the best historians. Upon these grounds his opinion in matters of this nature has ever been thought considerable, and his bare judgment will always be valued, when we can be sure that it is his own. And there can be no doubt but that his assertions under the word *Parliamentum*, upon which the controversy was raised, are his own, and not an Interpolation by Sir *William Dugdale*. For the very copy, from which it was printed, is now in the Bodleian Library, in Sir *Henry Spelman's* own hand-writing, and agrees exactly with the printed book; particularly in the passages under that dispute, they are the same word for word. So far then as that copy goes (for it ends at the word *Rieta*) it is a certain testimony, that Sir *William Dugdale* did no more than mark it for the Printer, and transcribe here and there a loose paper. And though the rest of the Copy was lost before it came to the *Oxford* Library, and so we have not the same authority for the *Glossary's* being genuine after the letter R; yet it is not likely that Sir *William* had any more share in these last letters of the alphabet, than he had in any of the rest; for all the parts of such a work must of necessity be carried on at the same time; and therefore the Author could not but leave nearly equal materials for the whole. But what puts it beyond all doubt is, that Dr *Brady*, who was concerned to prove the second part all genuine, appealed for the truth of this assertion to Sir *William Dugdale* himself, who was then alive. Moreover, Mr *Gibson* assures us (67), 'that he had seen a letter from Sir *William* to Mr *Charles Spelman*, giving him an account of the great losses which he had sustained by the Fire of London, and the pains he had taken in the publication of the *Councils* and *Glossary*: as to the first, he expressly lays claim to the better half of it, as his own work and collection; adding, that if the impression had not perished, in all right and reason he ought to have had a consideration for the same; and also, continues he, for my pains in fitting the copy of the *Glossary* for the Printer, by marking it for the difference of letter, and introducing and transcribing those loose papers, left by your Grandfather without his directions where they should come in. This is all that he claims as to the *Glossary*, and if he had had any further share in it, it is likely he would have insisted upon it on this occasion, to convince Mr *Spelman* more effectually of the good services he had done him in that affair.'

It was necessary to be more particular in this matter, because if it should appear, that Sir *William Dugdale* had taken the liberty of adding, or altering; every single page would be liable to suspicion, and the whole much weakened: for though he was extremely well versed in our English affairs, yet it must be owned, that Sir *Henry Spelman* was a better Judge of our ancient Customs and Constitutions, and consequently whatever he delivers as his opinion, will always be allowed a proportionable authority. 'Had he put, says Mr *Gibson*, his last hand to the second part, the *Glossary*, as it is now printed together, would have made a much nobler work; but the latter part, in comparison of the other, is jejune and scanty, and every one must see, that it is little more than a collection of materials, out of which he intended to compose such discourses, as he has all along given us in the first part, under the words of greatest import

and

2) In his Chr. 1310.

3) See Sir Tho. Spelman's Art. at the End.

64) Life of Mr N. Somner, by White Kennet, D. D. Oxford 693, p. 39.

65) In his Life of Sir Henry Spelman.

66) In his Historical Library, part 2, p. 36.

(67) In the Life of Sir Henry, ubi supra.

He told them that it was finished by the Author, and that the copy was in the hands of Mr Charles Spelman, Grandson to Sir Henry. They expressed a desire to have it printed, and that he would prevail upon Mr Spelman to do it; but the grandson excusing himself on account of the expence, the two Lords procured a good number of subscriptions, and referred the management of printing it to Sir William Dugdale, and the work was published in 1607, with a dedication to Lord Chancellor Hyde, by Mr Charles Spelman. This part, as was likely, met with a much better reception from the public than had been given to the first; and in some years was become so scarce (ll), that it was thought worth while to print another edition. Our Author also left in manuscript, *A scheme of the abbreviations, and such other obsolete forms of writing, as occur in our ancient manuscripts, to facilitate the reading of ancient books and records*; and another *Of ancient deeds and charters*; a third also *Of the original of testaments and wills, and of their probate to whom it anciently belonged*; a fourth, *Of the admiral's jurisdiction and the officers thereof*. There was likewise found among his papers, *A discourse of the ancient government of England in general, and another of parliaments in particular*; and lastly, *A catalogue of the places and dwellings of the Archbishops and Bishops of this realm, now or of former times, in which their several owners have ordinary jurisdiction, as of a parcel of their diocese, though they be situate within the precinct of another Bishop's diocese*. This appeared to be drawn up in the reign of K. James I, for the use of the then Archbishop of Canterbury (mm). In 1625 there was published in folio, by Mr Edmund Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, a collection of tracts, intitled *The English works of Sir Henry Spelman*. This was followed by another collection from the same hand, intitled *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ, The Posthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, Knt. relating to the laws and antiquities of England, published from the original manuscripts in 1698, folio*. These two collections were reprinted together in 1723, in one volume folio. In relation to Sir Henry's children, already mentioned, we have only to add, that Mr Wheloc (nn) assures us, the daughter, who was married to Sir Ralph Whitfield, was a Lady of uncommon talents, and every way worthy of her father; of his sons, the youngest, named Clement, being bred to the law, was made a puisne baron of the Exchequer upon the restoration of K. Charles II; and Mr Wood informs us (oo), that he published some pieces relating to the government, besides a large preface to his father's book *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* [KK]. He died in June, 1679, and was interred in St Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, London. Our Author's eldest son, Sir John Spelman, was a gentleman of great learning, inasmuch that we are told (pp), if he had lived, he would have excelled his father, who seems to have taken extraordinary care of his education, and expressly left him the heir of his studies. He was bred at Trinity college in Cambridge, and travelled abroad afterwards for further improvement (qq). It was at his father's request, that he published Alfred's Saxon Psalter, under the title of *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus* in 1640 in 4to (rr). He had great encouragement and assurance of favour from K. Charles I, who, having sent for his father, offered him the mastership of Sutton's hospital, with some other advantages, in consideration of his good services both in church and state: but, after his humble thanks to his Majesty, Sir Henry told him, that he was very old, and had one foot in the grave, and that it would be a much higher obligation, if his Majesty would please to consider his son. Accordingly, very soon after Sir Henry's death, the King sent for Mr Spelman, and immediately conferred on him the honour of knighthood at Whitehall, December 18, 1641 (ss). After the civil war broke out, his Majesty, by a letter under his own hand, commanded him from his house in Norfolk to give his attendance at Oxford, where he was often called to private council (tt), and employed to write several pieces in vindication of the proceedings of the court, among which one was *A view of a printed book*, intitled *Observations upon his Majesty's late answers and epistles, printed at Oxford, 1642, in six sheets 4to (uu)*. He was the author likewise of another piece, intitled *The case of our affairs in law, religion, and other circumstances, briefly examined, and presented to the conscience*, printed in 1643, in five

‘ and usefulness. It was my good fortune to find, ‘ among others of his papers, two of these dissertations, *De Mareschallo Angliæ, et De Milite*.’ Accordingly, he published them in *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*.

[KK] *A Preface to De non temerandis Ecclesiis*.] Mr Gibson rightly observes (68), that it contains many things relating to Improvements, and several things relating to the Judgments of God upon Sacrilege, which seems to be taken from his Father's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*; and hence it appears, that Mr Gibson had perused that treatise thoroughly, which makes it still more unaccountable, that he should take no notice of that passage in it, where Sir Henry mentions his being a boy at Winchelsea (69) School. The son, in this Preface, adds another Instance to those of the destruction of the families of Nebuchadnezzar, and Henry VIII, within the fatal period of sixty-eight years; observing, that what the Author notes of Nebuchadnezzar and Henry VIII, is also true of William the Conqueror; for that in the sixty-eighth year after his destroying St Peter's Church at York, which was in his second year, his name is extinct, and his kingdom devolved to another nation, Plantagenet takes his Crown (70).

Mr Spelman lived in great friendship, and was much

respected by Dr John Berwick, who upon the dawn of the Restoration, having a correspondence with Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, took an opportunity to mention him in one of his letters to that Minister, then in the highest favour with King Charles II, and the Chancellor returned the following answer, in a letter dated February 20, 1660. ‘ I do thank you with all my heart, for giving me an opportunity of sending my service to Clement Spelman, whom I know to be a very worthy person, and whose affection the King is obliged to reward, which he resolves to do. I pray remember my service very kindly to him, and let him know, that I did receive the books long since, with a very great sense of the obligation, and did return my acknowledgments by the last three letters to Dr Ryves, which it seems he never received. I have had froward fortune with respect to Clement Spelman, to whom I heard, a gentleman without any authority from me did very impertinently and absurdly deliver a compliment in my name; and all those ways by which I did, in truth, endeavour to let him know how much I am his servant, have been disappointed.

‘ I pray know of him, whether his father left any advance in the Glossary (71).

(ll) In the preface to the edition in 1687, by J. A. that editor tells us the former impression was quickly bought up, and the book for several years before grown so scarce, as not to be had at any rate.

(mm) It was found in Sir Henry's library, and therefore judged by Mr Gibson to be of his writing. Life of Sir Henry.

(nn) In his preface to Bede, as before.

(oo) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 685.

(pp) In the preface to the Latin translation of the life of Alfred.

(qq) His life of K. Alfred, lib. 3. § 60.

(rr) In a letter to Mr Camden, Sir Henry expresses a great sense of that author's favour, with many expressions of kindness, to his son, in a recommendation given him on his travels into France. Camden's letters, No. 226.

(ss) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 32.

(tt) Mr Obad. Walker intimates, that the King had it in his thoughts to make him Secretary of State. Pref. to Ælfred.

(uu) This was given by Mr Spelman to bishop Barlow, who told Mr Wood of it. Ath. Ox. as before.

(68) P. 24. Edit. 1688.

(69) Upon enquiry, I am assured there is no town in Norfolk of this name; whence it is probably an Error of the press for one of those, whose first syllable is Winch, of which there are many in the county. However, this uncertainty may account for Dr Gibson's silence.

(70) Speed's History of Great Britain, fol. 46.

(71) Life of Dr John Berwick, &c. p. 457. Edit. 1721, 8v

(72) See more of this article in the Supplement, communicated too late for a place here by Edward Spelman, Esq; a gentleman of an ample fortune, and distinguished learning, and great grandson of Clement, the youngest son of Sir Henry.

sheets 4to. But while he was thus attending the affairs of the public, and, when those would give him leave, his own private studies, he was seized with the camp-disease at Brazen-nose college, where he had resided while he was at Oxford, which put an end to his life, July 25, 1644. He was interred in St Mary's, the university church, Archbishop *Usher*, an intimate acquaintance both of father and son, preaching his funeral sermon by his Majesty's especial order (*xxx*). He left a manuscript of *The life of K. Alfred the great* [LL], in English, which was translated into Latin some time after the Restoration by Mr *Christopher Wase*, superior beadle of the civil law at Oxford, which translation, with notes and cuts by Mr *Obadiab Walker*, master of University college, was published from the theatre prefs in 1679, folio. The original English was also published from the same prefs by Mr *Thomas Hearne* in 1709, 8vo (*xx*).

(xxv) Wood, ubi supra.

(73) See lib. ii. §. 66.

[LL] *The Life of King Alfred.* It is dedicated to the Prince, afterwards King Charles II, and divided into three books. The Author intended to put some additions by way of Appendix; as particularly the Preface to *Ælfred's* translation of Gregory's Pastoral, directed to Wicfort, then Bishop of London (72); but as no such thing appeared in the manuscript, Mr *Obadiab Walker* put it to the end of his Latin translation, as also a pedigree from that King to King Charles II, in two parts; one from *Ælfred* to Henry II, of the English line; and the other from Henry II, to King James I, of the Scottish line, and thence to King Charles II: of which descent Mr *Spelman* had taken notice, both in his Dedication to the King, then Prince of Wales, and at the end of his History. Mr *Hearne*, speaking of these additions by Mr *Walker* in the Appendix, says (73) he had seen them quoted by some learned men, as being the addition of Sir *John Spelman* himself. This history occasioned several things to be wrote, and one especially by *Anthony Wood*, in his *Hist. et Antiquat. Univ. Oxon.* in defence of the Antiquity of the University of Oxford, which he will have (as well as Mr *Hearne*) to have been a Nursery for Academical Learning before the time of King *Alfred*, who, they both say (74) after Mr *Camden*, was orly the Restorer of it: contrary to what is here largely argued by Sir *John Spelman* (75), who maintains that

Ælfred was not the Restorer (there being no such thing as an University before him) but absolutely the First Founder of it. Our Author struts up his history with these elegant Latin Verses, well worthy of a place here, as follows.

Auctoris ad *Ælfredem* suam.

Dum Te perpetuo Gens barbara Marte fatigat,
Nec vacat (Armipotens *Ælfred*) ab hoste manus;
Et dum barbaries (belli comitata furem)
Corripit heu! Sacri quicquid in Orbe fuit;
Jura, Dei cultus, Mores, bona dulcia pacis,
Musæ, Artes, Merces, Te faciente, vigent.
Magne Pater Patriæ Regum Regnique Britanni
Quantus eras, vetitum jam fore scire dolet.
O quam mente capax! O quam virtute coruscus!
Exsuperant nostram quam tua facta fidem!
Culmina summa tenus diadema Nepotibus auctum
Tradis, permodicum quod fuit ante Tibi.
O qui fit (virtute parem quum vix tulit Orbis)
Te mundo tantum delituisse tenus!
Maluit hoc siquidem fatum ignorare Nepotes,
Res potius quam non credere posse tuas.

(73) At the end of his Edition of this history.

(74) See Mr *Hearne's* long note upon this point at § 34.

(75) He spends almost the greatest part of the third book upon this Argument, from § 20. to § 64. the whole book containing 121 sections.

SPENCER, [Dr JOHN] a learned Divine in the XVIIth Century, was a native of Bocton under Bleane in Kent, where he was baptized October 31, 1630 (a). While an infant, he lost his father, who leaving him in very narrow circumstances, the care and expence of his education was undertaken by an uncle; and being sent to the free-school at Canterbury, he made a very quick proficiency, became King's scholar, and, at the age of fourteen, was recommended by Mr *Jackson*, then the only Prebendary of that church, to a scholarship of Archbishop *Parker's* foundation in Corpus-Christi college in Cambridge [A], into which he was admitted on the 25th of March, 1645 (b). He applied himself diligently to his studies, under his Tutor, Mr *Richard Kennet* [B]; and, having taken both his degrees

(a) Lewis's Antiquities of Feversham, &c. p. 17. edit. 1727. 4to; and Jones's school-feast sermon, p. 17. edit. 1728.

(b) History of Corpus-Christi college in Cambridge, by Rob. Masters, p. 163. Camb. 1753, 4to.

[A] He was recommended by Mr *Jackson*, &c.] The letter was drawn up in these terms.

To the right worshipfull my reverend good friend,
Richard Love, Doctor in Divinitie, and Master of
Benet Colledge in Cambridge. These presents.

Reverend Sir,

This great storme hath so scattered the members of this society, that my poore self hath long been left alone, to the great prejudice of the church, both in domestick and forrein occasions; among others, we have heard, (though not after the wonted legall and loving respect) that there is a Scholar's place voide in your college (to present whereunto you have been pleased to afford the Dean and Prebendaries of this Church the honour and respect.) If so, I cannot but humbly commend to your pious and charitable consideration this Bearer, *John Spencer*, a King's Schollar in this our Cathedral Schoole; wherein, as he hath bene commendably proficient, so his Parents and Friends are of that worthe and respecte, that they help concurring, may afford him a competencye to traine him up for that he most desyreth. And this I presume the rest of my brethren, if at home, would have subscribed.

Your true Friend and Servant,

C. C. C. Nov. 3,
1644 (1).

Thomas Jackson.

[B] Under his Tutor, Mr. Richard Kennet.] Our Author always retained a great regard for this gentleman. VOL. VI. No. CCCXVII.

man, and not without good reason. In reality his personal worth, though an Antiroyalist, was such as deserves some memorial of it. He was a native of Kent, and educated at the King's School at Canterbury, was admitted a Sizer of Bennet College, 3 Feb. 1636, and nominated to a scholarship belonging to that school by Archbishop *Laud*, 7 July, 1640, with the character of a studious and towardy young man (2). He took the degree of A. B. soon after, and proceeded to A. M. in 1644, being about that time put into a fellowship upon the ejection of one *Tonstall* by the Assembly of Divines, when he commenced Tutor, and had Dr *Spencer* for one of his Pupils. He was *Taxer* of the University, and one of their Preachers in 1648, but was removed from his fellowship in 1650 for refusing the engagement, telling the Visitors he had always been faithful to the Parliament, and was preferred by them, and is now of the same principles he was, but could not satisfy himself in this particular (3). However, he was restored to his fellowship in 1654, by an Ordinance of Parliament (4). He commenced B. D. the following year, and presented *Buxtorf's* Hebrew Lexicon and Concordance to the Library of the College, which he probably left upon his institution to the vicarage of *East-Hatley* in Cambridgeshire; from whence, upon another change of times, he was ejected, by the *Bartholomew Act*, in 1663. Whereupon his friend Mr *Stillingfleet* (afterwards Bishop of Worcester, but) then Rector of *Sutton* in Bedfordshire assisted him in taking a large house in his parish, where having provided a Conformist Teacher, he set up a private school, and had many Gentlemen's sons committed to his care. And so well was he respected by them, that upon his

(2) From the Original, under the Archbishop's seal. Printed in Grey's Answer to Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 147.

(3) Calamy's Account of ejected Ministers, Vol. II. p. 118. and Vol. III. p. 151.

(4) Masters, as before, p. 151. who observes, that Calamy, according to his usual dissingenuity, takes no notice, either of his being put in, or of his being restored, p. 325.

(1) Masters. Hist. of C.C.C.C. as above, in the Append. No. 4.

(c) *Viz.* That of A. B. in 1648, and A. M. in 1652. *Ibid.*

in Arts at the regular periods (c), he was chosen Fellow of his college about the year 1655. In this station, the straitness of his fortune still requiring industry to provide a competent support [C], he undertook the instruction of pupils; and, entering into holy orders, he served the cures, first of St Gyles, and then of St Benedict, in Cambridge. These employments put him upon exerting his talents in the pulpit, and he distinguished himself so much there, that, after some time, he was appointed University Preacher. In 1659 he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity; and, as I do not find that he met with any disturbance in the possession of his Fellowship, it is probable that he followed the example of Dr Love, then Master of the College (d), who is said to have acquiesced in most of the measures that were taken during the Usurpation, without any wise approving them [D]. Accordingly, Mr Spencer joined heartily in the general joy at the Restoration, and June 28, 1660, being appointed a Day of Thanksgiving for it, he preached the sermon on that occasion before the University, which was printed the same year at Cambridge in 4to, under the title of *The Righteous Ruler*. In the same spirit he drew up a Preservative against the malicious attempts of the Nonconformist Fanatics, who, in a periodical paper, entitled *Mirabilis annus*, printed in 1660, and the two following years, with a design to overturn the newly restored ancient establish-

(d) See the account of him in the article of Abp Tenison.

ment's leaving him, he was connived at in taking the whole charge upon himself, with only his Wife's son for an Usher. He was excellently fitted for this employment, and his death, which happened on the 23d of January, 1670, was accordingly lamented. He was buried in the chancel of Sutton Church, and Mr Stephens, the Minister thereof, preached his funeral sermon, wherein he gave him the character of a moderate man, both in principles and practice, who was generous in his temper, free and communicative in his conversation, and although he did not chuse to conform in all things, yet was a constant attendant upon the public service of the Church. He bore his last sickness, which was a fever, with great patience and submission to the Divine Will; and as his life had been upright, so his end was peace. He was nearly related to Mr Basil Kennet, Vicar of Postling in Kent, the Father of White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, and of Basil Kennet, President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. He left a widow behind him in low circumstances, to whom Dr Spencer was very kind for his sake, having frequently visited her as long as she lived (5).

(5) *Ibid.* p. 167.

[C] *His narrow fortune required industry to provide a support.* This is not said with any view of detracting from the just merit of his industry, of which it is certainly no disparagement to suppose it to be quickened by the spur of necessity, arising from the extraordinary crisis of his affairs at this juncture. We have already observed, that his Father leaving him young, and in very narrow circumstances, he was brought up at the expence of an Uncle. But this Uncle, who had kept an exact account of all the disbursements for his education, dying soon after he was chosen Fellow, and in a way of getting his own living, without having cancelled this legal demand upon him, it was made by the Uncle's Sons and Executors in so rigorous a manner, that not being able to raise the money himself, he was forced to communicate his distress to his friends in the Society (among whom was Dr Tenison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) who generously made a loan, which discharged the debt (6).

(6) *Ibid.* p. 168. note (k).

[D] *He submitted to the Usurpation, without approving it.* We have already given one remarkable instance of our Author's conduct, which shews that no change was made in his first friendships to deserving persons, by their differing from him in the subject of Conformity to the Ecclesiastical Establishment. And as this is not the least amiable part of his character, we shall here produce another proof of it in the person of one Mr Thomas Hill, of whom we have the following account. That he was educated at Repton School in Derbyshire, his native country; was sent thence to Bennet College, and admitted a Sizer in September 1645, where after performing the office of Chapel-clerk, and a continuance of four years, he proceeded A. B. But upon the Engagement, which he did not approve, being imposed upon scholars, he chose to leave the University to avoid it, and became Chaplain to the Countess of Chesterfield at Tamworth-Castle. He was ordained by the classical presbytery at Wirksworth in 1652, commenced a Preacher first at Elvaston in Derbyshire, from whence he was called to Orton on the Hill in Leicestershire, where he continued (allowing the fifts to the sequestered Minister, Mr Porter) till the Restoration, when the latter was again put into possession by an Order from the House of Lords. But the small Living of *Sbatington* in Warwickshire being vacant about that time, he was presented to it by the son of his Patroness abovementioned; which, although the

five miles Act and some others soon rendered him incapable of serving personally, yet he got it supplied by another, of whose nonconformity no notice was taken whilst his Patron continued to him the Cornthythes belonging to himself, and all other profits. He removed however to a house of his own at *Lee-Grange*, near Orton, where he frequently preached to a crowded audience; and by using prudence, gained an opportunity of exercising his ministry, without disturbance; whilst some others were molested, and met with such treatment as discouraged both them and their people. His labours of this kind after his ejection, (which happened when his parts were well ripened and strengthened) were supposed to hasten his death (although otherwise of a firm and healthy constitution) which overtook him about the fiftieth year of his age. In his person he is described of stature somewhat low, with black hair, a graceful countenance and features, seeming indications of the capacity and virtues of his mind; wherein he was distinguished by a profound judgment, and a general knowledge in literature: at his first admission in the College, his skill in the learned languages was superior to most, and afterwards the errors in philosophy, since insisted on by Mr Lock and others, did not escape his observation. Nor was he unacquainted with the Mathematics, although Metaphysics was his favourite study. He was well versed in History in general, and Ecclesiastical Antiquity in particular; and such a thorough knowledge had he of the Scriptures, that in his Sermons (wherein was nothing ordinary, but something always new) he had a mighty felicity in unfolding its more recondite parts, to the no small Entertainment as well as Edification of his Auditors. But his Labours were not confined to the pulpit, for being desirous of doing all the good he could, he also instructed his people privately and personally, which he thought the duty of every Overseer of a flock. He was much respected by his neighbours and many other considerable persons, whether Conformists or Nonconformists, who all agreed in acknowledging his worth, and always paid the greatest deference to his opinion. He never indeed printed any thing himself, but he frequently gave his sentiments upon the writings of others; and so much was he admired for the masculine and unaffected eloquence in his discourses, as well as for his clear and pleasing voice, that he was invited to succeed Mr Blake at Tamworth, which however he thought fit to decline: and so great a contempt had he for the world and its emoluments, that when he was solicited to preach before the *Protector*, and offered to be recommended to his favour, he refused it. In short, he was a person of true piety, candour, and sincerity; who to an indefatigable industry in his Studies and the business of his Calling, added an universal charity (7).

(7) Calamy, as before, Vol. II. p. 745. and Continuation, Vol. IV. p. 845. Kennet's *Histor.* Reg. 896, 917.

With this gentleman, who was admitted of Bennet College about the same time with himself, Dr Spencer contracted an early and intimate acquaintance, which, notwithstanding their differing notions about Conformity, continued to the end of *Hill's* life; as appears by a correspondence of Letters referred to by *Calamy*, wherein the Doctor expresses a high regard and affection for him: and made him some kind and generous offers, whenever he should have a son fit to send to the University. His charity indeed to Nonconformist ministers, if good and pious men, was, it seems, so extensive, that he, with the learned Dr *Henry More*, made one of them [Mr *Robert Wilson*] their Almoner, in this branch of it (8).

(8) *Masters.* *Hist. &c.* p. 267.

ment of the church and state, as a scheme which was bringing down God's judgments on the Nation. Dr Spencer's preservative was published under the title of, *A discourse concerning prodigies: wherein the vanity of presages by them is reprehended, and their true and proper use asserted and vindicated* [E], in 1663, 8vo; and, to complete this view, he added

a further

[E] *A Discourse concerning Prodiges, &c.* However mouldy with age this vulgar error may be grown at present, so as to have lost every inducement to handle it; yet that was far from being the case, when it was exposed in this piece, by our Author. He declares, that his thoughts were engaged upon the argument by a consideration of the seasonableness thereof. 'We have of late, says he (9), been persuaded by three or four several impressions of books (more than were ever vented in any ethnick or Christian Commonwealth, in a much longer period of time) that England is grown Africa, and presents us every year, since the return of his Majesty, with a new scene of monstrous and strange sights; and all held forth to the people, like black clouds before a storm, the harbingers of some strange and unusual plagues, approaching to the state. And this by Persons (for the Prefaces speak in the plural) pretending an intimacy with Scripture, Fathers, Greek and Latin, Ancient and Modern Writers; an example more justly meriting the public wonder, than any those books contain; but that the nation (like the womb of Rebeckah) carries such striving and contesting parties therein. The Poets (proceeds he) feign the Giants, the Sons of Earth, to have bidden battle to the Gods, and to have perished by a thunderbolt, in the confidence of that attempt; and the Earth, their mother, to revenge the death of her sons, to have brought forth their last sister, Fame. A fable expounded by the excellent Verulam, of unquiet and seditious persons (a kind of *Fili Terræ*, the creatures of the people, usually envious against their Rulers, and soon weary of the present state of things) who when crushed and ruined in their attempts against the Gods on earth, their rightful Governors, their fall is avenged by a *Fama querula et seditiosa* (a feminine sedition), popular clamours, libels, odious representations of them to derive upon them the common envy; with which may be numbered the report of strange prodigies or prophecies, giving hopes of some approaching change of affairs: an observation which I am sure will offend none that are studious of that sacred character, *Personas quibus est quiet in the land.* Here we see the treatises, mentioned above, plainly intimated; but they are expressly named in the body of the work, which he opens with a division of prodigies in general, into *signal* and *penal*; after which, entering into particulars, he begins with Comets, as generally thought the most plausible pretenders to the honour of prophetic symbols, especially with regard to public calamities, as the deaths of sovereign Princes, &c. And having shewn this to be a very unsafe pretence, he proceeds to maintain, that it is also a very false one. 'For, says he, there sure have happened many deaths of Princes never honoured with the solemnity of any precedent Comet, or other objects of wonder, and many Comets which never seemed to blait the affairs of the world by any envious and malignant aspect thereupon: *Almost four years and a half, continues he, are passed from us since the Nation was first alarmed with the dreadful news of strange sights in heaven and earth, and yet (with all due thankfulness to God be it spoken) never did these three national felicities, PEACE, HEALTH, PLENTY, more bless our habitations in any much longer period of time: so that we have almost seen the ANNUS MIRABILIS happily refused by a SECVLUM MIRABILE* (10).'

In pursuing the subject, alluding to the story of Samson, he observes, that it was much more difficult to find out the lock in which the strength of this error lay, than it was, when found, to cut it off (11). To make this discovery is therefore his first and principal task; and, in that inquiry, having, with no ordinary sagacity and insight into human nature, laid open the several weaknesses and foibles therein, which give root to this pernicious weed, he proceeds to shew how abundantly it is watered from the spring of Authority. In which respect he observes, that it may be called the error of the world, having been justified by the united suffrages of Jews, Gentiles, Christians, ancient, modern, learned, and simple. 'As for the Jews, says he, if a good law be any indication of bad manners, we may conclude them not free from the infection of this error. God enjoyed that *there should not be found among*

them any that used divination, or an observer of times (12), 'עֲוֵי, which the LXX renders by *τεραθροσκοποι*, a regarder of prodigies and strange accidents. And we find them, upon the appearance of armed troops in the air, a little before the approach of Antiochus, praying that the omen might be turned to good (13). However the Heathens were leavened with this fond notion, the very names and titles, *Monstra, Offenta, Prodigia, Portenta*, whereby they used to express any anomalous instances of nature, are, but too pregnant a demonstration, all of them carrying in their original a promise of foreshewing somewhat future (14). Among these he expressly cites Herodotus (15), Livy (16), Valerius Maximus (17), Plutarch in his Lives (18), Dio Cassius (19), Pliny (20), Tacitus (21), Ammianus Marcell. (22), and affirms it of all the other Historians, Polybius only excepted; and he too, upon the expectations of an encounter with Hannibal, tells us (a matter not usual with him) that every temple was full of signs and prodigies (23): as also of Virgil (24), Lucan (25), Ovid (26), among the Poets. Of the Christians he produces Tertullian, who calls a *Vulcano testimonium igni æterni*; and *St Austin* (27), though, to do him right, says he, I find none so express as Origen, who, speaking concerning Comets, tells us, *it hath been observed, ἐπι μεγάλαις ταραχαῖς ἐπέστυον, &c. that so often as any eminent changes happen in the earth, such stars have been known to arise; foreshewing the translation of kingdoms, or wars, or whatever may happen of force sufficient for any great commotions here below* (28). Among learned, modern Authors, to pass over some of our first Reformers, as Luther, Melancthon, and others, he finds Grotius himself speaking of Comets, Vulcans, and the like, as signs which usually precede great changes of affairs (29). Nay even Machiavel and Pomponatius (the latter an avowed Atheist, and the former generally thought a more fast retainer to Atheism than Superstition) both abetted the observance of prodigies (30). Lastly, as to the simple and common sort of people, Prodigy hath always appeared to them as a word clothed about with Death, and a Comet creates them more solemn thoughts than Hell. With these may be ranked the Compilers of the Sibylline Oracles, whose heads are for the most part so full crammed and stuffed with reading, as to leave no room for common Judgment (31); but are occasionally mentioned by our Author, without, as not worthy of, any further notice: of the same stamp are also the Authors cited in the margin (32). But being apprehensive that the authority of a Divine of our own Church, Dr Jackson, on account of his signal piety and great learning, might have a greater influence, than all the rest put together, upon the people, whom he was endeavouring to undeceive, he tasks himself to discuss the reasoning at large of that worthy Author, who so far received prodiges *ὡς Θεῶν κηρύγματα*, as God's visible Sermons of Repentance, that we are informed he wrote a just treatise (lost in his life-time) concerning *Prodigies, or Divine Forewarnings betokening Blood* (33). 'As to which, says Dr Spencer, I profess myself not greatly tempted to follow its casual loss with any deep sighs, and that not only because men's understandings have been too much undervalued by books of that nature, already extant, to a number sufficient to a cure of the most troublesome curiosity in such inquiries. But because the few prodigies and signs of the times, commended with great seriousness to our notice in his Sermons on Luke (34) (taken for the most part out of Herodotus, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and Machiavel) will appear to any man that does not use to start at shadows, too thin and weak to bear up any such weighty and serious conclusions, as he teacheth his Reader to build upon them (the knowledge whereof I had rather should be owing to the Reader's curiosity, than to my rehearsal.) Now, I think, we may make some judgment of the value of the whole piece, by the coarleness of the remnant thereof (35). Because it designed an *Errorum Apoteosis*, a kind of consecration of the greatest part of the errors and follies of the Gentile Superstition, as appear, in a high degree of probability, from those words which fall from him in the forecited papers; where (speaking of such kind of portenta and signs of heaven, at which the Heathens used to be dismayed)

- (12) Deut. xviii. 10, 11.
- (13) 2 Maccab. v. 4.
- (14) Monstra a monstrando quod aliquod significando demonstrant, Offenta ab ostendendo, Portenta a portendendo id est praestendendo, et Prodigia quod futura predicant. S. August. De Civit. Dei lib. 23. c. 8. and Cicero, de Divin. lib. 1.
- (15) L. 6. c. 27. & l. 7. c. 57.
- (16) Ubique.
- (17) De prodigiis.
- (18) Frequenter. (19) Lib. 3. p. 262.
- (20) Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 84.
- (21) Hist. l. 5.
- (22) Lib. 21.
- (23) Hist. l. 3.
- (24) Geog. l. 1. sub fine.
- (25) Phars. l. 1. c. 12.
- (26) Metam. l. 15.
- (27) De Civit. Dei, l. 3. c. 23.
- (28) Origen in Celsum, l. 1. p. 45.
- (29) Notes in Prophet Joel. c. ii. 30.
- (30) Machiav. Disp. l. 1. c. 56. Pompon. de Incant. c. 12. Also the French Historian relates several strange events in nature precedaneous to the assassination of Henry IV. of France. Hist. de Henry le Grand, p. 515. See (31) See Remarks on Eccles. History, by Mr Jortin, p. 283, 328. Vol. I.
- (32) Kircher's Musurgia. Cornelius Gemma de natura charact. Gafpar Schottus Physic. curios. Paganus de penitentia et confess. Nebusius's Fatidica Sacra. Job. Polycarp. tract. tragic. Camerarius de Offentis. Penter's Teratoscop. Nuncius Prophet. Crollius in praef. ad Basilic. chym. Lavater de Spectris. Cornelius a Lapide Comment in Maccab. l. 2. Gaffarel's Usurbeard of Curiosities, passim. Christoph. a Castro de Vatic. Natural. Catech. Meteor. Johnston Thaumaturg. Synesius *επι ταραχαῖς*.
- (33) Vid. Preface to his book of the Eternal Truth of Scripture, Edit. 1653.
- (34) Ch. xiii. 5. and c. xxi. 25.
- (35) P. 26.

(9) In the Pref. towards the conclusion, second Edition.

(10) P. 102.

(11) Chap. V. Sect. 1. p. 525.

a further reproof of their pretended Prophets in *A short treatise concerning Vulgar Prophecies* [F], which was subjoined to the second edition of the former piece in 1665, 8vo. He

he thus delivers himself. *Though to believe as much concerning the signs of the times as the Heathens did; though to make as good, or better use of them than they did, be not sufficient to acquit us from ruin and destruction forefignified; yet not to believe as much as they did, not to make so good use as they did, not to be so much affected as they were, is enough, and more than enough, to condemn us, enough to bring that ruin and calamity, which they portend or forefignify, inevitably and in full measure upon us.* A strange speech! What is this at best, but to fet Christians *aurum colligere ex stercore* (36), to gather the gold of devout fears, and christian foresights from the dung and drofs of all the ethnic *Ostenta*, and auspicious observations, wherever occurring? In proceeding, our Author enumerates the many bad uses, instead of any good ones, which the Heathens made of these things, and then asks, Where did we ever find that these pretended alarms from heaven did waken them out of that profound sleep, into which in the darker times of Gentilism they were fallen, and persuade them, or any others into a correction of their lives and manners? Upon these accounts, continues our Author, were I inclined to an observation of Omens and Prodigies, I should (as Prodigies used to be differently interpreted) make an inverted use of the Reverend Publisher of the Doctor's Work, [*Reader, write this Prodigy, That this treatise alone concerning Prodigies should be lost, and that in the Author's life-time* (37),] and conclude, that God in favour to the understandings of men, provided that, like the dead body of Moses, it should lie buried, none knowing where, that so it might not be made an Idol of, which perhaps the reverence of so great a name, might have inclined some unto. For the prevention of which mischief, having declared further, that the Doctor's Error might be easily pardoned to his singular piety and learning, the light and lustre of which, like that of the sun, may easily hide any of his spots and blemishes from the feverer eyes and notices of the world; he observes, that great minds, like the heavenly bodies, though they are moved, for the main, with the force of the *primus mobile*, the weight and evidence of truth; yet they appear sometimes to have their *declinationes proprias*, some private motions and declinations of their own, to which their peculiar genius, impressions from the age, or their education, may very fatally betray them. This opinion of Prodigies and Signs of Events future, which the general strain of his writings speaks his mind hugely possessed and dyed withal, I am ready to reckon among those *Idola specus*, false notions, which the black and melancholy mansion his excellent soul appears to have dwelt in, did abuse his mind withal. Any Events extraordinary in the world, seem all along to have had a great impression upon his soul, and seem expounded sometimes with a little more solemnity, than their just value and moment will well warrant and allow. Melancholy is of a very impressive temper, and poetick nature, and is apt, like a dark room, to receive in the images of objects without, in very monstrous and antick figures, and representations. The Greek Physician (38) hath noted of persons acted by it, that *εις δεισδαμονίαν τρέπονται*, they are easily turned to superstition. Our Author concludes these animadversions with the following Apology. 'I should not have here spoken so much, not to his, but my own prejudice, of so reverend a Person, but that I am desirous to cut off all the locks, wherein I can but conceive the strength of this superstitious persuasion may lie, which (as weeds do by good grounds) tends but to eat out the heart and strength of that devout fear, from which it seems to spring (39).' In like manner, this extract of it, long as it is, may, it is hoped, not be thought tedious or impertinent, as it supplies an omission in Dr Jackson's Article, where this weakness or defect in that great and good man's Judgment being passed over in a dead silence, might serve to impeach our work of want of impartiality in respect to his character. At the same time, to avoid the like imputation with regard to the subject of this Article, let it be observed, that Dr Spencer himself, while he is labouring to shame this species of superstition, will seem, to some persons at least, not to have purged his mind wholly from the leaven of every tincture of it, whilst he is found, for instance, in speaking of the Appearances of Good Angels (40),

which he maintains to be rarely given; 'I say, continues he, rarely, not never, lest I should speak without book. To omit some very probable relations of this nature, that apparition is usually thought an Herald from heaven, which amidst a great attendance came and advised James the Fourth of Scotland, in whose Councils at that time the concerns of a nation were wrapt, to forbear some evil practices, but especially the fighting of his intended battle with the English, in these words, *Rex ego ad te missus sum, ut te admoneam ne quo instituisi progrediaris; quam admonitionem si neglexeris, non erit e Re Tua nec Eorum qui te comitabuntur,* which council he neglecting, himself with most of his Nobles and Army fell in that fatal battle (41). Neither will that opinion, although espoused and defended painfully by a late learned and ingenious writer (42), pass altogether without the censure of a too easy credulity from some, where he asserts, that when the Jews, in the assistance of Julian the Emperor, assayed the restoring of their ruined Temple, and so to oppose Moses to Christ, God miraculously determined the controversy. It is supported too by the same argument, which is chiefly insisted on by his Follower in answer to some other alledged instances of a like Divine Interposition, viz. 'that none of these (to use our Author's own words) reach this singular one in any points and angles of similitude, and that the dispute at Jerusalem was not (as in those) between Paul and Cephas, but between God and Belial; and thirdly, that Judaifm and Gentilism were causes evidently devoted to Scripture, and the Judgments following them, were but the accomplishments of its predictions, and the executions of a Scripture Sentence upon them (43).' To the like charge of credulity in our Author is liable his assertion, that the Earthquake, Thunder and Lightning, by which the Heathen Temple was destroyed, were produced by a miraculous Divine Interposition, as also that terrible fire, as he justly calls it, which issued out of the ground in the second year, not long after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish Temple, and laid in ashes the Temples of *Jupiter Capitolinus, Neptune, Isis, Serapis, the Pantheon*, and their other devoted places; 'so strange an instance, says he, that the Ethnick Historian makes this Judgment thereupon *Malum id Divinum potius quam humanum videtur fuisse* (44).' However, these slips, if they are such, may be easily pardoned upon so arduous a subject as that of tracing the various steps of Providence in the moral government of the world. Whilst we see the general, the pernicious error, so incident to human nature, of presaging by Prodigies, completely hunted through all its mazy windings, and ferretted out of every cover, which either a perverse wit, or an abused learning, could suggest to screen it. To do this effectually (as it is done by our Author) required a larger stock of Learning, directed by a more solid Judgment, and pointed with a brighter Wit. And in doing this, he has also occasionally interspersed the work with several collateral remarks, and dropt such excellent hints, as have proved highly serviceable to the reputation of those who have prosecuted them. For instance, in speaking of the several strange alterations consequent to the murder of Cæsar, and precedent to the battle at Philippi, recorded with the most solemn regards of the Heathen Poet (45); he observes; that these Prodigies as much commanded the serious fears, and solemn observations of many Christians, at the time of his writing this book, as they did of the Heathens heretofore; and having ascribed this to the great power and authority of a traditional superstition, as the most easy and natural account of it, he proceeds thus: 'But that which might possibly much assist this tradition, was the succeeding of Rome Christian as into the place, so into very many of the rites and usages of Rome Pagan, as might be easily made appear at large, were that our business (46).' I doubt not but the Reader's eye is already cast upon Dr Conyers Middleton's *Letter from Rome, shewing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism, &c.* which is esteemed the best performance of his upon the subject of Religion (47).

[F] *A Discourse concerning Vulgar Prophecies, &c.* The whole title runs thus, *A Discourse concerning Vulgar Prophecies, wherein the Vanity of receiving them as the certain Indications of any future Event, is discovered, and some Characters of distinction between true and pretended Prophets, are laid down.* In the Preface he observes, 'that among the many giddy fancies and errors of the late

(36) As Virgil said he did when reading Ennius.

(37) In the Preface before-cited.

(38) Aretæus Cappadox, c. De Melanch. which, by the bye, is generally reputed the best chapter in the book.

(39) Discourse concerning prodigies, Chap. II. Sect. IV.

(40) Chap. III. Sect. IV. 230, 231.

(41) See the story more fully related by Dr Jackson in his Sermon on Luke, from the Historian.

(42) In Julian: or A Discourse concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, &c. by William Warburton, Preacher to the Hon. Society of Lincoln's-Inn, Lond. 1750, and again in 1752, 8vo. In the conclusion however, it is confessed, that some friends to Religion had privately intimated their disbelief of it: and it may be added, that some still continue incredulous.

(43) Chap. VII. Sect. IX.

(44) Dec. Cassius lib. 66.

(45) Virgil. Georg. lib. 1.

(46) Chap. II. Sect. III. p. 63, 64.

(47) It will scarcely admit of a question that he had read this, as well as the other pieces of Dr Spencer, since he cites his grand work, *De leg. Heb. in the Pref.* to this very Let. as well as in several other of his Works, as he does also the Discourse of the Vanity of Vulgar Prophecies at the end of the Discourse upon Prodigies of near affinity to it.

He proceeded Doctor of Divinity the same year, and was presented by his College to the rectory of Landbeach All-saints in Cambridghire, July 22, 1667. In this presentation he succeeded Dr Wilford, then Master of the College, who, dying on the 18th of July this year, was also succeeded in that post by Dr Spencer, after a long succession by Royal Mandamus, who was unanimously elected by the Society to preside over them on the 3d of August following, as he did with great prudence and reputation for twenty-six years. In September the same year he was preferred by the King to the Archdeaconry of Sudbury in Suffolk, upon the promotion of Dr Sparrow to the Bishopric of Exeter, as he was in like manner to a Prebend in the church of Ely, upon that of Dr Pearson to the see of Chelster in 1672, and to the Deanery thereof about five years after, upon the death of Dr Mapletoft, into which he was installed on the 29th of September, 1677 (e). He published a Latin dissertation concerning *Urim* and *Thummim* the following year. In the interim he had been chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1673 (f); and being in that office when the Duke of Monmouth was elected their Chancellor, his Grace was received, upon his instalment at Worcester-house, September 3, 1674, with a speech by Dr Spencer, which is inserted below [G]. In September, 1683, the Doctor resigned the rectory of Landbeach in favour

(e) Masters, as before.

(f) It is something remarkable, that, whilst he was in this office, he was suspended by Dr Bude, Surrogate to the Official, for not appearing at the Archdeacon's visitation; but how it ended is unknown. lb.

late times, bred like the worms in the *manna*, out of the body of our government and discipline, this was the *σφόδρον φέρον*, leading imposture, that the true *seculum spiritus sancti* was now coming upon the world, wherein the immediate Teachings of God should antiquate the more dead and obscure Teachings of the Gospel, as those did the more weak and cloudy Instructions of the Law; that the minds of Holy Men should conceive, like the Virgin *Mary*, by the sole overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, without any assistances from Man, or human Literature. That men should be authorized and assisted to the due performance of the duties of publick preaching and praying by the incitements of God upon the place. That God was about no new work, but his secrets were still made known to the Faithful. That the mighty impressions and propensions upon the spirits of the Faithful, was an interpretative voice from Heaven, a kind of *Bath-Col* to supply the defect of Scripture-Prophecy, in dispensations more dark and enigmatical. Whence it came to pass, that every morbid heat of passion, and blind zeal, was christened by the name of *Ignis Sacer*, the facted imprefs and discovery of the Holy Ghost, and every crazy fancy and dream, dubbed a Prophetick Vision. In the conclusion he intimates, that his design in this piece was to further and facilitate a dutiful obedience to the penal statutes, enacted to prevent the spreading of seditious prophecies. Since while good laws are the best security of the peace, sober principles laid down in the minds of the people, are the best security of the laws. This professed loyal motive for the undertaking, is specified as being another instance, added to that of the preceding discourse, of that particular merit, which drew upon him the regards of his Majesty, who rewarded it shortly after with the preferments mentioned in the Text. In general, the reasonableness of both these discourses at the time of publishing them, is manifest; and there is one remark, at least, that may be thought not unseasonable in the present time, in this latter piece, only by taking the word Prophecy in its larger sense, as it denotes teaching and instructing the people in sacred matters, our Author's Observations may be truly applied to the Methodist Teachers and their Followers, where he observes, that Prophecy had been wisely reserved to the cognizance of Persons of more exercised minds; 'because human nature un-disciplined, is so extremely prone to meet things pompous and vehement with very sacred and solemn thoughts, and to think (as the Frogs in the Fable by the block which fell upon them) if the Person make a great noise and bustle, come attended with flaming expressions, pathetic devotions, singularities of gesture and phrase, affected silences and severities, that he is *ἀλλοθι*, sent from God extraordinary to rule their minds and lives (48).' To the same purpose is the remark he makes in his former discourse, that 'it had been the great error of most times, that because men saw the people to be weak and easy; therefore they chose to instruct them to piety, either by pictures and rites, or else by fantastical fears, legends, pathetic orations, odious or fashionable phrases, tones and gestures, all which made them worse fools than they found them, giving them furious zeal, ungovernable spirits, stultic religions, talkative tempers, giddy and unsettled heads (49):' which the Methodists and their Followers would do well to consider.

[G] His Speech to the Duke of Monmouth, &c. We are

obliged for this to Mr Hearne, who has given a transcript of it (50), as follows.

'May it please your Grace,
'We come not hither in confidence of so vain a thought, that all our address and ceremony can derive any honour upon your Grace's person; your own great actions have put such a glory about your head abroad, and your excellent virtue and temper have given your Grace so great a place in the hearts of men at home, that we can have as little design, as we have power, to add lustre to so great a name; nor do we approach this presence to give any assurances to your Grace's fortune, that in the credit of our numerous and united suffrages, your Grace might bear yourself the better against the zeal and envy of a mistaken multitude. It is your Grace's happiness, that your fortune is solid as your virtue, and that, like the sun, though moving in so high an orb, you have no angry creatures to open their mouths against you; but numbers that rejoice in your rising, and pay you a hearty worship and observance; nor do we come to barter our praises, or that by the arts and enchantments of a little oratory, we might possess your Grace with a good opinion of us; for we need no charms to provoke a flaming and an easy love, and it is our happiness, that we have a Chancellor now, whose mind is great as his place, as liberal and ingenious as the arts and sciences he is pleased to patronize; and in this assurance, we approach your Grace's house as we do a temple, not to crouch and flatter, but to pay a Debt, and express our Joy; and because we have nothing better, we present ourselves to your Grace in a great and just resentment of your goodness in receiving us to the honour of your care and patronage, and pawning your virtue and interest for our future happiness, which toucheth us already with the better and more affecting pleasure, because we have the fresh remembrance of an Iliad of evils to endear it to us. Those unhappy days are not far removed from our thoughts, in which as the other eye of the nation was blood-shot, so this, which your Grace secures, was clouded, and in danger of being put out. We can easily remember, when our gowns were antichristian, our charters and privileges the easy triumph of our envious neighbours, when to profess ignorance was not only a piece of philosophy (as of old) but of religion, and when to speak reason, was suspected; but to defend it, was heretical. But your Grace's particular affection and concernment have placed us above the fear of a returning cloud, and assured our Mother, the University of Cambridge, that it shall be difficult now for her Adversaries to foresee her end, as it is for her friends to discover when she did begin. Nor can we have cause to doubt but we shall hold these privileges in effect and truth, which we have often held before but in parchment and imagination; and we can as little doubt, but knowledge shall thrive and flourish, while your Grace (like Pallas) is the great Patron of Arts as well as Arms. The advancement of learning and ingenuity, is the most noble and humane work, and useful study and business of all civil nations in a time of a peace; and your Grace's charter makes us easily believe, you'll acquit yourself as a great master of the arts of Peace, as you have of War, and as fit to design and conduct the conquest of the intellectual world, as you are of the sensible and material. In

(50) In the Appendix to his *Vindiciae Thomae Cæii*, No. X, p. 86.

(g) Dr Middleton observes, that it was greatly and justly admired in all Christian countries. Works, Vol. II. p. 260.

of his kinsman, Mr William Spencer, A. M. and Fellow of the college*; and in 1685 he published at Cambridge, in two Tomes Folio, his famous Work, intituled *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus, & earum rationibus libri tres* (g) [H], which met with such general approbation, that it was reprinted, *cum Indice rerum et verborum*, at the Hague, 1686, 4to, and again in 1705 at Leipzig [I]. That, after a life spent in the closest application to his studies [K], the asthma, to which he had been mostly subject, put a period to it, at his

(*) Ibid. in the Appendix, No. IX. p. 23.

‘ an easy prospect of such great felicities, we could not rest assured of your Grace’s pardon, nor of our own, if we should not bow our heads, and kiss the hands which conveyed them to us; we think it a less trespass against good manners to trouble your Grace a little further, than to say nothing of the fountain of our and your Joys, though we can never say enough. His Majesty’s letter is the charter whereby we hold our present happiness, and have an honour equal to the biggest ambition we could conceive: it is his royal favour, to which we must intitle the advantages we can promise ourselves from your Grace’s power and goodness; by which eminent and surprizing favour, his Majesty hath made a great and wise provision for the advantage of learning and knowledge in his kingdoms, and hath given us a full assurance, that he hath no design to serve upon an ignorant and underserving people; that he desires to be King of Men, and to appear the Defender of Reason, as well as Faith, and professes a religion that dares come, not only where men can believe, but where they can discern, and judge. For ourselves, we can return so great a grace and favour only with our thankfulness, and most hearty wishes, that your Grace may long enjoy this office amongst us, with a satisfaction (if it were possible) equal to that with which you were elected to it; and that your Grace’s government may have so kind an influence upon our minds and studies, that his Majesty’s reign may be blessed like that of Solomon’s, with a general peace, and men of wisdom and learning, eminent beyond all the examples of foregoing times.’

[H] *De legibus Hebræorum.*] His design, in this elaborate work, is to prove, by a detail of the particulars, that all the rights and ceremonies of the Jewish religion were instituted in opposition to the practices of the idolatrous nations round about them. The subject had been long upon his mind, as appears from several passages in his discourse concerning prodigies; in one of which he expressly declares, ‘ that many of the critical rites and usages appointed the Jewish nation will be found to resolve into the Divine purpose to cross and thwart, by his commands, the rites of the *Zabii*, the *Egyptians*, and other neighbouring nations, which had the Devil for the great master of their religious ceremonies (51).’ The opinion is entirely speculative, in which the essentials of the religion being no way concerned, it has been argued pro and con by various learned writers, particularly Huetius (52), Sir John Marsham (53), Calmet (54), as also incidentally by Dr Conyers Middleton (55) on the same side with our Author, and Mr Samuel Shuckford (56) on the other side, as best suited their present design. However, it is agreed, I think, on all hands, that Dr Spencer has examined the question with more diligence, and treated it with more learning and judgment than any author whatsoever.

[I] *An edition published at Leipzig in 1705.*] Our Author continued all his life-time to make improvements to this capital work, and by will left such of his papers and writings, as were indifferently perfect, to be added in their proper places, if ever there should be occasion to reprint it; with the full right and property therein to his executor, Bishop Tenison, afterwards Archbishop, who bequeathed them to the university of Cambridge, after having caused them to be prepared for the press, with fifty pounds for the advancement of printing there. These the senate by grace gave leave to the learned Mr Chappelow to publish; and, for his encouragement therein, bestowed upon him the Archbishop’s benefaction likewise. Accordingly the work was executed, and published in four books, wherein Edita et manuscripta cum testimoniis auctorum laudatis recensuit et indices adjecit Leonardus Chappelow, S. T. B. coll. S. Johan. soc. et Arab. Professor acad. Cant. in 2 Tom. fol. Cant. 1727. To which Bennet College was at the expence of prefixing an elegant copper-plate of the Author, as a small testimony of gratitude to their magnificent benefactor (57).

[K] *A life spent in the closest application to his studies.*] In a letter from Cambridge, dated Feb. 25, 1738, we

have the following account of the Doctor’s way of life, as related by one Mrs Trevor, who had been a servant to him: That he used to rise by five or six at farthest in a morning, and go to bed at ten; that his chief time for study was in the forenoon. He had not much acquaintance; but the chief that she remembered were Bishop Tenison, Bishop Moore, and Bishop Greene. That he was a plentiful eater himself, and lived in a very hospitable and charitable manner. The only exercise he used was the dumb bell. He bought a horse some time before he died, but never used him. That he died of the asthma, to which distemper he was chiefly subject. This letter was sent to Dr Alured Clerke, who had been bred at Bennet College, and apparently had made the inquiry, since he had some connection with our Author’s familiar friends, as will be seen in the account we have of him, which, because he was a Divine of merit, cannot be deemed unworthy of a place here; as follows: He was the son of Alured Clerke, Gent. of Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, by Anne, the fourth daughter of Charles Trimmell, Rector of Abbots-Ripton in Hampshire, and a sister of Charles Trimmell, Bishop of Winchester; and having gone through St Paul’s school (58), under Mr *John Postlethwayte*, he was admitted Pensioner at Bennet College, April 1, 1713, where, after taking the degree of A. B. he was made Fellow in 1718, and proceeded A. M. two years after, when he became a candidate for the Rhetoric Professor’s place at Gresham College, with Mr Ward, who carried the election. In May, 1723, he was collated to the rectory of Chilbolton in Hampshire, and installed Prebendary of Winchester on the 23d of the same month (59). He was appointed one of the chaplains to K. George I, and so continued to the late King, who, upon his visit to the University in April, 1728, honoured him with the degree of D. D. and promoted him to a Prebend in the church of Westminster, in which he was installed May 8, 1731, being then one of the Deputy Clerks of his Majesty’s closet. He was also further advanced to the Deanery of Exeter, May 12, 1740. But, being always of a very weak and infirm constitution, after a short enjoyment of it, he quitted this life for a better, before he had completed the forty-sixth year of his age, upon May 31, 1742, and was interred, without any monument, in Westminster-abbey. His benevolent and generous disposition was such as rendered him truly worthy of these and much greater preferments, which he seemed even not to desire with the mean view of heaping up wealth to raise a family (for this he held in utter contempt) but only for the sake of enlarging his sphere of doing good: which he had so much at heart, that he spared neither labour nor expence in getting a county-hospital for sick and lame persons, erected at Winchester in 1736 (60), the first of the kind that was set up any where out of London; and he afterwards began the like upon his removal to Exeter (61) (where he had expended a large sum of money upon the repair of his deanery-house) but lived not long enough to see his laudable design fully executed. So little value had he for money, that he spent the whole surplus of his annual income in works of charity or hospitality; and determined with himself never to have in reserve (how great soever his revenue might be) more than a sum sufficient to defray the expences of his funeral. Besides, the sermons mentioned in the margin, we are assured, that in 1738 he published, in 8vo, (though without his name, and by some ascribed to Lord Hervey) *An essay towards a character of Queen CAROLINE*, whom he highly revered, and with whom he had long been a considerable favourite. The Dean had a brother, who was admitted at the same college under his care in 1719, and, applying himself to the Law in Lincoln’s-Inn, became an eminent Counsellor, and was enabled by his practice to enlarge his paternal inheritance, and rebuild the house at Godmanchester in an elegant manner. He was chosen Recorder of Huntingdon in 1731, and member of parliament for that borough in 1740. The following year he was elected for Whitchurch in Hampshire, upon the recommendation of his patron, the Earl of Portsmouth, and

(58) The first sermon he printed was preached before the Gentlemen educate at St Paul’s school, in that cathedral, Jan. 25, 1725, 4to

(59) He printed another sermon preached before the House of Commons at Margaret’s, Westminster, Jan. 31, 1731 in 4to.

(60) He printed a third sermon preached at Winchester cathedral on St Luke’s day, 1736, before the Governors of the County-hospital to which is added a collection of papers relating to the hospital, rules, orders, &c.

(61) He printed a fourth sermon preached at Exeter cathedral, before the Trustees of the Charity schools, Oct. 1741.

(51) Chap. XI. Sect. 1. P. 23.

(52) Demonstr. Evang. Ch. XI.

(53) In his Canon. Chron. passim.

(54) Comment. Præfat. in Genesis vi. and x.

(55) In his Works, Vol. III. passim.

(56) In his sacred and profane History of the world connected, Vol. I. p. 216. Lond. Edit. 17. Fol. 33.

(57) Masters. Hist. &c. p. 170.

his lodge in the college, on the 27th of May, 1695, in his grand climacteric. As to his funeral, his express orders were, that it should be only decent, and not pompous, and that the whole expence should not exceed two hundred pounds. Accordingly, the respects shewn thereby to his memory were nothing more than what became his character and station in life. The chief rooms of his lodge, with the hall and chapel, were hung with mourning; and his corpse was attended to the grave by the Bishops of Ely and Lincoln, by fourteen Heads of Houses, by ten Doctors of Divinity, by four Doctors of Law, two Physicians, two Professors, by the Master elect, and Fellows of the College, and by the Officers of the University, with many others, who had all of them rings, scarves, and gloves. The whole solemnity ended with a funeral Oration by the learned Dr *Joseph Beaumont*, Master of Peter-house, and Regius Professor of Divinity. He was also, according to his own directions, interred in the College-chapel, near his immediate predecessor, Dr *Wilford*, by the ascent to the altar (b), under a plain stone of black marble, with a Latin inscription upon it, which may be seen in remark [L]. He married *Hannah*, the daughter of *Isaac Puller*, of Hertford, who, dying in 1674, left him only one daughter, named Elizabeth, and one son, John; the former of whom lived till the year 1688, when she was buried by her mother, in the chancel of the church of St *Benedict* in Cambridge. But the latter, his son, probably died before. The Atchievement, wherein his arms are impaled, with those of the church of Ely, the college, and his wife, viz. *Azure a chevron or, between three eagles displayed argent*, is still remaining in the antichapel of this college. But he stood not in need of such means as these to preserve his memory, since the many Acts of benevolence, performed both in his life-time and by his last will [M], will be so many lasting

(L) In the Appendix, No. IX, p. 168, 169.

and was nominated a Baron of the Exchequer in 1742, in the execution of which office, sitting as one of the Judges, upon the trials of the prisoners in Newgate, at the Old-Baily in 1750, he and the Lord-Mayor, Sir *Samuel Pennant*, Sir *Daniel Lambert*, Sir *Thomas Abney*, Mr *Cox* the Under-sheriff, with some others, are supposed to have caught an infectious distemper, which put a period to their lives. He died in May, and was buried at *Godmanchetter*, where his father, after having lived with his second wife upwards of fifty years, had been interred not long before. He married *Anne*, a daughter of *Bishop Green*, by whom he had one son, *Thomas*, who was a student in *Bennet College*, but quitted it for the army in the time of the rebellion in 1745, and has now a commission in the guards (*). The Baron's second wife was *Jane*, a daughter of *Major Mullins*, of *Winchester*, who, with four of her sons, and two daughters, survived him. He raised a lasting monument to his memory in the causeway leading from his native town to *Newmarket*, whereof he was not only the first designer, but the principal agent in putting it in execution, to the no small emolument both of that and the neighbouring counties (62).

[L] An inscription upon his grave-stone.] It is in these terms:

Hic Jacet
 Qui magnum adeo sui
 Apud Bonos & Rempub. Literarium Reliquit Desiderium,
 Vir Rarissime Munificentiae
 Pariter ac Eruditionis,
JOHANNES SPENCER, S. T. P.
 Ecclesiae Eliensis Decanus,
 Archidiaconus Sudburienfis,
 Et hujus Collegii Praefectus,
 Qui obiit 27^o die Maii
 Anno { Dom. 1693
 { Aetat. 63
 { Praefecturae 20

[M] Acts of Benevolence and Charity in his life-time, and by his last Will.] Mr *Masters* observes, that in the point of liberality to the Colleges, he far exceeded all former Benefactors; for in 1687 he purchased an estate at *Elmington*, a Hamlet belonging to the parish of *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*, which cost him 3600 l., in yearly value being upwards of 200 l. This he settled upon the College by a deed of gift, dated 1693. In which he appropriated, first 20 l. per ann. to the Master, and 6 l. more for keeping the Accounts, and visiting the Estate at least twice in three years, with the nomination of a scholar, to be called the Master's Scholar, and to have 10 l. per ann. paid him quarterly, so long as his behaviour shall be approved by the Master. Dr *Spencer* also doubled the stipends of the three scholars of *Archbishop Parker's* foundation, to be named by the Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*; and gave besides, 5 l. per ann. to the *Pincerna* (one of the Bible Clerks) with 40 s. to the *Puer Cubiculi*. The yearly payment of 10 l. is moreover ordered to his Niece, *Mrs Elizabeth Spencer*, during her life, with 10 l. each to two of his servants; after whose decease,

the whole 40 l. to be equally divided every year upon All-Saints day among so many of the Fellows as should have been statutely resident in the College the foregoing year, and who have not discontinued from the College, except in case of sickness, above sixty-three days in that year. And at the Audit, which is to be distinct from that of the College, within ten days before or after the first of March, every Fellow present is to receive 10 s. for his attendance, at which time 10 s. per mess is to be spent in exceedings.

2. The Butler, Pincerna, Cook, and Porter, 5 l. per ann. each (63). And the Overplus of the rents and profits to be put into a strong chest, with three locks and keys, and afterwards to be disposed of at the discretion of the major part of the Master and Fellows (whereof the Master to be one) in some pious or charitable Acts in relieving the sick and indigent scholars, in repairing the houses, in buying books for the College-Library, &c. with this restriction only, that there shall be never less than 40 l. remaining in the chest. He ordered, that upon any doubts or disputes which might arise, the determination of the Vice-Chancellor, and the two senior Doctors of Divinity, should be final, and that each of them should have 13 s. 4 d. for his labour therein.—The Estate was vested in the hands of five Trustees, two of which, after the death of the others, were to convey the premises to three other persons, being Doctors of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and two of them at least Masters of Colleges (64). Besides this Deed, the Doctor made a Will, dated the 20th of April, 1693 (65), wherein he appointed his old friend, Dr *Tenison*, then Bishop of *Lincoln*, his sole Executor: and in this he bequeathed 50 l. to ten of the most indigent and industrious Lads of the College, with the like sum toward repairs (66), above what he had given in his life-time, and such books as his Executor should think proper for the Library, with the furniture of the parlour and lobby (before the little East-chamber abutting upon the School-lane) to the lodge, if his Successor would accept of them, and 20 l. to each of the Fellows for a funeral ring. He left likewise 100 l. to the University, to be laid out in books for their use; for which he has been since enrolled among their Benefactors. And indeed every place, to which he had borne any relation, had some share of his bounty. For he gave 200 l. to the Church of *Ely*, half of which he ordered to be laid out upon a Font, which was accordingly executed in fine marble, curiously wrought, with this inscription round it, *Legatum Johanni Spencer, S. T. P. Decani hujus Ecclesiae*. Also 50 l. and the furniture of his Deanery-house to the petty Canons and singing Men, with some small legacies to the Vergers, Choristers, &c. He gave moreover to the poor of the parishes of *St Mary* and *Trinity*, in *Ely*, 20 l., and to each of those where he had been a preacher, viz. *Landbeach*, *St Benedict's*, and *St Gyles's*, *Cambridge*, 5 l. To manifest his kindness and tenderness toward his servants, he left them all handsome Legacies, and to some Annuities for life. And for his Relations and Friends, he likewise made such provision, as either their circumstances or defects called upon him to do (67). And

(63) The liverys which used to be given to them, were discontinued from the year 1710, on account of this augmentation of their Salaries. Ib. p. 181.

(64) Ib. in the Appendix, No. LIII. p. 79, 80.

(65) Proved before the Vice-Chancellor, July 13, 1693, and afterwards in the Prerogative Office, where it is deposited. Sel. Box XX. 1664.

(66) This was laid out the year following in new paving the Chapel by the consent of his Executor. *Masters*, p. 167, note (1).

(67) He left only fifty guineas to his own Cousin, *William Spencer* of *Boughton* in *Kent*, Esq; and Barrister at Law, which is traditionally accounted for by this gentleman's behaviour, mentioned in Remark [C].

(*) This was written in 1753.

(62) *Masters*. Hist. &c. p. 267. to 269.

lasting testimonies of his charitable and munificent disposition, whilst his writings will ever bespeak him one of the greatest scholars and divines of the age in which he lived. He was succeeded in his Fellowship by Mr Daniel Scargill, and in the mastership by Dr William Stanley, of whom some account is given below [N], for the reason therein contained.

And directed further, that if there were any surplus of his personal Estate, after discharging his funeral expences, debts, and legacies, it should be distributed among his legatees: or disposed of in other Acts of Charity at the sole direction of his friend and executor, to whom he bequeaths a hundred guineas, with his small repeating-watch, for his trouble.

[N] *Some Account of Scargill and Stanley.* To begin with Scargill, who succeeded our Author in his Fellowship in 1667. He was suspended the year following from his degree of A. B. and expelled both the College and University for *Hobbism* and *Atheism*, although afterwards restored by the latter, upon his public Recantation, which being somewhat scarce, we shall insert as follows.

‘ December 7, 1668. Dr Boldero, Vice-Chancellor, with eight Heads present. Scargill is permitted to make a publick Recantation in the Batchelors Schools, on Friday next, and to bring a true Copy thereof to the Vice-Chancellor, and his Suspension is continued till after the Commencement next. *But I imagine, upon his refusal to comply with this, they proceeded to expell him.*

‘ March 12, 1668. Whereas Daniel Scargill, late B. A. of this University, and of Corp. Christi Coll. hath been convented, and legally convicted in the Consistory, before the Vice-Chancellor and the major part of the Heads, to have asserted several Impious and Atheistical Tenets, to the great Dishonour of God, the Scandal of the Christian Religion and of the University, it is unanimously assented to by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, that he be forthwith expelled the University—*He was actually expelled at the same time—However upon his shewing a Disposition to retract his Errors, he was commanded to draw up a Recantation, which after being perused by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, and some Alterations made therein, was spoke as follows, and afterwards printed at the University Press.*

‘ *The Recantation of Daniel Scargill, publicly made before the University of Cambridge, in Great St Marie’s July 25, 1669.*

‘ Whereas I Daniel Scargill, late Batchelour of Arts, and Fellow of Corpus Christi Colledge, in the University of Cambridge, being, through the instigation of the Devil, possessed with a foolish proud conceit of my own wit, and not having the fear of God before my eyes: Have lately vented, and publickly asserted in the said University, divers Wicked, Blasphemous, and Atheistical positions, (particularly, That all right of Dominion is founded onely in Power; That if the Devil were omnipotent, he ought to be obeyed; That all moral Righteousness is founded onely in the positive Law of the Civil Magistrate; That the Scriptures of God are not Law further than they are enjoined by the Civil Magistrate; That the Civil Magistrate is to be obeyed, though he should forbid the worship of God, or command Theft, Murder and Adultery, professing, that I gloried to be an Hobbist and an Atheist; and vaunting, that Hobbs should be maintained by Daniel, that is, by me: Agreeably unto which principles and positions, I have lived in great licentiousness; swearing rashly; drinking intemperately; boasting my self insolently; corrupting others by my pernicious principles and example: To the high dishonour of God; the Reproach of the University; the Scandal of Christianitie; and the just offence of mankind. And whereas, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of the said University, upon notice of these my foul enormities, upon a full examination and clear conviction of these premised offences, after suspension from my degree, did expel me out of the said University: Now I the said Daniel Scargill, after frequent consideration, strict examination, and serious review of the said Positions, do finde, by the grace of that God, whom I had denied, that they are not onely of dangerous and mischievous consequence, inconsistent with the being of God, and destructive to humane society; but that they are utterly false, the suggestions of a lying spirit, wholly against my own judgement, resolved upon, better consideration,

‘ as well as against the common sense of mankind: And I do freely acknowledge the proceedings and sentence of my Governours, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of the Universitie, to be just and equal, agreeable to the Duty of their place, and the Trust reposed in them; That they could not have done less to vindicate the Divine honour, and suppress that mischief growing up in this age, which no former hath known.

‘ And now I Adore and Bless the highest Majesty of God in his infinite mercy to me, that he hath not suffered me to go on unreclaimed in my enormous principles and practices; but hath made my face to be ashamed, that I may seek his name. *Righteousness belongeth unto thee O Lord, but unto me, and to those who have seduced me, and to those who have been seduced by me, shame and confusion of face.* Oh what height of wickedness had I arrived unto! For I mult confess my self guilty of impleading the Divine Majesty at the Tribunal of humane wit, making man judge whether God should be God or no. Nay, whereas the Devil, my tempter, to whom I had harkned, doth beleieve and tremble, I, vile wretch, have been void of the Faith and Fear of God in the manifold manifestations of him. Wherefore I humbly ask pardon of God above all, whom I have blasphemed; of my Governours in the Universitie, whom I have disturbed; of all Christians, and all men, for the great offence I have given unto all; more especially of so many as have been misled into any error or vice by me. And I do also humbly and earnestly beseech all men, especially so many of the younger Scholars as have been seduced by me (who now abhor what I formerly boasted to assert) that they beware by my example of the most subtle insinuations of the Devil, in the vain ostentation of their own wit. *That they lean not to their own understanding,* but consult the Holy Scriptures, the lively Oracles of God; that from thence they may learn *ῥησιν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, to be wise unto sobriety,* as the holy Apostle with great wisdom requires. And now I humbly hope and trust in the infinite mercy of that God, against whom I had audaciously opened my unhallowed mouth, that He who hath promised that all sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men (excepting onely that resolved malicious blasphemy against the Holy Ghost) will be graciously pleased to glorifie his mercy in the forgiveness of my most detestable errors, and abominable sins. And I thank God that he hath awakened me in good measure to a just detestation of the accursed Positions asserted by me, and of all other like wicked principles.

‘ Wherefore, I do here in the presence of God, Angels and Men, cast my self down in a deep dread of the just Judgements and Vengeance of God upon the accursed Atheism of this age, acknowledging my self to be highly guilty of the growth and spreading thereof, having contributed what my profane wit could devise, or my foul mouth express, to instill it into others, or confirm them therein. And I do profess, I beleieve (and judge it most reasonable so to beleieve) that the openly professed Atheism of some, and the secret Atheism of others, is the accursed root of all that abounding wickedness, perjury, sacrilege, debauchery and uncleanness in this present age: That in a deep sense of that wretched part I have acted in the propagating thereof, I do now abhor my self in dust and ashes, and that from the bottom of my heart, I do disclaim, renounce, detest and abhor those execrable Positions asserted by me or any other: particularly,

‘ 1. *That all right of Dominion is founded onely in power.*

‘ 2. *That all moral Righteousness is founded onely in the Law of the Civil Magistrate.*

‘ 3. *That the Holy Scriptures are made Law onely by Civil Authority.*

‘ 4. *That whatsoever the Civil Magistrate commands, is to be obeyed, notwithstanding contrary to Divine moral Laws.*

‘ 5. *That there is a desirable glory in being and being reputed an Atheist; which I implied when I expressly affirmed, that I gloried to be an Hobbist and an Atheist.*

For these unhallowed assertions and expressions, I now find such inward contrition and remorse, that I pray God his mercy may withhold me from Relapse, or his judgements prevent it. But do I think that a bare Recantation can satisfie for my prodigious offences? No, Let me do penance all my days, submitting my self to God's will, and the charity of pious minds: And whatsoever my portion may be in this world, let me live and die in the fear of God, and the faith of Christ. *Amen.*

Now lest any one should mistake, or suspect this confession and unfeigned renunciation of my sinful and accursed errors, for an act of civil obedience or submission in me, performed according to my former principles, at the command of my Superiours, in outward expression of words, though contrary to my judgement and inward thoughts of my heart; or that I have not now expressed the most sincere and secret sense of my soul; I call the Searcher of all hearts to witness, that I loath and abhor such practices as the basest and most damnable hypocrisie: That from my heart and soul I detest such principles in all persons, as worse than the basest villanies and reservations, which the Jesuites are said to practice or allow. And I openly avow, that I do acknowledge, that all persons so principled, ought to be held by all mankind as the most dangerous and declared enemies of the common faith amongst men. That they are not to be trusted upon any obligation of their faith, or pretensions to piety, loyalty, or common honesty, in any Corporation, Colledge, Univerfity, City, Common-wealth or Kingdom: but, that by those principles, destructive to all society and commerce amongst men, they may and do delude and defeat all Oaths and Proteftations, all faith given to God or man: They may and will comply, if their own Interest or Advantage prompt them to it, with any Invader or Ufurper; with any Faction or growing Sect, however destructive to all order and the very being of humane society in the world. I beleve also, and openly avouch, That no power upon earth; no persuasion or imagination about natural Right; no opinion in pretended Philosophie concerning self-preservation, can free me from the obligation that is now upon me, in this my open profession of Repentance for my accursed errors and grievous sins, to speak the truth in sincerity before God and man.

This Recantation and sincere Profession I make willingly and freely, of my own minde and choice: not in compliance with the command or will of any other; not upon design to gain a better opinion amongst men in the world; nor for any worldly advantage, profit, or self-end of my own: but out of a hearty detestation of my soul errors and sins; and I am glad of this opportunity to disburden my soul, oppressed with the weight of the same.

So help me God.

DANIEL SCARGILL.

After the Performance of this Recantation, he was to be absolved by the Vice-Chancellor, when and where he pleased, and was accordingly absolved, as the following Certificate testifies.

These are to certify whom it may concern, that whereas D. S. B. A. late Fellow of C. C. C. C. was suspended of his Degree, and expelled the Univerfity, for asserting erroneous Tenets, tending to Atheisme, and the said D. S. was absolved from his Suspension, and restored to the Univerfity upon his Recantation in Great St Marie's Church, July 25, 1669, by Dr Edm. Boldero, Vice-Chancellor.

Sept. 1, 1671.

Ita testor Matt. Whinn, Regl.

He was a native of Cambridge, and after leaving the Univerfity, presented by Edwin Rich to the Rectory of Mulbarton in Norfolk, where he married Sarah, the daughter of Thomas le Neve of Aflaſton, Gent. a woman, as he tells us in her Epitaph, remarkable for her Piety and Devotion. His Arms impaling her's, upon the Monument erected to her memory, are *Erm. a Saltire Gul.* (68). In 1690 Dudley Seargill, Gent. presented him to the Vicarage of Swerdeston, which he held by union with Mulbarton: but how long he continued possessed of these, or what afterwards became of him, I could never learn (69).

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Dr Stanley, who succeeded our Author in the Mastership of Bennet College, was the son of William Stanley, Gent. of Hinkley, in the county of Leicester; but his father dying while he was very young, he was left to the sole care of his mother, who put him to school at Ashley in Lancashire, and afterwards sent him, in 1663, at the age of sixteen (70), to St John's College in Cambridge, where he staid till he was chosen into a Fellowship of Bennet College, upon the expulsion of Scargill, upon the joint recommendation of his tutor and Bishop Gunning, then Master of St John's, where his County was at that time full. His first step out of the Univerfity, and that a very fortunate one, was to the curacy of *Much-Hadham* in Hertfordshire, as it placed him not only under the eye and direction of that excellent Divine, Dr Goodman (71), but as it gave him an opportunity of being known to the Earl of Essex (whose seat was there) who made him his Chaplain, and then presented him, October 29, 1681, to the Rectory of *Raine-parva* in Essex (72); but this he voided soon after, viz. October 30, 1682, by cession, for St Mary-Magdalen in Old Fish-Street, London, which he quitted in like manner for that of Much-Hadham, beforementioned; being collated thereto, August 30, 1690, by Bishop Compton, upon the death of his friend Dr Goodman. These were the only parochial benefices he ever had. But on the 18th of September, 1684, he was preferred to the Prebend of Colington-Major, in the Cathedral of St Paul London, whereof he became a Cathedralian in 1689, as also Archdeacon of London March 5, 1692, upon the promotion of Dr Tenison to the See of Lincoln; and he was made Dean of St Asaph December 7, 1706, which he rather accepted to set his Uncle, Bishop Beveridge, at liberty from the powerful solicitations of others, than that he either sought for, or desired it. He went over, about 1687, to be Chaplain to the Princess of Orange, upon the Dismissal of Dr Covel, when a Clergyman of an unexceptionable Character in every respect, was to be provided by express orders from Holland. Accordingly the Bishop of London had it in Charge to recommend two such persons to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was to have the final approbation of one. The two thus recommended, were Dr Burnet, Master of the Charterhouse, and Mr Stanley; to the latter of whom his Grace gave the preference, for this pleasant reason, that although the former was a deserving man, an ingenious divine, and a good Scholar; yet as Moses and the Doctor could not agree about making worlds, he thought it was better to chuse Mr Stanley; who after being further favoured by his Grace about this time, probably with his faculty for a Doctor of Divinity's degree, was forthwith sent over, and soon became a favourite both at Court and with her Highness. He likewise contracted there a particular acquaintance with the two Huygens, as well as with other persons of learning and character; being without doubt recommended and supported herein by his old friend and fellow-collegian, Mr Villiers, who had attended the Princess, upon her marriage, into Holland, and continued there till the Prince's coming over to England in 1688. As soon as his royal mistress was seated upon the throne, she advanced him to be Clerk of the Closet, with a Salary of 200l. per ann. settled upon him for life, and always had him in such credit and esteem, that most of her charities passed through his hands. She moreover offered him one or two Bishoprics, which he then declined, as he did also the See of Lincoln, which was offered him upon Dr Tenison's promotion to that of Canterbury; being content with the preferment he had, and his own private fortunes. He found a station of less dignity and eclat, more agreeable to his inclinations, and suitable to his scheme of happiness in life. However, the death of his old friend, Dr Spencer, brought him (though much against his will) into a more public scene of it in this Univerfity, being elected thereupon (but without his knowledge) into the Mastership of Bennet College, which yet, upon the first notice of his choice, he positively refused to accept, and persevered in it till the whole Society, for the sake of preventing an irreconcilable division among them, as they should not be unanimous in their votes for any other person besides himself. This motive had its desired effect, even though he foresaw the trouble that would follow, in being elected Vice-Chancellor the same year by the Univerfity, who passed an extraordinary grace for admitting him to the degree of D. D. with all its privileges, among them, to which an Archbishop's faculty could not intitle him. Considering upon what motive, and with what reluctance he took the Mastership, it might be expected he

(70) Bishop Beveridge, who married his Aunt, was of that College, and which was perhaps a stronger motive, Mr Villiers, afterwards Earl of Jersey (of a Leicestershire family in his neighbourhood) went thither about the same time under the tuition of Dr Gower, who is said never to have had any other pupils but these two.

(71) The celebrated Author of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and the Winter Evening Conference, and some other excellent pieces.

(72) He had been ordained Priest by Bishop Compton in 1672, became an Univerfity Preacher in 1676, and commenced B. D. in 1678.

(73) The title is *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Coll. Corp. Christi in Cantabrigia*, quos legavit Matthæus Parkerus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis. Fol. Lond. MDCCLXXII. This being the first attempt, is not without defects, which Mr Maisters gives us reason to hope will be supplied in a second edition.

would resign it, as he did in 1698, because he could not be more constantly resident. However, while he held it, he made that valuable catalogue (73) of their manuscript library, which he afterwards printed at his own expence. The college, during his Mastership, being robbed of their communion-plate, he presented them with a set of silver gilt; which are still in use, with the Arms of the Orange family upon it, having belonged to the private chapel of Queen Mary, when Princess, who on her coming to the English Crown, gave it to him as a memorial of her favour and esteem. It pleased God to give him a very healthful, happy, and long life; for he did not die till October 9, 1731, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. When, according to his own directions, he was buried in the Vaulting of St Paul's Cathedral, under the south wing of the choir, among his old Friends, *Bishop Beveridge*, *Dean Sherlock*, *Dean Younger*, *Dr Holder*, and *Sir Christopher Wren*, who have none of them, except the last, any monument-stone, or even inscription over them. He married Mary, second daughter of Sir Francis Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, who was living in 1753, by whom he had three sons, all educated at Bennet College. Thomas, the youngest, is dead; William, the eldest, is LL. B. and Official of the Archdeaconry of London, and is settled at Warwick; Francis, the second, was Fellow of Bennet College, and afterwards Vicar of St Leonard, Shoreditch, till his father resigned in his favour the Rectory of Hadham, September 30, 1723. Dr Stanley was engaged in many good and useful designs. Among which, was that of printing an Edition of the Councils, in 1692, with Protestant Annotations, by an annual subscription. Several sums were accordingly subscribed, by the two Archbishops 10 l. per ann. each, and by twelve Bishops 5 l. each; Dr Stanley not only did the same, but also, by his interest then at Court, was chiefly instrumental in obtaining a grant to import what papers should be wanting, custom free. Dr Allix undertook the care and management of this edition, and had great quantities of paper imported for it, which, when the design was laid aside, was sold to the Stationers for private gain, to the offence of the public, and regret of the learned world. The Doctor, before he went abroad, was concerned with several others in the scheme of printing an English Bible, with a plain and practical commentary, but more especially levelled against the errors and corruptions of Popery. His own province was to write that upon the Minor Prophets; a scheme that was superseded by the happy establishment of our Church and Nation at the Revolution. The Doctor, when Dean of St Asaph, was at the sole expence (74) of that Act of Parliament, ann. XII. of Queen Anne, which annexed Prebends and Sinecures to the Bishoprics of Bangor, Landaff, St David, and St Asaph, in order to relieve the widows and fatherless of the Welsh Clergy from the fore distress of paying Mortua-

(74) Willis's Survey of the Cathedral of St Asaph, p. 107, and of Bangor, p. 345.

(1) Collins's Peerage of Eng. under Spencer Duke of Marlborough.

(2) Colin Clout come again.

SPENSER [EDMUND], frequently stiled the Father of the English Heroic poem, was descended from the ancient family of the Spencers in Northamptonshire [A], but born in London (a), probably about the year 1553 [B]. It is not known where he had the first part of his education;

[A] *The family of the Spencers in Northamptonshire.* The present Duke of Marlborough is at the head of this family, which was first raised to the peerage in the first year of Jacob. I. in the person of Sir Robert Spencer, by the title of Baron Spencer of Wormleighton in the county of Northampton, who was then reputed to be the richest moneyed man in England (1). It is three of the daughters of his grandfather, Sir John Spencer, Knight, of whom our Poet sings in the following lines.

*No lesse praise-worthy are the Sisters three,
The honour of the noble family,
Of which I meanest boast my self to be,
And most that unto them I boast my self so nere,
Phyllis, Charillis, and sweet Amaryllis* (2).

Their real names were Elizabeth, Anne, and Alice. *Elizabeth* is the Lady to whom our Poet wrote that Sonnet, which appears before the *Fairy Queen*, addressed *To the most vertuous and beautiful Lady, The Lady Carew*. To the same Lady he also dedicated his *Muopotamos*. She was married to George Lord Hunsdon. *Anne* was first the wife of Henry Lord Monteagle, next of Henry Lord Compton, and thirdly of Robert Sackville, Esq; son and heir of Thomas Lord Buckhurst, High Treasurer of England, from whom descended

ries to the Bishops, upon the death of every Incumbent, within their respective Dioceses and Jurisdictions; which Mortuaries (as the preamble to that Act sets forth) consisting of several of the best goods of the deceased, did oftentimes amount to a very considerable part of his estate, and the payment thereof did very much lessen that small provision, which generally the Clergy of those Dioceses were able to make for the support of their families, and tended to the great impoverishing of the same. He likewise rebuilt what is now the best part of his Deanery-house, and made the whole of it habitable, convenient, and decent; where he often resided, and lived hospitably, so long as he was able to take such a journey. He settled a leasehold estate on a Charity-school in that town, and joined with Mr Carter in augmenting the perpetual Curacy of St George, in its neighbourhood. But his gifts towards the Augmentation of small livings by one or two hundred pounds at a time, with the aid of Queen Anne's bounty, were not confined to one County, but extended into different parts of the kingdom, as may be seen in *Eton's List*, &c. He was not only a Contributor to the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, and a zealous Promoter of it; but was also the first Mover in the business of their charter (75). To his own church at Hadham he gave a clock, and to the building of the Regent-house at Cambridge, 100 l. Such gifts and benefactions as these could not be hid, though he was as secret, upon Christian principles, as he could be in doing his Alms. What charities therefore he distributed with his own hand, cannot be discovered, as he left no account of them. But so far is known of him, that it was his constant rule, all his life long, to bestow in good works a clear tenth part of his whole Income, whether from spirituals or temporals. Considered as an Author (76), though he published but few things, yet he entered early to take a share in the Popish Controversy, in an Anonymous Discourse concerning *The Devotions of the Church of Rome, wherein they are compared with those of the Church of England*. London, 1685, 4to. He published also another Anonymous Discourse, intituled *The Faith and Practice of a Church of England-man*. London, 1706, 12mo. Besides the following Sermons with his Name: 1. *A Sermon preached at Lambeth-Chapel, on the Consecration of Dr Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, January 10, 1691*; 2. *Another, preached at St Mary le Bow, before the Society for propagating the Gospel, February 20, 1707*; and a third, to recommend *A Public Collection for the Redemption of Captives*. Such was the Character and History of Dean Stanley, which we were the rather inclined to insert here, in order to take off any prejudice that will be apt to arise in reading a paper in the Tatler, where that ingenious writer takes occasion, from the remarkably loud natural tone of the Doctor's voice, to exercise his wit upon him, under the name and character of *Stentor*.

(75) Humfrey's Hist. Account, &c. p. 12.

(76) The Editor of the Bodleian Catalogue have placed among his writings *The Romish Horfe-Leach*, &c. But probably by mistake, since his friends know nothing of this piece, and came out so early in his life as 1674.

the present Duke of Dorset. She was a widow when Spenser printed his *Colin Clout* and his *Fairy Queen*; in both which, by *Amintas*, is probably meant Henry Lord Compton, her second husband (3). And the verses addressed to the Author of the *Fairy Queen*, signed R. S. seem to be written by her third Consort, Robert Sackville. Lastly, *Alice* is the Lady to whom Spenser dedicates *The Tears of the Muses*. She was first married to Ferdinando Earl of Derby, Ancestor to the present Earl, and afterwards to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal of England, from whom is descended the present Duke of Bridgewater (4). Hence it appears, that our Poet was related to many that were then, or are become since, some of the greatest families of the Nation. Not to mention his alliances by the three other Sisters. Margaret married first to Giles Allington, Esq; of Herfeath in Cambridgeshire, of the family of Lord Allington, whose estate descended to Charles late Duke of Somerset, as heir at law (5). Katharine married to Sir Thomas Leigh of Stonely, in the county of Warwick, Knt. from whom is descended the present Lord Leigh (6). And Mary married to Sir Edward Aston, of Tixall in Staffordshire (7).

[B] *He was born probably about 1553.* This is fixt for the epocha of our Poet's birth by Mr Fenton (8), who, from the most general time of youths going to the

(3) Upton's Notes to Stan. 45. c. 1. B. 1 of the Fairy Queen.

(4) Peerage of Eng. as before.

(5) MS penes der Lord Leigh.

(7) I do not that our Poe takes any particular notice his works of these Ladies, bably becaus they made n gure at cour

(8) In his O vations upon Waller's Po p. LI. edit. 1744. 12mo.

education; but after that we find him at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, where, his Parents being in low circumstances, he was admitted a Sizer, and matriculated in 1569 (b). Without neglecting the necessary branches of Academical learning, he particularly followed the bent of his poetical genius, and became acquainted with Mr *Gabriel Harvey*, of Trinity-hall, a gentleman of distinguished wit and good sense, as well as a Brother Poet [C], with whom he cultivated an intimate friendship, which proved very serviceable to him afterwards. However, having continued in the University till he had taken both his degrees in Arts, he left it unwillingly, soon after completing that of A. M. in 1576 (c), not having a competency to support himself there any longer, without some assistance from the College, which he had in vain expected [D]. In these unhappy circumstances, it is said, he retired for relief to some relations in the North of England (d). But, whatever was the occasion of his journey, it is certain he had not been long there, before the tenderness of his nature drew him into a fresh misfortune; having the ill luck to fix his love upon a mistress, who, though a country lass (e), did not want the art of leading him into the Lover's paradise, in order to make an offering of him as a victim to a more favourite passion for his rival (f). For this cruel distress, finding no other remedy, he sought a resource in his Muse, which naturally suggested to him the thoughts of venting his grief in pastoral poetry, and thereby proved an occasion of immortalizing both his mistress and himself, under the apposite names of *Colin* and *Rosalinde* [E]. In the mean time he continued still happy in the friendship of Mr

(d) His life, prefixed to the edition of his works in 1679, folio.

(e) He calls her the widow's daughter of the gen, i. e. hamlet or borough. Eclogue April, and Glossary by E. K.

(f) This rival is satirized by him under the name of Menalcas in his sixth eclogue.

University, supposes his admittance at Cambridge, in 1579, to have been at the age of sixteen. The opinion has been followed by all Authors since, and indeed is sufficiently grounded for a matter of no great moment. It is well known, that we owe most of the circumstances of Spenser's life to himself, and this point would be ascertained from his Sixtieth Sonnet, where he speaks of himself as forty years old, if the time of his writing that Sonnet were certainly known, but this is at least equally uncertain with the time of his admittance at Cambridge. Dr Birch tells us (9), that the Sonnets were written about 1692, and Mr Ball (10) says, they were printed that year. It is true, Mr Church's (11) friend observes, that in either case, Spenser must be born in 1550, that is, if the whole of them was either written or printed in 1692. But then, he supposes this to be a mistake, since he agrees with Mr Fenton in the date of our Poet's birth in 1553.

[C] He became acquainted with Mr Harvey. This gentleman, who was one of the prime Wits of his time (12), was born at Saffron-Walden in Essex, of mean parentage, but great alliances, like his friend Spenser; his Father being a Ropemaker, and himself nearly related to Sir Thomas Smith, the great Statesman. Mr Wood says (13), his first academical breeding was at Christ-Church in Cambridge (14), where in a short time he made such a proficiency, as astonished his Tutor: taking both his degrees in Arts, he became Proctor of the University, and grew to be an excellent and learned Poet and Orator. In which way he wrote the following pieces. 1. *Rhetor; sive duorum digrum oratio de natura arte et exercitatione rhetorica*; Lond. 1577, 4to. 2. *Ciceronianus, vel Oratio post reditum habita Cantabrigiæ ad suos Auditores*; ibid. 4to. 3. *XAIPE vel gratulationem Valdenensium libri iv. ad Eliz. Reginam*; Lond. 1578. in Latin Verse, presented to Queen Elizabeth in her progress at Audley-End in Essex. 4. *Smithus; vel Musarum Lacrymæ pro obitu honoratiff. viri Thomæ Smith*. 5. *Tyrannomastic*. 6. *Ode Natalitia*. 7. *Rameidos*. 8. *Philomusos*. 9. *Anticosmopolita*. 10. A copy of English Verses, signed *Hobbinol*, and prefixed to Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, which Mr Upton declares are enough, if he had written nothing else, to render his name immortal; and Spenser particularly takes notice how highly he was esteemed, both by Sir Philip Sidney, and his Friend Mr Dyer. Several pieces of Oratory and Poetry were also dedicated to him. After some time he was elected a Fellow of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, and applying himself to the study of the Civil Law, he obtained his Grace for a degree in that faculty, and was admitted LL. D. at Oxford, October 13, 1585, to complete which, he stood in the Act, July 11, the following year, and practised as an advocate in the Prerogative-Court of Canterbury, at London. However, in his elder years, it seems, he turned his mind to Astrology, in which also he became eminent, and wrote Almanacs that were much esteemed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But in this way he had the ill luck to fall under the lash of that noted and wrestles Buffoon, Thomas Nash, in his *Apologie of Pierce Penniless*, and *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*, which occasioned Dr Harvey to publish *A new Letter of notable Contents: with a strange Sonnet, intituled Gorgon*; Lond. 1593, 4to. 2. *Pierce's Supererogations; or a New Praise of the Old Ass*. 3. *A Preparative to certain large Discourses, intituled Nalhes*

S. Fame; Lond. 1593, 4to; with several letters and sonnets by the Poets of that time in praise of the Author. 3. *An Advertisement for Pap Hatchet, and Martin Marprelate*, printed with the former with other things, wherein he tramples much (15) upon *Robert Green*, who had reflected upon him, and was a Poet, and maker of Ballads, much valued for their mirthful and jocund turn, the titles of which may be seen in Mr Wood; who informs us, that Green died about 1592, of a surfeit taken by eating pickled herrings, and drinking Rhenish wine with them: at which fatal banquet Thomas Nash was present, who, in his *Apologie of Pierce Penniless*, makes excellent sport with him (16). Dr Gabriel Harvey had a brother Richard, who was also of Trinity-hall, and became a Divine of note (17); but giving into Astrology, suffered likewise the scourge of Nash who called them both False Prophets, Weather-Wizards, Fortune-Tellers, Mountebanks, Ballad-Makers, &c. Dr Gabriel lived to a great age, dying in the year 1630 (18).

[D] He expected assistance from the College in vain. The story of his standing for a Fellowship against Mr (afterwards Bishop) Andrews, and losing the election, related in one account of (19) his life, has been long universally rejected (20); and perhaps he left Cambridge, as some think, before that election happened (21): however, it can hardly be supposed, that in his circumstances, he did not push for some assistance, as an exhibition or the like, either in his own or some other College, unless he was overruled by his Tutor, or the Master of the College, which perhaps will not be thought incredible, if that Governor is meant in the following passage of a Letter from his Friend Mr Harvey (22). 'And will you, says this severe Wit, needs have my Testimonial of your old Controller's new behaviour. A busy and dizzy head, a leaden brain, a wooden wit, a copper face, a fatten breast, a factious and elvish heart, a founder of novelties, a confounder of his own and his friends good gifts, a morning book-worm, an afternoon malt-worm, a right Juggler, as full of sleights, wiles, fetches, castes of legerdemain, toys to mock apes with, odd shifts and knavish practices, as his skin can hold.' But

— Vivendum est recte
Tum propter plurima, tum his præcipue causis,
Ut lingua mancipiorum contemnas.

Whatever may be thought of this conjecture, our Poet seems to have left Cambridge without any bitter spirit of disappointment. See with what filial piety he remembers his *Alma Mater* (though to him she proved a Stepmother) where he celebrates the river that runs by her.

There doth by Huntingdon and Cambridge sit,
My mother Cambridge, whom as with a crown,
She doth adorn, and is adorn'd by it,
With many a gentle Muse, and many a gentle Wit (23).

Yet it is not impossible, as Mr Upton (24) conjectures, that this disappointment might prevent Spenser's taking holy orders, as was the case of Milton; and it is observable, that they both afterwards inveighed bitterly against the Pride and Luxury of the Clergy.

[E] He fixed his Love upon his *Rosalinde*. This Lady's real name is still a secret, as well as her family. Spenser,

(15) And inhumanely, after Green's death, as Mr Wood tells us in Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 136.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 217. where may be seen a list of his works in Astrology and Divinity.

(18) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 128. as before.

(19) Viz. That prefixed to the edition of his works in 1679, fol.

(20) See the Art. of Bishop Andrews, Remark [B], adding to it, that Mr Dove, the Bishop's opponent, was an excellent Preacher, and became afterwards Bishop of Peterborough.

(21) Fenton's Notes upon Waller, ubi supra.

(22) Prefixed to the last mentioned edition of Spenser's works.

(23) Fairy Queen, B. IV. Canto II. St. 34.

(24) In his Life of Spenser, ubi supra.

(b) Mr Fenton's notes to Waller's poems, p. LI. edit. 1744. 8vo. from the information of the late learned Antiquary, the Rev. Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's college, Cambridge.
(c) He proceeded A. B. in 1572. Id. ibid.

(9) In Spenser's Life prefixed to Kent's Edition of the Fairy Queen, 1751, 3 vol. 4to. with cuts.
(10) In his edit. of Spenser's Calendar, 1732, 8vo.

(11) See Spenser's Life prefixed to Church's Edit. of the Fairy Queen, in 1758, in 4 vol. 8vo.

(12) See his Musarum Lacrymæ, &c.

(13) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 128.

(14) Others say at Pembroke Hall. See Tanner's Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, under his Article.

(g) Mr Ball, in vita Spenser, &c. prefixed to his edition of the Calendar in 1732. 8vo. dates this removal in 1578.

Mr Harvey, who, having a true sense of his admirable genius, prevailed upon him to quit an indolent and hopeless life in the country, and remove to London (g), where that friend introduced him to Mr (afterwards Sir) Philip Sidney [F]. This fortunate step answered his fondest wishes: that generous patron of real merit of every kind, and of poetry in particular, presently took him into his favour and protection, and introduced him to Queen Elizabeth, who made him Poet Laureat [G]. After this, he was frequently invited to Penshurst, where, in company with Sir Philip, he studied poetry and philosophy, especially the Platonic, which he made good use of in his writings. During this interval he finished his

fer, it seems, kept it so from every body, except his two intimate friends, Mr Kerke and Harvey, who kept their trust with inviolable fidelity. We are informed indeed by the former, that she was a gentlewoman of no mean house, nor endued with any vulgar or common gifts, both of nature and manners, but such as needed neither Colin [Spenser] be ashamed to have her made known by his verses, nor Hobbinol [Harvey] be grieved, that so she should be commended to immortality for her rare and singular virtues: especially deserving it no less than either *Myrto*, the most excellent poet, Theocritus's darling; or *Lauretto*, Petrarchi's goddess; or *Himera*, the worthy Poet Stenchorus's Idol (25). We see it is here hinted that her name was known to Mr Harvey, which indeed is evident from a Letter of Spenser to him (26), where having assured this friend, that by his advice, he had consented to address his Pastorals to Sir Philip Sidney, he mentions the reasons, which had till then hindered him from doing it, one of which is as follows. 'Then also becometh the work too base for his excellent Lordship, being made in honour of a private person unknown, which by some well-willers might be upbraided not to be worthy, as you know she is.' Mr Kerke (27) goes so far as to tell us, that Rosalinde is a feigned name, which, if *well ordered*, will betray the very true name of his love and misfortunes; and Mr Upton thinks (28), that by *well ordered* is meant the replacing the letters in their true order, by resolving the Anagram of which, according to the frequent practice of our Poet, the name of Rosalinde is fabricated. The conjecture is ingenious, and indeed naturally suggested by Mr Kerke's words. The worst of it is, that it leaves us as much in the dark as ever. The knot is still inextricable, it is true some of Spenser's Anagrams, as *Algrind* for *Grindal* (29) the Archbishop, are obvious enough, where he did not aim at a poetical name: but who could have unlocked *Hobbinol* into *Gabriel Harvey*, except Spenser himself, who made the Anagram, or his Friends Kerke and Harvey, to whom he revealed it, as he did this of Rosalinde, which, like that of Hobbinol too, was probably not made by a simple derangement of the letters of her true name, without the variation and addition of some others, as were necessary to reduce it to the true poetical name of Rosalinde, under which he wished and intended his Mistress's true name should be concealed. In so forlorn a state, Mr Church's friend ventures a conjecture, with a modesty and diffidence suitable to it. He thinks it not impossible, that the true name of Rosalinde, which was invented in Kent, might after all be merely *Rose Lynde*, *Rose* being a common Christian name; and among the country names in *Fuller's Worthies*, under Henry VII, there appears at Canterbury the name of *John Lynde*.

[F] Mr Harvey introduced him to Sir Philip Sidney.] Mr Fenton supposes his introduction to be made by dedicating his *Shepherd's Calendar* to Sir Philip, and the same opinion is espoused by Dr Birch, notwithstanding the notorious inconsistency of it with several passages in the Calendar itself, explained in the notes upon them by Mr Kerke. For instance, in the Fourth Eclogue, Hobbinol says,

*Colin, thou ken'st the southern Shepherd's boy,
Him love hath wounded with a deadly dart.*

To which lines E. Kerke hath the following note. 'It seemeth that Colin appertaineth to some southern nobleman, and perhaps in Surrey or Kent, the rather, because he often mentions the Kentish Downs.' Again, in the Sixth Eclogue, Hobbinol thus speaks of Colin,

*Then if by me thou list advised be,
Forsake the soil that so doth thee bewitch,
And to the dales resort, where Shepherds rich,
And fruitful vales been every where to see.*

'This is no poetical fiction, says E. Kerke, but un-

feignedly spoken of the Poet's self, who for especial occasion of private affairs (as I have partly of himself been informed) and for his more preferment, removed out of the partes, and came into the South, as Hobbinol indeed advised him privately.' The point is still more evident from Spenser's Letter, before cited (31); to Mr Harvey, where, besides the reason there mentioned, he sets forth the following. 'My principal doubts were, first, I was minded for a while to have intermitted the address of my writing, lest by overmuch cloying their noble ears, I should get a contempt of my self, or else seem rather for gain and commodity, to do it for some sweetness that I had already received—Your desire to hear of my last being with her Majesty, must die of itself. As for the two gentlemen, Mr Sidney and Mr Dyer, they have me, I thank them, in some use and familiarity.' However, Mr Fenton's conjecture is much more tolerable, than the story that Spenser was a stranger to Sir Philip when he had begun to write his *Fairy Queen*, and that he took occasion to go to Leicester-house, and to introduce himself by sending into Sir Philip a copy of the ninth Canto of the first Book of that poem. Sir Philip was much surprized with the description of despair in that Canto, and after reading some Stanzas, turned to his Steward and bid him give the person who brought those verses, 50 l.; but upon reading the next Stanza, he ordered the sum to be doubled. The Steward was no less surprized than his master, and thought it his duty to make some delay in executing so sudden and lavish a bounty; but upon reading one Stanza more, Sir Philip raised his gratuity to 200 l. and commanded the Steward to give it immediately, lest as he read further he might be tempted to give away his whole estate. To shame this idle tale (32), we need only observe, that the *Fairy Queen* may be said even to owe its birth to Sir Philip Sidney, who quickly after his acquaintance with our Poet, discovered his genius to be formed for higher subjects, than those lesser pieces which he had then wrote, and persuaded him

For Trumpets sterne to change the oaten reed.

To the same purpose also we find him in the verses to the Countess of Pembroke, sent with a copy of the first edition of the *Fairy Queen*, acknowledging that it was her Brother, Sir Philip Sidney,

Who first did lift his Muse out of the floor.

And in the same strain sings another Poet more expressly (33), who speaking of the early part of Spenser's life, has these lines:

*To seem a Shepherd then he made his choice;
But Sidney heard him sing, and knew his voice (34).
And as Ulysses brought fair Thetis' son
From his retired life to menage Arms;
So Spenser was by Sidney's speeches won
To bless her Fame, not fearing after harms.*

[G] Queen Elizabeth made him Poet Laureat.] This laurel however is said to have proved a barren one to him, at least for some time, through the ill humour and opposition of the Treasurer Burleigh, who not only withheld the pension, but intercepted some other fruits of the Queen's bounty to him. We are told, that her Majesty, upon Spenser's presenting some Poems to her, ordered him a gratuity of a hundred pounds. But that Burleigh objecting to it said, with some scorn of the Poet, *What! all this for a Song.* The Queen replied, *Then give him what is Reason.* Spenser waited for some time, but had the mortification to find himself disappointed of the Queen's intended bounty. Upon this, he took a proper opportunity to present a paper to her Majesty, in the manner of a petition, wherein he reminded her of the orders she had given, in the following lines.

I was

(25) Notes on Eclogue.

(26) Letter the third, prefixed to the edition of his works, in 1629, fol.

(27) In his notes upon Calendar Eclogue.

(28) Spenser's Life prefixed to his edition of the *Fairy Queen*.

(29) See the Fifth Eclogue.

(30) Spenser's Life prefixed to that edition of the *Fairy Queen*.

(31) In Remark preceding.

(32) It seems to be first retailed by the writer of his Life prefixed to the edition of his work in 1679.

(33) In the verses signed W. L. prefixed to the first edit. of the *Fairy Queen*.

(34) That is, found out the strength of voice.

(b) Mr Bull says they were first printed in 1577, but this seems to be a mistake.

his Shepheard's Calendar [H], and printed it in 1579 (b), with a dedication in verse to this patron, who had recommended him to the Earl of Leicester, and procured him to be appointed Agent for that Minister in France and other foreign parts. And though this design, by some means or other not known, happened to prove abortive [I], yet he attended

*I was promised on a time
To have Reason for my rhyme,
From that time unto this season,
I received nor Rhime nor Reason.*

(15) Fuller's Worthies in London.

(16) It is pretended to that edition.

This paper produced the desired effect, and the Queen, not without some reproof of the Treasurer, immediately directed the payment of the hundred pounds, which she at first ordered (35). Our Poet however sent the three first books of his *Fairy Queen*, when printed, to Burleigh, with a sonnet complimenting him as the Atlas of the State (36), yet at the same time shewing some diffidence of his Lordship's regard for Poetry, in excusing his unfitly presenting those dull rhimes

*The labours of last time and wit untaid,
Yet if their deeper sense be duly weigh'd,
And the dim veil, with which from common view
Their fairer parts are hid, aside be laid,
Perhaps not vain they may appear to you.
Such as they be vouchsafe them to receive,
And wipe their faults out of your censure grave.*

And it should seem, that the present was not received in an agreeable manner to our Author, since in the Introduction to the fourth book, he reflects upon that Statesman's dislike of his Poem as follows.

*The rugged forehead that with grave foresight
World's kingdom's, causes, and affairs of state,
My looser rhimes, I wot, doth sharply write,
For praising love.—*

He also plainly alludes to this misfortune at the end of the sixth book, where speaking of detraction described as a monster, he concludes with the following Stanza.

*Ne may this homely verse of many meanest
Hope to escape his venomous despite,
More than my former writs, all were they clearest
From blameful blot, and free from all that write,
With which some wicked tongues did it backbite,
And bring into a mighty Peer's displeasure,
That never so deserved to indite.
Therefore do you my rhimes keep better measure
And seek to please, that now is counted wise men's
treasure.*

Among his other writings here mentioned, the most remarkable perhaps is his Poem intituled *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, where he has painted the misfortune of dependence on Court favour in the most lively colours, particularly in the following lines.

*Full little knowest thou who hast not try'd
What hell it is in suing long to bide,
To lose good days that might be better spent,
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to day, to be put back to morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
To have thy Prince's Grace, yet want her Peers;
To have thy asking, yet wait many years;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eat thy heart thro' comfortless despaire;
To fazon, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run;
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.*

This, and the other reflections in the same *Tale*, are said to be resent'd by the Treasurer, in the apprehension that he was struck at in them. However that be, it is certain there are other parts of our Poet's works, where this discouragement by the Treasurer is as strongly marked. For instance, in the *Ruins of Time*, written some time after Sir Philip Sidney's death, he pours forth his complaints in the full bitterness of his soul.

*O grief of griefs! O gail of all good hearts!
To see that Virtue should despised be
Of such as first were raised for Vertue's parts,
And now broad spreading like an aged Tree,
Let none see up that nigh them planted be.*

*O let not those of whom the Muse is scorned,
Alive or dead be by the Muse adorned.*

Mr Church's friend observes (37), that in what Spenser wrote after 1590 he seems never to have spared Burleigh. On the other hand, it has been urged in behalf of that Minister, that his usage of our Poet might not proceed, either from a personal prejudice in particular, or a contempt of Poetry in general; but from the influence of party, Spenser being attached first to the Earl of Leicester, and then to the Earl of Essex, both successively heads of a party opposite to the Treasurer (38). And indeed, after the Irish Grant, Spenser's complaints were sure somewhat unseasonable, and might have been hushed by her Majesty's bounty to him. In respect to Lord Burleigh, may it not be retorted upon him, That they were then *Rhimes without Reason*; and as such, stood in need of the excuse which has been made for them (39), that 'The most elegant minds have the quickest sense of repulses from the great and powerful, who should countenance and protect them, and that therefore it is no wonder that the misfortune sunk deep into his spirit, and even dwelt upon him for a great space of his life.'

[H] He printed the *Shepheard's Calendar* in 1679.] Spenser is universally allowed to be the Father of the true Pastoral Poem in England. The true reason of his succeeding so well was unquestionably, that he felt and saw what he described *Love and the Country*, as is observed by Mr Hughes (40); though that Critic has made a slip in remarking, that in this work our Author was not mist'd by the Italians, notwithstanding Tasso's *Aminta* might have been as good an Authority to him in the Pastoral, as Ariosto in the greater kind of Poetry (41). Whereas, the *Aminta*, though composed in 1674, was not published till 1581, as we are informed from Nicéron by Dr Birch (42), who likewise takes notice, that some faults in this Calendar were shewn by Mr Pope in his Discourse of Pastoral Poetry, which was written at sixteen years of age. That excellent Bard, however unparalleled as he is in some other species of Poetry, it is certain did not excel in this. It is true, he aimed, after Virgil, at the more elevated kind of Pastoral, which would exhibit the charming scenes of rural simplicity and innocence, without sinking into the rustic. But in the attempt he carried it to excess: he was made sensible of his mistake, and conscious, as it should seem, that the bent of his nature and genius did not lead him to stretch with equal wings after Spenser in the rustical way, he gave a proof at once, both of his good sense and discernment, in putting upon that task his friend *Gay*, who thereby became Spenser's second; *et Primo vix, aut ne vix quidem, Impar* (43).

[I] The design proved abortive.] The writer of his Life, prefixed to Mr Church's Edition of the *Fairy Queen*, thinks it probable, that the scheme never took place; in support of which opinion he observes, that Spenser in his Letter to his Friend Mr Harvey, dated at Leicester-house, October 5, 1579, having complained, that whereas he had hitherto lived in a manner agreeable, and not profitable to himself, he had now obtained a station, which was profitable, but not agreeable; but that he was now grown weary of wasting any longer his youthful years in fruitless expectation, or mean complaints; and therefore had submitted to the seeking of his fortune, by leaving his country for long and tedious journeys in foreign parts. He adds in the postscript, that he expected to set out the week following, 'If I can, says he, be dispatched of my Lord. I go thither as sent by him, and maintained most what of him; and there am to employ my time, my body, my mind, in his Honour's service.' And yet, in the conclusion of another Letter to the same Friend, dated October 16, which, from many circumstances, must be the same year, he writes as follows. 'Thus much was written at Westminster yesternight; but coming this morning, being the 16th of October, to Mrs Kerkes (44) to have it delivered to the Carrier, I received your Letter sent me the last week, whereby I perceive you continue your old exercise of versifying English, which glory I had now thought should have been ours at London, and at the Court.' It is true, this is not decisive. However, it is certain,

(37) In the Life of Spenser, prefixed to his edition of the *Fairy Queen*, edit. 1758. 8vo.

(38) Birch's Life of Spenser, prefixed to the edit. of the *Fairy Queen*, published in 1751. 4to.

(39) Hughes in his Remarks upon Spenser's Writings prefixed to his edition of his Works.

(40) Ibid,

(41) Remarks on the Shepheard's Calendar, p. 98.

(42) Nicéron's *Memoires des Hommes illustres*, vol. 25. p. 71. quoted in Birch's Life of Spenser, ubi supra.

(43) See Gay's Article.

(44) Hence it is conjectured, that Kerke is the name of Spenser's friend, marked by the initial letters E. K. in his Notes on the Shepheard's Calendar, and elsewhere.

(i) His Lordship was appointed Aug. 12, 1680, and sworn into it Sept. 7. Ware's Hist. of Ireland.

attended the Lord Grey of Wilton, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland (i), in the quality of his Secretary, the following year [K]. Spenser discharged the duties of this post with great abilities

that if he did go abroad at all, his stay was so short, that the main design must have proved in a great measure abortive, since another Letter shews him to be in London when the Earthquake happened there, in the beginning of April, 1580; and in July or August the Lord Grey set out for Ireland. Perhaps this traverse might be owing to that unlucky mistake, which threw him for a while under Leicester's displeasure, though it was committed unwillingly; and to shew emblematically, that with honest intention, he erred like Virgil's harmless gnat, he sent his Lordship a hasty translation of that Poem, with a sonnet prefixed, by way of dedication, in which he expresses himself thus.

*Wronged, yet not daring to express my pain,
To you, great Lord, the Cause of my care,
In cloudy tears my case I thus complain,
Unto your self that only privy are.*

(44) See his Life of Spenser, ubi supra.

Mr Upton (44) thought this Lord's displeasure was owing to some kind of officious sedulity in Spenser, who much desired to see his Patron married to the Queen of England. Whatever it were, it seems to have been blown over before the writing of the *Fairy Queen*, if, as Mr Upton conjectures, the Earl is meant by Prince Arthur in that Poem. It is certain, that our Poet had early framed some scheme of an heroic Poem, of which his Lordship was to have been the Hero, as appears from the following lines.

*Abandon then thy base and wiler clowne;
Lift up thy self out of the lowlie dust,
And sing of bloodie Mars, of Wars, or Gifts:
Turn thee to those that wield the awful Crown,
To doughty Knights whose woundles armour rusts,
And helms unbruised waxen daily brown.
There may thy Muse display her fluttering wing,
And stretch her self at large from East to West.
Whether thou list on fair Eliza, rest;
Or if thou please in bigger notes to sing,
Advance to Worthy (45). Him see loveth best;
That first the white bear to the stake did bring.*

(45) So he often files that Lord.

(46) See Spenser's Lat. Verses to Harvey, dated Octob. 5, 1579, which verses, as Mr Upton observes, were certainly written in haste, and not intended to be published, having several faults in them.

This our Poet writes in his tenth Eclogue, which therefore is another convincing proof, that it was not the Dedication of the *Shepherd's Calendar* that first introduced him to Sir Philip Sidney. Though, at the same time, it is more than probable, that so much of the Poem as was (and it is evident that some of it was) (46) written before the Author left the North, might be shewn on his Introduction by Mr Harvey to that gentleman.

[K] *He was made Secretary to Lord Grey.* Among Sidney's papers, there is a Letter of Sir Henry Sidney to the Lord Grey, on his appointment to Ireland, dated September 17, 1580, where he particularly mentions, that his son Philip had pressed him much to send him a letter of advice as to that government, which he had administered himself about eleven years either as Lord Justice, or Lord Deputy. And since Sir Henry married Lord Leicester's sister, and Lord Grey was allied to Sir Henry, it is easy to conceive how cordially Spenser might be recommended to him, and accepted by him. And our Poet omitted no fitting opportunity of testifying his gratitude. For instance, he sent his Lordship a copy of the first edition of the *Fairy Queen* (47), with the following Sonnet.

*Most noble Lord, the pillar of my life,
And Patron of my Muses pupillage;
Through whose large bounty poured on me rife,
In the first season of my feeble age,
I now do live, bound your's by vassalage,
Sith nothing ever may redeem nor reave
Out of your endless debt so sure a gage.
Vouchsafe in worth this small gift to receive,
Which in your noble hands for pledge I leave
Of all the rest that I am ty'd t'account;
Rude rymes, the which a rustic Muse did weave
In savadge soile, far from Parnasse Mount,
And roughly wrought in an unlearned loome,
The which vouchsafe dear Lord your favourable doom.*

(47) They are prefixed to that Poem.

But he raised afterwards a much larger monument of his gratitude, in his *Review of the State of Ireland*, where he undertakes to defend his Lordship's Government there, with the warmest zeal. The Queen was displeas'd with some parts of his conduct, which occasioned his recall in the short space of two years. Particularly he had been represented to her Majesty, as exercising so much cruelty, as drove the Rebels to desperation; and to prevent the ill consequences arising from such a distemperature, a general pardon was granted soon after the death of the Earl of Desmond. Our Author's piece is drawn up in the way of a dialogue, between Eudoxus and Irenæus. And Eudoxus having mentioned these reports of Lord Grey's misconduct, Irenæus answers:

' Too true, Eudoxus, the more the pity; for I may not forget so memorable a thing, neither can I be ignorant of that perilous advice, and of the whole means by which it was compassed, and very cunningly contrived, by sowing dissention between him and another noble personage, wherein they both at length found how notably they had been abused, and how thereby underhand, this universal alteration of things was brought about; but then too late to stay the fame. For in the mean time, all that was formerly done with long labour and great toil, was, you see, in a moment undone; and that good Lord blotted with the name of a bloody man, whom we that well knew, knew to be most gentle, affable, loving, and temperate: but that the necessity of that present state of things enforced him to that violence, and almost changed his natural disposition. But otherwise he was so far from delighting in blood, that oft times he suffered not just vengeance to fall where it was deserved; and even some of them, which were afterwards his Accusers, had tasted too much of his mercy, and were from the gallows brought to be his Accusers. But his course indeed was this, that he spared not the heads and principals of any mischievous practices, or rebellion; but shewed sharp judgment on them chiefly for example's sake, that all the meaner sort, which also were generally infested with that evil, might by fear thereof be reclaimed and saved, if it were possible. For in the last conspiracy of some of the English Pale, think you that there were not many more guilty than those that felt the punishment: yet he touched only a few of especial note, and in the trial of them also, to prevent the blame of cruelty and partial proceedings, and seeking their blood, which he, as in his great wisdom it seemeth, did foresee would be objected against him, for the avoiding thereof use a singular discretion and regard; for the Jury that went upon their trial, he made to be chosen out of their own nearest kinsmen, and their Judges he made of some of their own Fathers, others of their Uncles and dearest Friends, who when they could not but justly condemn them, yet he uttered their judgment in abundance of tears; and yet he even herein was called bloody and cruel.

' *Eudoxus.* In that sharp execution of the Spaniards at the fort of Smerwick, I heard it especially noted, and if it were true, surely it was a great touch to him in point of honour, if he promised them life, or put them in hopes thereof.

' *Iren.* Both the one and the other is most untrue. For this I can assure you myself, being as near them as any, that he was so far, either from promising, or putting them in hopes, that when their Secretary, called, as I remember, Signor Jeffery, an Italian, being sent to treat with the Lord Deputy for grace, he was flatly refused; and afterwards their Colonel, named Don Sebastian, came forth to intreat, that they might part with their arms like soldiers, at least with their lives according to the custom of war, and law of nations; it was strongly denied them, and told to him by the Lord Deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either custom of war, or law of nations; for that they were not any lawful enemies, and if they were, he willed them to shew by what commission they came thither into another Prince's dominions to war, whether from the Pope, or the King of Spain, or any other; to which, when they said they had not, but were only Adventurers, that came to seek foreign bread, and to serve in the wars among the Irish, who desired to entertain them, it was told him, that the Irish themselves, as

abilities and integrity, equally respectful of and respected by his Lordship, who being recalled in 1682 (*k*), our Secretary returned with his Master to England, where he seems to have continued till the much lamented death of his patron, Sir Philip Sidney, in 1586, a loss which he felt and grieved for all his life afterwards (*l*), and which would perhaps have sunk him beyond the hopes of a recovery, had it not been very much alleviated a few months before (*m*), by receiving, as a reward for his services, and in honour of his excellent talents, a grant from the Queen of upwards of three thousand acres of land (*n*) in the county of Cork in Ireland. This royal bounty carried him again, in 1587, to that kingdom, where he entered upon his estate, and passed his days in a happy tranquillity, having for his house the castle of Kilcolman, a feat of the Earl of Desmond, whose rebellion had been lately quelled (*o*), and the pleasant river Mulla running through his ground [*L*]. In this sweet leisure he resumed his great work, the poem of the *Fairy Queen* [*M*], and was thus happily employed in 1580, when Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom he had been several years acquainted (*p*), touching, in his return from the Portugal expedition, upon Ireland, in order to take a view of his much larger grant (*q*) from the Crown, made a trip to Kilcolman to see his old friend and brother poet. Spenser had then finished the three first books of his last mentioned work,

(*n*) The whole was 3028 acres; rent 17l. 7s. 6d. Cox's History of Ireland. They were called Undertakers, being obliged by the patent to cultivate the lands granted to them.
(*o*) The Earl of Desmond and his accomplices had forfeited 574628 acres, partly in Cork.
(*p*) From the time of Sir Walter's serving in the post of a captain of foot under Lord Grey. See his article.
(*q*) His grant was no less than 30000 acres.

and, the Earl and John of Desmond, with the rest, were no lawful enemies, but Rebels and Traitors, and therefore they that came to succour them, no better than rogues and runnagates, especially coming with no licence nor commission from their own King. So as it would be dishonourable for him, in the name of his Queen, to condescend to make any terms with such Rebels; but left them to their choice, to yield and submit themselves, or no. Whereupon the said Colonel did absolutely yield himself and the fort, with all therein, and craved only mercy; which it being not thought good to shew them, for danger of them, if being saved, they should afterwards join with the Irish; and also for fear of the Irish, who are much emboldened by these foreign succours, and also put in hopes of more e'er long; there was no other way, but to make that short end as was made. Therefore most untruly and maliciously do these evil tongues backbite and slander the sacred ashes of that most just and honourable personage, whose least virtue, of many most excellent that abounded in his heroic spirit, they were never able to aspire unto (47). We have given this defence at length, as well worthy of it in that light: but there are two other remarks, which may perhaps be thought not less worth notice. First, hereby some light is thrown into the occasion of the quarrel between Lord Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh, which is left so dark by his historian (48), and which we see here, was occasioned by the malicious and injurious misreports of some informers, the not unfrequent bane of the best friendships. The other use to be made of this passage of Spenser, regards himself. For to this faithful attachment to Lord Grey, after he was in disgrace, may fairly be ascribed, in some measure, the small favour he met with at Court by his *Fairy Queen*, though the original of every Knight was then living in the Court, and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought was most conspicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, which turned not much to his account (49).

by reading Spenser; that the great Milton owned him for his original, as Dryden assures us; and that Dryden studied him, and has bestowed more frequent commendations on him, than on any other English Poet. However, these three were all born with such poetical talents, as would have made a figure in the Art, had Spenser never been. The force of whose power, as a Father in begetting poetical children, will perhaps be thought more conspicuously displayed in the instance of Dr Henry More (52), who informs us, that he owed all his Poetry to hearing his Father read the *Fairy Queen* to his children, in the winter evenings. In this tale a young Critic writes, that 'though the *Fairy Queen* does not exhibit the œconomy of plan, and exact arrangement of parts, which Epic severity requires; yet we scarcely regret the loss of these, while their place is so amply supplied by something which more powerfully attracts us, as it engages the affection of the heart, rather than the applause of the head; and if there be any Poem whose graces please, because they are situated beyond the reach of art, and where the faculties of creative imagination delight us, because they are unassisted, and unrestrained by those of deliberate judgment, it is this, of which we are now speaking (53). To sum up all in a few words; 'Though in the *Fairy Queen* we are not satisfied as Critics, yet we are transported as Readers.'

(52) In the Dedication of his Poem to his Father Alexander More, Esq.

(53) Warton's Observations on the *Fairy Queen* of Spenser, Sect. I. at the conclusion, p. 12, 13. edit. 1754. 8vo.

But if Spenser may be stiled the Father of our Poets, he has assuredly an equal claim to be the Father of the Critics. The substance of all those who flourished before Mr Hughes, is collected and thrown by him into some continued discourses, prefixed to his edition of Spenser's Works, in 1715. Since that Mr Jortin published *Remarks on Spenser's Poems*, in 1734. 8vo. which have been well received. Mr Spence, in his *Polymetis* (54), hath also entered into our Poet's manner of allegorizing, and the conduct of his Allegories, which, as the book is not in very many hands, we shall lay before the Reader. The general plan of the *Polymetis* is the same with Lord Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients*, being to recommend their simplicity and clearness in symbolical representations. He assures us he had read the *Fairy Queen* with the particular view of informing himself from the best Allegorists among all the modern Poets, how far they have deviated from the Ancients. He reduces Spenser's faults, in relation to his Machinery or Allegories, under three general heads. 1. Mixing the fables of Heathenism with the truths of Christianity. 2. Misrepresenting the Allegories of the Ancients. 3. From something that is wrong in the Allegories of his own invention. Under the first, he instances in that short view which our Poet gives of the infernal regions (55), where he speaks of Jupiter and Tantalus, and of Pontius Pilate and our Saviour, almost in the same breath. With regard to the second fault, he speaks of Esculapius as being in hell torments (56), in the view of Hell. Under the third fault is ranged, Spenser's introducing a company of Satyrs, as saving a Lady from a Rape (57); and makes Sylvanus, the God or Governor of Satyrs (58), a Dignity which the Ancients never provided for him any more than the Jews girdle, which he gives him round his waste (59). He describes the day, or morning, with purple hair (60). The Syrens as half Fish (61). The figures of the Syrens are not uncommon in Antiques, and are never represented there with a fish's tail, that I know of, but with the upper part human, and the lower like birds: the Poets describe them in

(54) Dialogue XIX. edition 1755. folio.

(55) In B. II. Canto VII. Stanza 62.

(56) B. I. C. V. St. 43.

(57) B. I. C. VI. St. 19.

(58) Ib. St. 15. ver. 4.

(59) Ib. St. 14. ver. 9.

(60) B. I. C. X. St. 20.

(61) B. II. C. XII. St. 37.

[*L*] *A pleasant Seat in Ireland.*] A late Author (50) has given us the following description of Kilcolman. 'It is, says he, two miles north-west of Doneraile. It was a castle of the Earls of Desmond, now almost level with the ground. It was situated in the north side of a fine lake, in the midst of a vast plain, terminated to the East by the mountains of the county of Waterford; Bally-howra hills, or, as Spenser terms them, the mountains of Mola, to the North; Nagle mountains to the South; and those of Kerry to the West. It commands a view of above half the breadth of Ireland, and must have been, when the adjacent uplands were clothed with woods, a most pleasant and romantic situation.'

[*M*] *The Fairy Queen.*] Notwithstanding the many gross faults that have been found both in the original plan, and in the execution of this Poem; yet Mr Hughes rightly observes (51), Spenser has by it become the Father of more Poets, than any other of our writers in that way; and I believe it will not be disputed, that the same Gentleman has given the true reason for it, which is our Poet's peculiar talent in the embellishments of description, rich and lavish in him beyond comparison. As this is the most striking part of Poetry, especially in young minds, being first engendered in the imagination, and youth most susceptible of these impressions, it will not seem very strange therefore, that Cowley, as himself tells us, first caught this flame

(1) He was succeeded by Archbishop Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop, who were sworn into the office September 6, 1582. 15d.

(2) See several of his poems, and particularly his *Adrophel*, a pastoral elegy on that occasion.

(3) Sir Philip died Oct. 17, and Spenser's grant is dated June 27, 1586.

(47) View of the State of Ireland, p. 156 — 159.

(48) Oldy's Life of Sir W. Raleigh.

(49) Dryden's Dedication to Jovenal.

(50) Ch. Smith, in an Account of the Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork, Vol. II. p. 60—63. See also Fiennes Morison's Itinerary, Part II. p. 4.

(51) In his Life of Spenser, ubi supra.

(r) His Lordship died in 1588. General History of England.

and, resolving to publish them, he gladly accepted his friend's proposal to accompany him to England. On his arrival there, the Earl of Leicester being dead (r), he was introduced to

- (61) Ovid's Met. B. V. ver. 55. ' the same manner (61). Spenser describes Bacchus to be fat (62), a misrepresentation very common among the modern Artists. He makes Clio to be Apollo's Wife (63), and Cupid the Mother of the Graces (64). He represents in one place Orion as flying from a snake into Heaven (65); and in another, as a watry God, and one of the Attendants upon Neptune. Among the faults of this kind noted, the alterations in Spenser's account of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, in which he has greatly increased Neptune's court, and added several Deities as Attendants upon that God, which were never regarded as such by any of the Ancients (66). These instances may be sufficient to shew, that where Spenser does introduce the Allegories of the ancient Poets, he does not always follow them so exactly as he might; and in the Allegories, which are merely of his own invention (and his invention is one of the richest and most beautiful that perhaps ever was) I am sorry to say, that he does not only fall very short of that simplicity and propriety, which is so remarkable in the works of the Ancients, but runs now and then into thoughts that are quite unworthy of so great a genius. I shall mark out some of these faults to you, which indeed thus separated from the work, and laid together by themselves, will appear very gross; but if they should prejudice you against so fine a writer, read almost any one of his entire Cantoes, and it will reconcile you to him again. The reason of my producing these instances, is only to shew what faults the greatest Allegorists may commit. He then proceeds to observe, that the first sort of faults in the Allegories of Spenser's own invention, is their being sometimes too complicated or overdone; such, for example, are his representations of scandal, discord, and pride. Scandal is what he calls the *Blatant Beast*, and he has made a very strange beast of him. His mouth was as wide as a peck (67), and he had 4000 tongues in it of dogs, cats, bears, tygers, men, and serpents (68). Again, the Dragon killed by the Knight of the red Cross, in the last Canto of Book I, is described with a tail that wanted very little of three furlongs in length, the blood that gushes from his wounds is enough to drive a water-mill, and his roar like a hundred hungry lions. Another fault is in fixing such filthy ideas to some of his personages, as is enough to turn any stomach to read it, as in that of error (69); to which we may very well retort the Poet's own words on the like occasion, *Such loathsome matter were small lust to speak or think*. III. His Allegories are sometimes so far stretched, that they appear rather extravagant than great, and sometimes so minute in pointing out every particular, that the object is in danger of becoming ridiculous, instead of being admirable. IV. They are not well invented in some particulars; first, In personifying such things as are not fit to be represented as a person, as in his description of the *Cave of Care* (70); and in making Gifts or munera a Woman (71). 2. In representing things under a human personage, with somewhat inconsistent with that form and nature. The greatest instance of this kind in him, is that where he turns the human body into a Castle, the Tongue into the Porter that keeps the Gate, and the Teeth into thirty two Warders dressed in white, Appetite the Marshal of the Hall, Digestion the Clerk of the Kitchen, Concoction the Master-Cook, the Stomach the Caldron, the Lungs the Bellows, and the Sink Port-Esquiline (72). 3. In making the Person perform such things and actions as no man in his senses would do. Thus he describes Desire, as holding coals of fire in his hands, and blowing them up into a flame, which last particular is something worse than Ariosto's bringing in Discord with a flint and steel to strike fire in the face of Pride (73). V. His allegorical personages, though well invented, are not well marked out, of which there are many instances. Thus in one Canto, Doubt is represented walking with a staff that shrinks under him (74). Hope with an Aspergeoire (75), the utensil used by the Papists to sprinkle sinners with holy water. Dissimulation as twining two clues of silk (76). Grief with a pair of panniers (77); and Pleasure with a humble bec in a phial (78). And in another, in the procession of the months and seasons, February is introduced in a waggon drawn by two fishes (79). May as riding on Castor and Pollux (80). June is mounted on a crab (81). October on a scorpion (82). And November comes on a centaur all in a sweat, because, as the Poet observes, he had just been fattening his hogs (83). Others may be well ranked under ridiculous imaginations. Such, I think, is that idea of Ignorance, moving with the back part of his head foremost (84); and that of Danger with Hatred, Murder, Treason, &c. on his back (85), as also the sorrowful Lady with a bottle for her tears, and a bag for her repentance, which are running out almost as fast as she puts them in (86). A huge fat Giant swelling into an empty form, like a bladder (87). The horses of the Sun foaming tar (88). Sir Guyon's putting a padlock upon the tongue of Occasion (89). And Remorse nipping St George's heart (90). There is so much of the ridiculous in the representations of the manners, that I can't help thinking this excellent Poet might possibly have formed some of his ideas in it, even from so low a thing as the old Pageants, which were in great vogue about the time he lived (91). Had Spenser formed his Allegories on the plan of the ancient Poets, and reformed such as he had from Ariosto, and the Italian Allegorists, he might have followed nature much more closely, and would not have wandered so often into such strange and inconsistent images. I am apt to believe, that Spenser considered Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* as a Poem wholly serious, though the Author certainly wrote it partly in jest. It is a work of a mixed nature, between the gravity of *Tasso*, and the broad laugh of *Berni*. Perhaps Spenser taking some things serious, which Ariosto meant for ridiculous, may have led him now and then to have said things that are ridiculous, when he meant to be very serious. However that be, we may reasonably conclude, from so great faults as I have mentioned to you, from so great a man (whether they arise from his too much indulging the excellence of his own fancy, or from his copying after so singular a pattern) that it would be extremely useful for our Poets in general to follow the plan of Allegories so far as it is settled to their hands by the Ancients. At least till some Modern may have invented and established some better plan for them to go upon.
- A little before Mr Spence, there appeared a piece, intituled *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, by Thomas Warton, A. M. Fellow of Trinity-College, Oxford, wherein that Critic speaks more largely than is seen in some of his Brother Oxonian's Remarks (92). Among other things, he takes notice, that though the *Fairy Queen* was formed upon *Ariosto*; yet the adventures of his Knights are a more exact and immediate copy of those which we meet with in old romances and books of chivalry. They are particularly engaged in revenging injuries, and doing justice to the distressed. That his first book is a regular and precise imitation of such a series of action as we frequently meet with in those books: for instance, a King's daughter applies to a Knight, that he would relieve her father and mother, who are closely confined to their castle upon account of a vast and terrible dragon, that had ravaged their country, and perpetually laid in wait to destroy them. The Knight sets forward with the Lady, encounters a monster in the way, is plotted against by an Enchanter, and after surmounting a variety of difficulties and obstacles, arrives at the country which is the scene of the dragon's devastations, kills him, and is presented to the King and Queen, whom he has just delivered; marries their daughter, but is soon obliged to leave her on account of fulfilling a former vow. He then observes, that the circumstance of each of Spenser's twelve Knights setting out from one place, by a different way, to perform a different adventure, exactly resembles that of the seven Knights proceeding forwards to their several expeditions in the well known Romance, intituled *The Seven Champions of Christendom*. That in fact, these miraculous books were highly fashionable, and the chivalry in them was still practised in the age of Queen Elizabeth (93). Another Romance particularly made use of by Spenser, is that intituled *Morte Arthur. The Lyl of King Arthur, of his noble Knightes, of the round Table, and in th'ende the dolorous Death of them all*. Of this he gives many instances in his second Section, particularly in regard to the names, especially that of Sir Tristram,
- (62) B. III. C. I. St. 51.
(63) B. I. C. II. St. 5.
(64) B. II. C. VIII. St. 6.
(65) B. II. C. II. St. 46.
(66) B. IV. C. II. St. 15.
(67) B. VI. C. XII.
(68) Ib. St. 28.
(69) Canto I.
(70) B. IV. C. V. St. 38.
(71) B. V. C. II. St. 9, 10.
(72) Ibid. St. 25, 26.
(73) Orland. Fur. lib. 18. St. 34.
(74) B. III. C. II. St. 10.
(75) Ib. St. 13.
(76) Ib. St. 14.
(77) B. III. C. XII. St. 16.
(78) Ib. St. 18.
(79) C. II. of Mutability, St. 43.
(80) Ib. St. 34.
(81) Ib. St. 35.
(82) Ib. St. 39.
(83) Ib. St. 40.
(84) B. I. C. VIII. St. 31.
(85) B. IV. C. IV. St. 16, 17, and 20.
(86) B. VI. C. LXVIII. St. 24.
(87) B. I. C. VIII. St. 24.
(88) B. I. C. V. St. 28.
(89) B. II. C. IV. St. 22.
(90) B. I. C. X. St. 27.
(91) Mr Warton gives many instances of the truth of this remark. In his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, Sect. X.
(92) For instance, to Spence's three general heads of our Author's faults in allegorizing, he has added a fourth that he frequently introduces a Allegory under which no meaning is couched, in B. II. C. IX. St. 21. *Observations &c.* p. 222, 223. i. the note †.
(93) See *Hollinghead's Ch. Vol. III.* p. 1315.

to her Majesty by Sir Walter, who was at that time in high favour at court. The sense of this kindness made a lasting impression upon Spenser's mind; and he took the first opportunity of testifying his gratitude by such ways as he knew would be best accepted by his friend. In this spirit he addressed an explanation of the fable of the Fairy Queen to Sir Walter, in the form of a letter, which appeared at the head of the first edition in 1590; and the compliment was accordingly returned by Sir Walter in two copies of verses (5), which usher in several others of the like strain, that are prefixed to that edition. Spenser, we may imagine, was much pleased with so interesting a respect to his fame; and, returning to Ireland the following year, 1591, he gave a fresh testimony that year of his gratitude (1), in a way that must needs have been most sensibly felt by this worthy Friend [N]. In the interim, notwithstanding

(1) They are intituled, A Vision upon the concert of the Fairy Queen, and are marked W. R.

(1) In his letter, prefixed to Colin Clout's come home again, Dec. 27, 1591.

Trilfram, the circumstances of whose birth and education he has copied with much exactness from this book. Spenser informs us, that Sir Trilfram was born in Cornwall, and was Heir of Meliografs, King of that County, &c. And it may be observed, that this name Trilfram is given to the Hero of a Romance, just now published (*). The story of the Mantle made of the Beards of Knights, and Locks of Ladies (94), which he apprehends to be drawn from that Romance, and not, as might be supposed, from Geoffry of Monmouth (95), of whom the same story is borrowed by Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, Song 4; Spenser's circumstances tallying more exactly with those in the Romance. Another Romance which Spenser borrows from, is *Bevis of Southampton*: as in Prince Arthur's combat with the Dragon (96), in which encounter he follows the incidents made use of by the Romance Writers, with all the punctuality of a close copyist. In the same Section, we find that Spenser was Father of several Poets nearer his own age, than those beforementioned (97). In the third Section Mr Warton has added several examples of Spenser's copying from the Classics and ancient Mythology to those which had been collected before by Mr Jortin, and declares his opinion, that in the comparison of the Peacock and the Rainbow (as they occur together B. III. C. XII. St. 23.) Spenser imitated Tasso's *Gieruf. Lib. B. XVI. St. 24.* He had before (98) apologized for our Poet's following Ariosto, as being, with all his extravagancies, preferred to Tasso at that time, in so much that the superiority of the *Orlando Furioso* to the *Gierusalem Liberata* was at length established by a solemn decree of the *Academicians della Crusca*, who held a solemn court of enquiry concerning the merit of both Poems. In the midst of this bad taste, Spenser began to write his *Fairy Queen*. In what sense these last words are true, will be seen by the following Remarks. Spenser in his Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, explaining the plan of the *Fairy Queen*, says, 'In the person of Prince Arthur, I set forth Magnificence.' This *Magnificence*, it is highly probable, was frequently alluded to in the Cambridge Correspondance. In the few letters that remain of it, we find Mr Harvey, in 158c, using this expression, 'I fear your *Magnificence* will hold us in suspense so long for your Nine Comedies, &c.' meaning apparently, that Spenser being employed about Arthur, would hinder other things. Again, in Spenser's Latin Verses to Harvey, dated October 5, 1579, he says, 'You banter me, so great is your *Magnificence* Tu tamen illudis (tua Magnificentia tantu est;)' a good deal of that Letter alludes to this scheme. Lastly, in April 158c, Spenser says, 'I will now in hand forth with my *Faerie Queen*, which I pray you send me with all expedition, and your friendly Letter and long expected Judgment withal;' so that probably what he had now done of it was in Harvey's hands. Our Poet went to Ireland as Secretary to Lord Grey, in a few months after this; we need not wonder therefore that in the Dedication-Verses, both to that Lord and the Earl of Ormond, he speaks of writing this Poem in Ireland, since he probably wrote most of it there. But from what has been said, it is evident that the plan of the *Fairy Queen* was not only laid, but some part of it executed, before the *Gierusalem Liberata* made its appearance in public, that Poem not being printed till the year 1583; which shews the impertinence of all the Apologies that have been offered in behalf of Spenser for not following Tasso.

Besides the three Critics upon the *Fairy Queen*, already mentioned, we have met with three others, Mr Hughes, Mr Upton, and Mr Church, each of whom have been consulted, and are quoted, as the Reader will observe in the course of this memoir. But one ought not to be surprized that so many gentlemen should have turned their thoughts upon the *Fairy Queen*, after reading the conclusion of Mr Warton's Observa-

tions. 'I cannot, says this Critic, take my final leave of the Reader, without acknowledging that this task has been peculiarly delightful to me; though the business of criticism is generally laborious and dry, yet it has here more frequently amused, than fatigued my attention in its exercises upon an Author, who makes such perpetual and powerful appeals to the fancy. The pleasure which Spenser received in composing the FAIRY QUEEN must necessarily be shared by its Commentator, and the Critic, on this occasion, may venture to exclaim with the Poet,

'The waies thro' which my weary steps I guide,
'In this delightful Land of Faerie,
'Are so exceeding spacious and wide,
'And sprinkled with such sweet varietie
'Of all that pleasant is to ear or eye,
'That I nigh ravish'd with rare thoughts delight
'My tedious travel do forget thereby,
'And when I 'gin to feel decay of might,
'It strength to me supplies, and cheers my dulled
['spright (99).'

(99) B. VII. C. VI. St. 1.

[N] He expressed his gratitude to Sir Walter Raleigh, &c. We need not say, that *Colin Clout's come home again* is here meant; and it would be more than needless to enter into the display of the excellencies of a Poem so well known. But that is not the case with respect to the æra of its first appearance in public. A late writer (100) has shewn, that the date put to it of 1591 must be a mistake, as the Poem now stands, for the following reasons: first, Amarrillis, that is Alice, daughter of Sir John Spenser, is there mentioned as a widow; but her first husband was Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby, who died in 1595:

(100) The Author of Spenser's life, prefixed to Church's edition of the Fairy Queen.

But Amarrillis, whether fortunate,
Or else unfortunate, may I read,
That freed is from Cupid's yoke by fate;
Since which she doth new bonds adventure dread.

Another unanswerable reason is, that Sir Walter Raleigh, the shepherd of the ocean, is introduced as singing a song, the substance of which is thus represented:

His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindness, and of usage hard,
Of Cynthia the lady of the sea,
Which from her presence faultless him debarr'd.

We have before given a particular account of this disgrace of Sir Walter (101), wherein some of the dates differing a little from those of this writer, the present opportunity is gladly embraced of inserting his account, in which he proceeds to observe, 'that, in the Sydney papers, Vol. I. p. 377. we find Rowland White writing thus: There is great means made for Sir Walter Raleigh's coming to the Court. He lives at London very gallant. His voyage goes forward; and my Lord Treasurer ventures 50cl. in money; Sir Robert Cecil ventures a new ship, perfectly finished, the very hull stands in 80cl.

(101) Under his article.

At Court this Saturday, Decemb. 13, 1595. (102)

Sir Walter certainly sailed on this voyage, which was to Guiana, Feb. 6, 1595-6; and he returned time enough to sail with the fleet the same year on the expedition to Cadiz, where he had a noble share in the action. We imagine therefore, that, as *Astrophel* was printed in 1595, Spenser was in London in the beginning of that year, when Sir Walter was in high favour, and was introduced by him to the Queen, or that the favours he speaks of were in a former journey to London. The fact must be true of Colin Clout's being printed after his disgrace; and had the disgrace been over, it is likely it had never been mentioned here

(102) Camden, in his preface, professes to begin each year on the first of January, and has inserted this expedition in 1595.

Vir. The
e of Trilfram
andy.

B. VI. C. I.
13. and
VI. C. III.
15.

Orig. &
Reg. Brit.
X. XIII.

B. I. C. II.
9.

See Mar-
s Satires,
tuled The
urge of Vil-
r, Edit. 1598.
a Romance,
tuled The
Rose Knt.
Sect. I.

(*u*) Colin Clout's come home again. It is hinted Rosalinde was dead; and Mr Upton even thinks, that Spenser had begun his addresses to his second mistress in 1589.

(*w*) This is the most generally received opinion; though Mr Church's friend imagines it not to be before 1596. Spenser's Life, before Church's edition of the Fairy Queen.

(*x*) He calls this bride a country lass of mean birth, and tells us her name was Elizabeth, a name which was endeared to him by being both that of his mother and of Queen.

(*y*) His scheme was to place proper garrisons on the borders of those parts where the rebels herded the together.

(*z*) Camden's Eliz. whose words are, *A rebellibus e larius eiectus et bonis spoliatus in Angliam Inops reversus.*

notwithstanding the cruelty and ill usage of his first mistress, he presently gave way, upon her death, a second time to the tender passion (*u*); in which however he proved more successful than he had been with *Rosalinde*; and he celebrated the happy progress of this last amour in a species of poetry which was then, and long after, esteemed by the greatest masters to be the most consummate in its kind [*O*]. He was probably married about the year 1592, or the following year (*w*), upon which occasion he wrote an excellent *Epithalamium* (*x*), which no one indeed was so capable of doing as himself. Some time after this new engagement, he made another visit to England, where he printed his *Astrophel, and Colin Clout's come home again*, in 1595. During that interval he wrote several other small poems, which are printed in his works. The affairs of Ireland were then embroiled again by the Earl of Tyrone, who, after the death of the Earl of Desmond in 1593, broke out into a fresh rebellion, which probably was one, if not the chief, cause of our Poet's coming to England. He must needs have been not a little anxious about the safety of his own settlement at Kilcolman, which, being involved in that of the kingdom, put him upon exerting his political abilities, by laying down a complete plan for reducing that kingdom in the space of two winters at farthest. This too he finished the following year, 1596, under the title of *A View of the State of Ireland* [*P*]. The design was undeniably well concerted (*y*), and is a noble monument, not only of the Author's gratitude, but an illustrious proof, that it is not out of the compass of nature to unite the man of business with the most fanciful poet in the same person. But, feasible as this proposal was, yet it was never carried into execution; and what was the consequence of that neglect will be seen presently. In the mean time, our Poet and Politician was forced to return to his residence at Kilcolman, dubious as ever of his fate. He resolved however to make use of the present moments of quiet; and in that spirit he continued to prosecute his grand work with vigour and spirit; and accordingly we find him in England once more in the year 1596, when the second part of *The Fairy Queen*, containing the fourth, fifth, and sixth books, was printed at London in 4to, together with the four *Hymns of Beauty*, dedicated to the Countess of Cumberland. In 1597 he went back to Kilcolman; but had not been there above twelve months, when, after many treacherous submissions, the Earl of Tyrone broke out into open rebellion (*z*), and, having dispersed the forces which were sent against him by the Earl of Ormond, he ravaged and spoiled the whole county of Cork; so that Spenser was forced to seek his safety, together with his wife, in his native country, leaving his estate in Ireland to be plundered by the rebels [*Q*], who, it is said (*aa*), having carried off his goods, burnt his house, and a little child in it. However that be, it is certain he did not long survive this irretrievably ruinous calamity, which, reducing him to a state of absolute dependance, with the additional weight of a family, entirely broke his heart, and he languished under it

by Spenser. Upon the whole, this writer conjectures that the Poem was printed in 1595-6. After all, this difficulty is not unconquerable, without charging any mistake in the date of Spenser's letter in 1591. We need only suppose, that either *Colin Clout* was first written, if not printed, without the particular lines here mentioned; or else, that they were added after the first finishing of the Poem, and before it was printed with *Astrophel* in 1595.

[*O*] *To be the most consummate in its kind.* This is the *Sonnet*. It is of Italian invention, and consists generally of one thought, always turned in a single Stanza of fourteen lines, of the length of our heroics, the rhyme being interchanged alternately, in which it differs from the *Canzone*, which is not confined to any number of lines or stanzas. The origin of it is derived from Petrarch, who filled a whole book with it in honour of his Laura, with whom he was in love, as himself tells us, for twenty-one years, and whose death he lamented with the same zeal for ten years afterwards. The uncommon ardour of his passion, as well as the fineness of his wit and language, established him the master of love-verses among the moderns. We find him copied by the wits of Spain, France, and England: and the sonnet grew so much into fashion, that Sir Philip Sidney himself, who had written a great number on his beloved Stella, has pleasantly rallied his contemporaries in one, which is a perfect pattern of this kind. It consists in a natural tenderness, simplicity, and correctness, beauties which are to be found in most of Spenser's sonnets. Milton is the last who has given, in our own language, any examples of the sonnet, which is not much in vogue at present (103).

(103) This was written in the year 1761.

[*P*] *His view of the state of Ireland.* It was first printed, 1633, in folio, from a manuscript in Archbishop Usher's library, by Sir James Ware, who, in the dedication to Lord Wentworth, remarks, that the calamities of that kingdom were fully set forth, and to the life, by the Author, with a discovery of their causes and remedies, being, for the most part, excellent grounds of reformation. In the preface he observes, 'that this discourse sufficiently testifies Spenser's learning and deep judgment; but it were to be wished, that some passages had been tempered with more modera-

tion; though the troubles and miseries of the time when he wrote may partly excuse him. That his proofs (though most of them conjectural) concerning the original of the language and customs of the nation, and the first peopling of the several parts of the island, are full of good reading, and shew a sound judgment. And that with respect to the general scope intended by him for the reformation of the abuses and ill customs; though many persons had taken pains on the same subject in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and some before (as the Author of the *Salus populi* under Edward IV, and Patrick Finglas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in England in the reign of Henry VIII) yet none came so near to the best grounds of a reformation as our Author, except in a few passages, has done.' But the Editor of Sir James's works in English owns indeed, 'that there are some things in it very well written, particularly as to the main design of reducing Ireland into due obedience of the crown of England; yet, in the history and antiquities of the country, he is often miserably mistaken, and seems rather to have indulged the fancy and licence of a poet, than have shewn the judgment and fidelity required in an historian; besides his want of moderation. And this makes the loss less regretted of another treatise which he proposed to write of the antiquities of Ireland, but was never finished by him.'

[*Q*] *His estate was plundered in the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion.* After many years treacherous submission, as above-mentioned, this Earl broke out into an open rebellion on a sudden, and presently besieged Blackwater, near Armagh in Ulster in 1598. The Earl of Ormond, then General, sent a detachment against him, August 14, most of which Tyrone cut to pieces, and dispersed the rest, and Blackwater surrendered. This was a signal to the whole party, throughout Munster especially. The rebels were instantly in arms, and the commander there, being weakly supported, shut up himself in Cork. The fury of the rebellion spread every where; and we are told, that 15000 English were destroyed, in Munster especially, and through all the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond. In the midst of this desolation we have always been assured that Spenser suffered (104).

(*aa*) By Ben. Jonson the Poet. See his article Vol. IV. note (*zo*). I may be observed that Jonson then just published his first play, and was of an age to enquire into the particulars concerning Spenser.

(104) Spenser's life by Mr Church's edition as before.

till

till his death, which happened this year, or the beginning of the next, 1599 [R]. Thus, after this admirable Poet and worthy gentleman had struggled with poverty all his life-time, he died in extreme indigence (bb) and want of bread [S]. However, some amend

(bb) Camden, as before.

[R] Camden. in his *Elizabetha*, dates it in 1598, and Sir James Ware (105) in 1599; perhaps it was in 1598-9; for Camden, as has been already observed (106), though he professes to begin the year on the first of January, yet sometimes deviates in his work from that rule. However, if his life was continued till 1599, he must have died early in that year, if the authority of Ben. Jonson may be relied on, who told Mr Drummond of Hawthornden, that Spenser refused, a little before his death, twenty pieces that were sent him by Lord Essex, saying he had no time to spend (107): for his Lordship's patent of Viceroy of Ireland was dated March 12, 1589, and he set out for his government the 27th of that month (108).

[S] *Hic tibi vovet poer.*] Dr Birch (109) has lately produced a new proof of this from an old play, intituled *The returne from Parnassus, or the scourge of Simony* (110), publicly acted by the Students of St John's college in Cambridge in 1606, in which is the following passage;

A swiften () swan than ever sung in Poe
A sculler nightingale than ever blest
The tender grooves of self-adoring Rome;
Flies was each walley, and each shepherd proud,
While he did chant his rwall minstrelse;
Attentive was full many a dainty Eare,
Nay Hearers hung upon his melting tongue,
While sweetly of his Fairy Queen he song,
While to the water's fall he tun'd for same,
And on each bark engrav'd Eliza's name;
And yet for all, the unregarding soile
Unlact the line of his desired life,
Denying maintenance for his deare reliefe;
Careless care to provide his execrue,
Scarce deigning to stut up his dying eye.
Ing. Pity it is, that gentler witts should breed
Where thicke skin chuffes laugh at a scholler's need.
But softly may our honours ashes rest,
That lie by mery Chaucer's noble chest.*

Hereupon Mr Church's friend observes (111), that some of these particulars are in the first Canto of the *Purple Island*, finely touched, by a writer who deserves our acquaintance (112). The Poet having mentioned the discouragements attending virtue and learning in these lines;

*That wretched we to whom these iron days
(Hard days) afford nor matter nor reward?*

proceeds thus;

*Whence our Colin, whom though all the graces
And all the muses nurse, whose well-taught song
Parnassus' self and Glorian embraces,
And all the learn'd and all the shepherd's throng:
Yet all his hopes were crost, all suits denied,
Discouraged, scorn'd, his writings wilfied;
Poorly, poor man, he loved; poorly, poor man, he died.
And had not that great Hart (whose honour'd head
Ab! lies full low) pity'd thy weeful plight,
There hadst thou lain unwept, unbury'd,
Unblest, nor grac'd with any common rite:
Yet fealt thou live, when thy great foe shall sink
Beneath his mountain tomb, whose fame shall stink,
And Time his blacker name shall blurr with blackest
[ink.*

*Ob! let th' Iambic muse avenge thy wrong,
Which cannot slumber in thy sheets of lead;
Let thy abused honour live as long
As there be quills to write, or eyes to read.
On his cur'd name let thine own notes be turn'd.
Ob may that man that hath the muses scorned,
Alive nor dead, be ever of a muse adorned.'*

The Author of the *Purple Island* is Mr Phineas Fletcher, son of Dr Giles Fletcher, of whom an account is inserted

in this work (113). He was probably a Kentish man, as he lived at Brenckly, within a few miles of Penshurst. He was bred at Eton school, from whence he was chosen to King's College, in Cambridge, and became Fellow there. He had afterwards the living of Hilgay in Norfolk. He seems to have been of Spenser's own turn of mind, passing his days most likely at Hilgay, privately and unambitiously, and with all the modest sentiments with which he every where abounds. We cannot but think of him and love him, when he mentions

*The blushing strawberries,
Which lurk, close shrouded from high looking eyes,
Sberwing that sweetness low and bidden lies.'*

And we cannot but revere and envy him when giving us advice:

*Wouldst thou live honour'd, clip ambition's wing,
To reason's yoke thy furious passions bring;
Thrice noble is the man who of himself is king.'*

His poems were published in 1633, in 2 volumes 4to. Mr Wood tells us (114), he was the author of several books, one of which was intituled, *A father's testament, written for the benefit of his particular relations*. Lond. 1670, 8vo (115), at which time he had been dead several years. He was nephew to Dr Richard Fletcher, and consequently cousin to John Fletcher the famous playwriter; each of whom have been thought worthy of a particular article in this work (116): to which we shall take this opportunity of making some additional remarks (117). To begin with the father, Dr Richard Fletcher: it is true, he is generally said to have been a native of Kent, and as such is placed by Fuller among the worthies of that county, where the name has been very common: however, there is some room for doubt. It is certain he was one of the first Fellows of Bennet College in Cambridge, upon Archbishop Parker's foundation; according to which he must have been born in Norfolk, to which county those Fellowships are solely appropriated. He was scholar of Trinity College in 1563, where (as he proceeded A. M. and removed to Corpus-Christi in 1569) he had probably been admitted the year before, viz. in 1562. Upon this removal he entered upon the business of pupils, and other offices of Bennet College. He obtained the prebend of Isledon in the church of St Paul, upon the presentation of Matthew Parker gentleman, son to the Archbishop, who probably had the patronage of that turn made over to him by Bishop Grindal, in order to carry on his father's scheme of annexing Prebends to the Fellowships he had founded. Accordingly he held this with his Fellowship, and was made President of the College the year following; but seems to have left the college soon after, with a testimonial of his learning and good behaviour, as well as his having acquitted himself with credit in the offices of the college, in the public schools, and in the pulpit (118). He proceeded however D. D. in 1581, and became Chaplain to the Queen, to whom he had been recommended by Archbishop Whitgift for the Deanery of Windfor; but she rather chose to bestow upon him that of Peterborough, upon the decease of Dr Latymer in 1583. In 1586, he was presented by Sir Thomas Cecil to the church of Barnack, the Bishop having betrayed his right of patronage. He made a very affecting and zealous prayer at the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots (119). Whilst Dean of Peterborough he was chosen, Jan. 27, 1588, Proctor for that church, both in parliament and convocation, *tam ad parlamentum quam ad convocationem Cleri* (120). Upon his promotion to the see of Bristol in 1589, the Queen made him her Almoner. He stands censured in Archbishop Laud's metropolitain visitation of the church of Peterborough in 1635, wherein an injunction is given to make an enquiry after the executors or administrators of Dean Fletcher, that some satisfaction may be had from them, either by a fair composition or by compulsion of the law, for that great bell, which through his means, and in his name, was taken away. Soon after he had obtained the see of London, he gave out twenty-seven articles of enquiry to the churchwardens upon his primary visitation, whereby, as Neal informs us (121), the prisons, which had been lately cleared, were filled again by Non-conformists, to the

(113) See his Article in Vol. III. p. 1984, et seq.

(114) Fashi Oxon. Vol. I. col. 107.

(115) The titles of two other books, written by him, are in the Bodleian catalogue.

(116) The Bishop's article is in Vol. III. p. 1937. & seq. and his son John in Vol. I. p. 624. jointly with Beaumont's, under which there is also some account of the Bishop in Remark [E].

(117) From the History of Bennet College by Robert Masters, A. M. &c. edit. 1753. 4to.

(118) Bennet College leaf-book, p. 167. ann. 1576. whence it is evident, that he could not have been the same person with the Richard Fletcher ordained by Bishop Ridley in 1550, and soon after Vicar of Bishop Stortford and Ugley, as is supposed both by Strype, in Eccles. Mem. Vol. II. p. 57. and Newcourt, in Repert. Vol. I. p. 896, and Vol. II. p. 615.

(119) It is printed in Gunter's history of Peterb. Cathed. p. 75.

(120) Atterbury's rights, &c. of an English Convocation.

(121) History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 576. who adds, that he was one of those who drew up and consented to the Lambeth articles about the Predestinarian controversy, p. 522.

(105) History of Ireland, Vol. II.

(106) In Rem. [N].

(107) See Jonson's article, in Remark [N].

(108) Spenser's life, by Church's friend, as before. p. XL.

(109) In his memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, p. 487. in the note.

(110) It was communicated to the Doctor by David Garrick, &c; who is possessed of a very curious collection of old plays. Ibid.

(*) Sweetest.

(111) In Spenser's life; prefixed to Church's edition of the Fairy Queen, as before.

(112) Mr Warton thinks that Milton's fine description of Phobos in his Latin Poem *in Quintum Novembriis* is equalled by that of Phobos in the forgotten Poem, as he calls it, of The Purple Island Observations.

was made to his fame at last: his corpse being interred in Westminster, near Chaucer, as he had desired, and his obsequies attended by the Poets of that time, and others, who paid the last honours to his memory. Several copies of verses were thrown after him into his grave: and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who had married the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, was at the expence of the funeral (cc). A handsome monument also, with an inscription, was erected in honour of him by Anne, Countess of Dorset [T], a noble-woman, not more illustrious

(cc) Camden, as before.

(122) In Masters's Appendix, No. XXXIX. are two Latin letters, one dated April 12, 1591. and the other, June 6, 1592. from the College to him, expressing their gratitude for his favours, and in the latter particularly for his present of a curious globe.

(123) Dated Oct. 26, 1593. witness the Bp of Worcester, and proved June 26, 1596.

(124) It was sent by the Doctor to Mr A. Bacon, to recommend it to the Earl of Essex, that he might move it to the Queen, whom the Lord Treasurer had undertaken to dispose towards it; but what was done in it is not known.

(125) This copy is, in Master's Hist. in the Appendix LXXII. taken from Dr Birch's Memoirs of the reign of Q. Eliz. Vol. II. p. 113, 159, 224. and Fuller's Church history, B. ix. p. 223.

(126) He was son to the Bishop by his first wife, but who she was is not known.

(*) He was 49 in 1625, and was born in 1576.

number of eighty-nine. Besides the favours conferred in his life-time upon Bennet College (122), by his will (123) he left that society the Eitrick's egg: To the parish of Watford in Hants, 10 l. to those of Cranbroke-Hythe, Chelsea, and some others, 5 l. each: and to his nine children his fortunes, to be equally divided among them, with his books to his sons, Nathaniel and John. But these were found to be scarce equal to his debts, insomuch that his brother, Dr Giles Fletcher, the Civilian, was obliged to have recourse to her Majesty, by means of Mr Anthony Bacon and the Earl of Essex, for her favour and benevolence, who seemed to be inclined to grant them some relief. The petition, where we see an account of the state of his slender circumstances, and the causes alledged for it (124), was drawn up in the following terms:

1. 'That the Bishop was translated from the see of Worcester to that of London within two years, and so entered into new first-fruits, before he had fully paid the old; by which her Majesty's good and gracious meaning for his preferment was rather turned to his great hinderance, and the diminution of his temporal estate, having paid, within three years, or not much more, into the Exchequer, for his first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, the sum of 1458 l.

2. 'He bestowed, in allowances and gratifications to divers attendants about her Majesty, since his preferment to the see of London, the sum of 3100 l. or thereabouts, without any regard made to himself, as appeared by his state of particulars; which money was given by him, for the most part of it, by her Majesty's direction and special appointment.

3. 'Finding the building and mansion-houses of the see of London greatly decayed, and in a manner ruined, he bestowed great sums of money in reparations upon the Episcopal houses at Wickham, Hadham, London, and Fulham; in which last he was at an extraordinary charge, out of respect as well to his duty and necessary use, as to her Majesty's satisfaction, hoping one day, as himself would say, after the end and pacification of her displeasure, and the recovery of her gracious favour, which of all worldly things he most desired, to see her Majesty in his house at Fulham.

4. 'He employed himself and his whole revenue in hospitality, and all other duties of his vocation, as for conscience, so with a special regard of her Majesty's liking, and to provoke her reconciliation and favour towards him.

5. 'He satisfied the error of his late marriage, with his untimely and unlooked for death, which proceeded especially from a sense of her Majesty's displeasure and indignation conceived against him; bearing a most loving and reverent affection towards her Majesty, as ever subject did towards his Prince, which might move her Majesty's royal heart to some compassion towards his poor and fatherless children, of whom he left eight behind him, divers of them very young. His debts, due to her Majesty and other creditors, were about 1400 l. and his whole estate but one house, in which his widow claimed her thirds: his plate was valued at 400 l. and his other stuff at 500 l. (125).

The Bishop's son, John Fletcher (126), the famous fellow play-writer with Beaumont, is said to have been born in Northampton, whilst his father was Dean of Peterborough, and to have been educated at Bennet College; but as this does by no means correspond with his age at the time of his death (*), so it is more probable he was a native of London, a person of that name and place being admitted pensioner there, October 15, 1591, when he must have been about fifteen years of age, the usual time of admission in those days. He was made one of the Bible clerks in 1593: but whether it was he, or Edward of the same name and place, who proceeded A. B. the following year, and afterwards A. M. cannot easily be determined. How long he staid at the College is equally uncertain, as well as how he disposed of himself after his removal; it is most probable however he

went up to London, where he afterwards cultivated an acquaintance with Beaumont; for it could not be at the University, although they were both of the same, by reason of the disparity of their years (127).

[T] A monument was erected by the Countess of Dorset.] This honour to our Poet's memory, was invariably ascribed to the Earl of Essex, till the mistake was rectified by Mr Fenton (128), who not many years ago discovered that it was set up, above thirty years after Spenser's death, by Stone, master mason to King Charles I. (129), as appears from his Diary, which coming into the hands of Mr Vertue the Engraver, the following article was literally transcribed from it. I also mad a monument for Mer Spenser the Poett, and set it up at Westminster. For which the Countess of Dorset payed me 40 l. Mr Fenton further observes, that this Lady about the same time bestowed a monument on Daniel the Poet and Historian. Upon there being an epitaph that begins like Spenser, he was inclined to believe the Lady recommended both the Inscriptions to Stone, and that he undertook to compose them himself, as from the stile and spelling we may reasonably conclude he did, which will account too for the little exactness observed in the dates. The Inscription, as it now stands, is thus.

Heare lyes (expecting the second comminge of our Saviour, Christ Jesus) the body of Edmond Spenser, the Prince of Poets in his tyme, whose divine spirit needs noe other witnesses than the works which he left behind him. He was borne in London in the yeare 1510, and died in the yeare 1596.

Mr Church's friend (130) confirms the exactness of the transcript, from Stone's Diary by Mr Fenton, but ascribes the Inscription to the Countess of Dorset; in support of which he observes, that this Lady married Richard Earl of Dorset in February 1628, and he dying in March 28, 1624, she continued his widow till June 1630, when she married Philip Earl of Pembroke, and became his Dowager in January 1644 (131). Now as Stone was paid for Spenser's monument by the Countess of Dorset, that must be before her second marriage, in 1630. So that she could not put up Daniel's monument about the same time, since that was done when she was Dowager of Pembroke. It is agreed, she erected her own monument, and probably composed her own epitaph, leaving a blank for the date of her death; but this begins with much the same words that introduced both Daniel's and Spenser's, viz. *Heare lyes expecting the second comminge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (+). With regard to the stile of Spenser's epitaph, this writer observes, that it is full and short, and in a much better manner, than that of ninety-nine epitaphs in a hundred of that time. However, the dates of 1510 and 1696 could not be Lady Dorset's, but must be imputed to the Carver. And we could produce many instances of epitaphs, where Blunders as enormous as these, have been made by Carvers. But this Writer did not sufficiently advert, that what he has said of the other part of the inscription, somewhat invalidates all his reasoning brought to prove that it was composed by the Countess. 'The Inscription, says he, and the table are very fair, yet the rest of the monument is like a honey comb, and indeed several agree that the table seems to have been made afresh, and of late years let into the rest of the monument, after the former Inscription had been much defaced.' We may remember too, that it stands near a door of continual passage, and till lately (when it became defended by the present screen) was much exposed to the weather, and that Spenser, probably in the last and Rebellion, had, on account of his description of the *blatant beast*, &c. much offended the Puritans, to whom, in B. VII. C. VII. St. 35. l. 8. he compares Barge-men

Bending their force contrary to their face,
Like that ungracious crew, which feigns demurest
grace.

Dr Fuller indeed, and others, tell us, that the original Inscription was in Latin, grounding themselves probably

(127) Beaumont was born in 1585, and died in 1615.

(128) In Notes upon Waller.

(129) The same that built the banqueting-house at Whitehall, under the direction of Inigo Jones; but however skilful Stone might be (as Mr Fenton tells us he actually was) in other parts of masonry, it is certain he did not know the true way of beginning the taper of pillars, which therefore appear gouty in this part of that noble Pavilion.

(130) In Spenser's Life, ubi supra.

(131) See an account of her Ladyship in Vol. V. p. 3550. Rem. [N].

(+) The whole inscription is in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 448.

illustrious by her birth than by her excellent endowments. We have no account of our Poet's widow after this; but she must have brought him one other child at least besides that which perished in the fire at Kilcolman; since, after the restoration of King Charles, his great grandson, Hugolin Spenser, was restored by the court of claims to so much of the lands in Ireland as could be found to have been his ancestor's (*dd*). And in the reign of K. William III. a person came from Ireland into England to solicit the same affair, and brought with him letters of recommendation as a descendant of Spenser. His name procured him a favourable reception; and he applied himself particularly to Mr Congreve, by whom he was recommended to the Earl of Halifax, who was then at the head of the Treasury, and by that means obtained his suit. This person was somewhat advanced in years, and might be the same mentioned before, having perhaps recovered some part only of the estate at first, or been disturbed in the possession of it. However, he could give no account of the works of his ancestor, which are wanting (*cc*), and which in some measure favours the opinion of Mr Fenton, that the *Fairy Queen* was never finished by our Author, and that the story of the six last books being lost in their passage from Ireland is no better than a fiction [*U*]. Some of his descendants, it is said, are still living in that kingdom; and there is an original picture of him in the possession of John Love, Esq; at Castle-Saffron, in the neighbourhood of Kilcolman (*ff*). We shall give a list of his works below [*W*].

bly upon the account given of it in a small Latin tract, describing the monuments of Westminster in the year 1600 (122), and ascribed to Camden, where the words are, EDMUNDUS SPENSER Londinensis, Anglicorum Poetarum nostri seculi facile Princeps, quod ejus Poemata, sacentibus Musis et videro Genio, conscripta, comprobant. Obiit immatura morte, anno salutis 1598. et prope Galfridum Chaucerum conditur, qui felicissimè Poesin Anglicis Literis primus illustravit. In quem hæc Scripta sunt Epitaphia.

Hic prope Chaucerum situs est Spenserius, illi
Proximus ingenio, Proximus ut tumulo.

Hic prope Chaucerum, Spensere Poeta, Poetam
Conderis, et versu quam tumulo propior;
Anglica, te vivo, vixit plaussitque Poesis;
Nunc moritura timet, te moriente, mori.

Here the words *obiit immatura morte* are used with sufficient propriety, as Spenser, according to our calculation, must have died at forty-five years of age. But though Winstanly and Sir Thomas Pope Blount have transcribed the whole as Spenser's epitaph, yet this is inconsiderately done; for besides that the prose part has not the form of a monumental Inscription, it is an Elogium intended only to guide the curious to that part of the Abbey in which the remains of so famous a person were deposited, for at that time he had no monument erected, of which, says Mr Fenton, the Latin Verses subjoined are an accessory proof, having been probably selected from those, that were written by the Poets who attended his Funeral, as being the most pertinent to inform posterity, that he was buried near Chaucer; which I think is all the merit they can justly pretend, being a servile imitation of Cardinal Bembo's epitaph on Sannazarius, and the immortal painter of Urbino (123).

[*U*] *The story of his losing his last books, &c. is a fiction.* Instead of deploring the fate, says Mr Fenton (124), of those six books which are supposed to be lost, I am intirely of opinion with Mr Dryden, that upon Sir Philip Sidney's death, Spenser was deprived both of means and spirit to accomplish his design. The story of their being lost in his voyage from Ireland, seems to be a fiction borrowed from the fate of Terence's Comædes, which itself has the air of a fiction, or at best is but a hearsay, that passed upon the Biographers without due examination. This censure apparently put Dr Birch upon enquiring farther into the matter. And that industrious Biographer having found it asserted, in Sir James Ware's History, that these last books perished by the neglect or abuse of a servant, who was sent to England by Spenser, in 1598, before his own last voyage thither; thereupon remarks, that Mr Fenton, though an ingenious Poet and Commentator, will scarce convince his Readers that the death of Sir Philip Sidney was sufficient to prevent Spenser from finishing his Poem, when it is evident he gave the world, after the loss of that Patron, six books of it, at the same time promising the rest, of which we actually have two Cantoes upon Mutability, equal, if not superior, to any of the rest, besides two Stanzas of another Canto. And the authority of so considerable a writer as Sir James Ware, who lived near the time, and was in a situation of informing himself about

the fact, cannot justly be rejected as a mere unsupported hearsay, propagated without due examination. It is true, continues the Doctor, that in the thirty-third Sonnet of his *Amoretti*, written about 1592, Spenser speaks of the finishing of the *Fairy Queen*, as prevented by the cruelty of his Mistress, and in the eightieth he requires a little refreshment after so long a work as that of compiling the first six books of that Poem, and leisure to sing of his love's sweet praise, the contemplation of whose beauty would raise his spirit, and enable him to undertake his second work.

With strong endeavour, and attention due.

But these Sonnets, allowing the subjects of them to be real facts, and not poetical fiction, were composed at least five or six years before the last six books of the *Fairy Queen* are supposed to be lost, an interval long enough for so ready and inexhaustible a genius as Spenser's to compleat them, whose years bear no proportion to the number and perfection of his works. For the loss of those books could not have happened till after 1596, because he mentions in the title-page of the edition of the *Fairy Queen* that year, that the Poem would contain twelve books (125). I believe the Reader is beforehand with me in his censure of this reasoning, which is so notoriously inconsistent with the fact. The *Fairy Queen*, as has been already shewn, was begun in 1579 at latest, the first three books were finished in 1590, and the next three in 1596. This last, not to insist on the whole space, is an interval of six years, which is above twice the length of Spenser's life after 1596. Thus the Doctor's argument we see, instead of strengthening the testimony of Sir James Ware, serves rather to weaken it, and at the same time confirms the opinion of Mr Fenton, that they were never finished; which therefore we have embraced.

[*W*] *A list of his Works.* We shall mention them in the order of their publication, as follows.

I. *The Shepheard's Calendar*; Lond. 1579. and Lond. 1586. and again Lond. 1595. all by the Author. Long after these came out an elegant Latin translation, by *Theodore Bathurst*, Fellow of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in 1653, 8vo; which was reprinted with the English original, and a short account of Spenser's Life and Writings in Latin, by Mr. John Ball, Lond. 1732, 8vo.

II. *The Faerie Queen; disposed into twelve books, fashioning twelve Moral Vertues. Part 1.* Lond. 1590. fol. containing the three first books; the second edition with alterations and additions, containing three new books (126), intituled *The Second Part of the Faerie Queen*; Lond. 1596. both by the Author; after his death came out a third edition, intituled *The Faerie Queen, containing two new Cantoes, the only remains of a lost book intituled The Legend of Constancy*; Lond. 1609. This edition was republished with a new title only in 1611, and again in 1617, and in 1629; another edition with cuts, by Kent, and an Account of the Author's Life and Writings, by Dr Thomas Birch, came out at London 1751, in three volumes, 4to. There were also three more editions of this Poem printed in the year 1758. One at London, in two volumes 8vo, by Anonymous. Another by Mr Upton, in two volumes 4to, *ibid.* And a third by Mr Church, at Oxford, in four volumes 8vo. To each of these there is annexed, An Account of the Author's Life and Writings, together with a Glossary.

(125) Birch's Life of Spenser; ubi supra.

(126) Viz. the fourth, fifth, and sixth. The *Epitaphium Tbamisti*, mentioned in one of his letters to be written in English Hexameters, is thought to be wrought by him afterwards into that beautiful Episode of *The Marriage of Ice Thames and Medway*, in the Ninth Canto of the fourth book.

(dd) Spenser's Life, prefixed to the edition of his works, in 1679, folio.

(cc) Life of Spenser, by Hughes, prefixed to his edition of our Poet's works in 1715.

(ff) Smith's Account of the present state of the county of Cork.

(122) Keape's Monumenta Westmonast.

(123) The same may be said of Godfrey Neller's epitaph on his monument in Westminster Abbey, Mr Pope.

(124) In notes on Waller, LIII.

III. *Muiopotamos; or The Fate of the Butterfly; Lond.* by the Author.

IV. *Complaints containing sundry small Poems of the World's Vanity*, as 1. *The Ruines of Time*. 2. *The Teares of the Muses*. 3. *Virgil's Gnat*. 4. *Profopopæia; or Mother Hubbard's Tale*. 5. *The Ruines of Rome*, by *Bellaç*. 6. *Muiopotamos*. 7. *Visions of the World's Vanity*. 8. *Belley's Visions*. 9. *Petrarch's Visions* (127): to which is annexed, an Advertisement by the Printer declaring, that the success of his late publication of the *Fairy Queen* had put him upon using all good means to procure these Poems, which had been dispersed so as not easily to be recovered by the Author himself, some of them having been purloined from him since his departure over sea. Besides these, continues he, the Author had written several others; as *A Translation of Ecclesiastes, and Canticum Canticorum; A Senenight's Slumber; The Hell of Lovers; and Purgatory*; all dedicated to Ladies, which together with some other Pieces scattered abroad, as *The Dying Pellicane; The Hours of the Lord; The Sacrifice of a Sinner; The Seven Psalms*; which the Printer, when he could obtain them from the Author, or otherwise, intended to publish. But this design proved abortive, and all these pieces have been long irrecoverably lost, as well as his *Pageants*; his *Stemmata Dudleyana*; *The Court of Cupid*; and *A Translation of Mocha's Idyllion on Wandring Love*, all mentioned, either in his literary Correspondence, or in other parts of his Works.

V. *Astrophel; an Eclogue, or Pastoral Elegy, on the Death of Sir Philip Sidney; Lond. 1595.*

VI. *Colin Clout's come again; ibid. 1595.*

VII. *Four Hymns on Love*, dedicated to the Countess of Cumberland; Lond. 1596.

VIII. *A View of the State of Ireland, 1633; by Sir James Ware*. This is the only treatise written by Spenser in prose, except that lost piece, intituled *The English Poet*, mentioned by his Friend E. K. in his Notes on *The Shepherd's Calendar*.

IX. The first Collection of his Works came out anonymous, under this title of *The Works of that famous English Poet, Mr Edmund Spenser, viz. The Fairy Queen, The Shepherd's Calendar, The History of Ireland, &c.* whereunto is added, a short Account of his Life, with other new Additions never before printed. This edition contains, besides other pieces before printed, the following: 1. *Daphnaida*. 2. *An Elegy upon the death of the Noble and Virtuous Douglas Howard*. 3. *A Vision upon the Concert of the Fairy Queen*. 4. *A Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, explaining the Author's whole Intention in the Course of this Work, [Fairy Queen] dated Jan. 23, 1589.* 5. *The Mourning Muse of Thestylis*. 6. *An Elegie, or Friend's Passion for his Astrophel*. 7. *The Epitaph upon Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Governour of Flushing*. 8. *Prothalamion, or a Spousal Verse, &c.* 10. *Amoretti, or Sonnets, &c.* with the *Epithalamium* on his marriage. 11. *Britain's Ida*, which is falsely ascribed to him. 12. *Calendarium Pastorale, &c. a Theod. Bathurst, &c.* with the Dedication to Francis Lane, Esq; by William Dillingham, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, dated 1 Calend. Julii, 1653. To the whole is prefixed, five letters betwixt our Author and his Friend Mr Gab. Harvey, and another from E. K. to Mr Harvey, by way of a Dedication to him of the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

X. *The Works of Edmund Spenser, Lond. 1715*, in six volumes 12mo, by John Hughes, with an Account of his Life, Remarks upon his Writings, and a Glossary. Reprinted in 1750.

XI. A Translation of a Socratic Dialogue, intituled *Axiochus; or of Death*, is mentioned in the Account of Spenser's Life and Writings, prefixed to the edition of the *Fairy Queen*, by Mr Upton, who there gave us hopes of seeing it shortly in print, together with his other Works; but this design has proved abortive by the death of that learned and ingenious gentleman, which happened November 9, 1760 (128).

(127) These several Visions were probably the same with his *Dreams*, mentioned in a letter to Mr Harvey, who says they were in imitation of Petrarch's Visions.

(128) London Magazine for that month and year.

SPRAT [THOMAS], late Bishop of Rochester, generally esteemed one of the most elegant and correct of our English writers, was a clergyman's son, and born at Tallaton in Devonshire, in the year 1635, or 1636 (a). He was entred a commoner of Wadham-College in 1651, and admitted Scholar of the same 25 Septemb. 1652, being aged seventeen years. Under the influence of the most ingenious Dr John Wilkins, then Warden of that college, he made a great progress in all branches of the most valuable Learning, especially Mathematicks; and became a great admirer of Dr Seth Ward, Dr Ralph Bathurst, the incomparable Mr Christopher Wren, and other great promoters of true Philosophy (b). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts January 29, 1654, and that of Master June 11, 1657 (c), and was chosen Fellow of his college. Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, he wrote a fine Pindarick Ode to the happy memory of that Ufurper [A]; wherein if

(a) Some Account of Bishop Sprat's Life and Writings; Lond. 1713, 8vo. Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1096.

(b) Wood, ibid.

(c) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 105, 115.

[A] He wrote a fine Pindarick Ode to the memory of Oliver Cromwell. It was printed at London 1659, 4to. among others, under this title, 'Poems upon the death of his late Highness Oliver Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, written by Mr Edm. Waller, Mr Jo. Dryden, Mr Sprat of Oxford.' Our author's appearing in such good company, is what makes us say, that, 'if he erred, he erred among his Seniors and betters.' This juvenile performance was indeed often objected to him, and exposed him afterwards to frequent censure (1). Even J. Oldmixon (2) observes, that he 'has carried the panegyric on Oliver, in this poem, as far as any of the French panegyrist's have done in praise of the French King.' It is actually carried to a considerable highth, as will appear from these two or three instances.

(1) From Hen. Stubbe, in his Reply, &c. p. 31, &c.

(2) In his translation of F. Bouhours's celebrated piece, which he might with greater propriety have intituled *The Art of Criticism*, than the *Arts of Logic and Rhetoric*, p. 112.

'Tis true, great Name, thou art secure
From the forgetfulness and rage
Of Death, or Envy, or devouring Age;
Thou canst the force and teeth of Time endure:
Thy fame, like Men, the elder it doth grow,
Will of itself turn whiter too,
Without what needless Art can do;

Thou fought'st not out of Envy, Hope, or Hate,
But to refine the Church and State;
And like the Romans whate'er thou
In the field of Mars didst mow,
Was, that a holy Island hence might grow.

Thou fought'st not to be high or great,
Nor for a Scepter or a Crown,
Or Ermin, Purple, or the Throne;
But as the Vestal Heat,
Thy Fire was kindled from above alone.

Nor did thy battles make thee proud or high,
Thy Conquest rais'd the State, not thee:
Thou overcam'st thyself in every Victory.

Our Author's Dedication of this Poem to Dr Wilkins, shall be his own Apology. It is in these words: 'Sir, Seeing you are pleased to think fit that these Papers should come into the publick, which were at first designed to live only in a desk, or some private Friend's hands; I humbly take the boldness to commit them to the Security, which your Name and Protection will give them, with the most knowing part of the world. There are two things especially in which they stand in need of your defence: One is, That they fall so infinitely below the full and lofty Genius of that excellent Poet, who made this way of writing free of our nation*: The other, That they are so little proportioned and equal to the Renown of that Prince, on whom they were written. Such great Actions and Lives, deserving rather to be the Subjects of the noblest Pens and divine Fancies, than of such small Beginners and weak Effayers in Poetry as myself. Against these dangerous prejudices, there remains no other Shield than the Universal Esteem and Authority which your Judgment and Approbation carries with it. The right you have to them, Sir, is not only on the account of the Relation you had to this great Person, nor of the general favour which all Arts receive from

* Cowley.

if he erred, he erred among his seniors and betters. The next production of his promising genius, was another Pindarick Ode describing The Plague of Athens, which happened in the second year of the Peloponnesian war [B]. After the Restoration of King Charles II. he entered into holy orders (d), and became Chaplain to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, whom he is said to have assisted in his witty compositions [C]. He was also made Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty (e): and Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1667, he did due honour to this learned body, by publishing the much admired History of it [D]. And the year following, he very handsomly vindicated the English Nation, against the insolent Reflections of one Sorbriere [E]. He also published Mr Cowley's

(c) Octob. 10, 1660, he was installed in the Prebend of Carleton with Thurlby in the Church of Lincoln, to which he was presented by his Majesty. Br. Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 161.

(d) He was ordained Priest March 10, 1660. Bishop Kennet Register and Chron. p. 881.

(3) Some Account of his Life &c. as above, p. 2.

(4) Carminum, Lib. 4. Ode 2.

(5) Some Account of his Life, &c. p. 14.

‘ you ; but more particularly by reason of that Obligation and Zeal, with which I am bound to dedicate myself to your Service : For having been a long time the Object of your Care and Indulgence towards the advantage of my Studies and Fortune, having been moulded (as it were) by your own hands, and formed under your Government ; not to intitle you to any thing which my meanness produces, would not only be Injustice, but Sacrilege.’

[B] Another Pindarick Ode describing The Plague of Athens, &c.] We are told (3), that this ‘ performance stood the test of the severest Criticks, and, without partiality to the author, it was given as the opinion of the best judges, That the manner of his great original was judiciously imitated, and that in the subject he far excelled both the Greek historian and the Latin poet.’ There is, indeed, in this Ode a great deal of the sublime ; the descriptions are strong ; and the painting lively and most affecting. But it sinks, in some places, into the low and the trifling ; particularly in stanza the eighth in these verses.

Next o'er the upper Town it spread,
With mad and undiscerned speed ;
In every corner, every street,
Without a guide did set its feet,
And too familiar every house did greet.

See also stanza the ninth.

Long ago had Horace observed, how difficult it is to imitate Pindar.

Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari,
Iule, ceratis ope Dædalea
Nūtūr pennis, vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto (4).

He that to equal Pindar tries,
With waxen wings he vainly flies
Too near exalted Fame :
And must expect a Fate like his
Who fell, and gave the Sea a name.

Creech.

[C] Whom he is said to have assisted in his witty compositions.] Particularly in his Rehearsal. And we are told, the Duke was often heard to say, ‘ That he never thought any of his compositions perfect, till they had received Mr Sprat's approbation (5).’

[D] By publishing the much admired History of it.] He intitled it ‘ The History of the Royal Society of London, for the improving of Natural Knowledge.’ First printed in 1667, 4to ; a second edition corrected came out in 1702, and another in 1734. It is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the Ancient Philosophy ; the second peculiarly describes the Royal Society ; and the third chiefly contains a defence and recommendation of Experimental Knowledge in general. In the second part are inserted several curious pieces ; as namely, Answers by Sir Philberto Vernatti, resident in Batavia, to certain inquiries sent thither by order of the Royal Society : A method for making a History of the Weather, by Mr Hook : Mr Rooke's direction for the Observations of the Eclipses of the Moon, and his Discourse concerning the Observations of the Eclipses of the Satellites of Jupiter : A proposal for making wine ; and Experiments of a Stone called *Oculus Mundi*, both by Dr Goddard : A relation of Pico Teneriffe : Experiments of the weight of Bodies increased in the Fire, made at the Tower : Experiments of the recoiling of Guns, by the Lord Brouncker : The history of the making of Salt-peter, by Mr Henshaw : The history of making Gun-powder : An apparatus to the history of the common practices of Dying, by Sir William Petty : And the history of the generation and ordering of Green Oysters, commonly called Colchester-Oysters. — Notwithstanding the Design was noble, and well executed ; it was cavilled at by some, especially by Henry Stubbe, a physician of Warwick, the H— of the last cen-

tury ; who published, ‘ Legends no Histories : or a Specimen of some Animadversions upon the History of the Royal Society. Lond. 1670, 4to. And, Campanella revived, or an Enquiry into the History of the Royal Society, whether the Virtuosi there do not pursue the projects of Campanella for the reducing England unto Popery. Being an extract of a letter to a person of honour from H. S. With another letter to Sir N. N. relating the cause of the quarrel betwixt H. S. and the Royal Society ; and a Postscript concerning the quarrel between him and Dr Christopher Merrett. Lond. 1670, 4to. H. Stubbe also published, A Censure upon certain passages contained in the History of the Royal Society, as being destructive to the Established Religion and Church of England. To the second edition of which is added, The Letter of a Virtuoso in opposition to the Censure, a Reply unto the Letter aforesaid, and Reply unto the præfatory Answer of *Eccobolius* (Jof.) Glanville, Chaplain to Mr Rouse of Eaton (late Member of the Rump-Parliament,) Rector of Bath, and Fellow of the Royal Society. Also an Answer to the Letter of Dr Henry More, relating to Henry Stubbe Physician at Warwick.’ Oxford 1671, 4to. — A late author (6) is pleased to style The History of the Royal Society, ‘ a fustian History,’ — and adds, that ‘ it was esteemed an excellent composition by the metaphor — hunting mob of silly writings in Charles the Second's reign.’ A hard, and indeed unjust, censure.

For, much truer, as well as handsomer, is the Character given of it in A. Wood (7) ; that ‘ it is penned in so very fine, neat and graceful a style, as that some account it to be one of the most exact pieces for curiousness and delicacy of Language, that was ever yet extant in our tongue.’ And the ingenious Mr Cowley, in his Pindaric Ode prefixed thereto, and addressed to the Royal Society, pays this fine compliment to the Author.

And ne'er did fortune better yet
Th'Historian to the story fit.
As You, from all old errors free
And purge the body of Pholosophy ;
So from all modern follies He

Has vindicated eloquence and wit,
His candid style like a clean stream does slide,
And his bright fancy all the way
Does like the Sun-shine in it play ;
It does, like Thames the best of rivers, glide,
Where the God does not rudely overturn
But gently pour the chrystal urn,
And with judicious hand does the whole current guide.

'T has all the beauties Nature can impart,
And all the comely drefs without the paint of Art.

[E] Against the insolent Reflexions of one Sorbriere.] Those Reflexions were comprized in a Voyage to England, intitled, ‘ Relation d'un Voyage fait en Angleterre par Samuel Sorbriere.’ 12mo. Paris 1664. Mr Sprat exposes very smartly the pertness, petulance, and ignorance of that trifling Scribbler ; or, as he styles him (8), ‘ pragmatistical Reviler of one of the most powerful Kingdoms in Christendome.’ His answer is in form of ‘ A Letter containing some Observations on Monsieur de Sorbriere's Voyage into England ; written to Dr Wren, Professor of Astronomy in Oxford.’ Lond. 1664, 8vo. In the beginning of which Letter, he gives this character of Sorbriere's performance. ‘ - - Though it be an insolent Libel on our Nation, yet I doubt not, but you will peruse it with delight. For when you have beheld how many errors, and falsehoods, he has committed in this small Relation ; you cannot but be well pleased to find, ‘ that

(6) Cooper, in his Life of Socrates.

(7) Ath. ut supra, col. 2097.

(8) P. 3.

(f) Le Neve's
Fasti &c. edit.
1716. fol. p. 373.

(g) Wood, Ath.
ut supra.

(b) Idem, Fasti,
Vol. II. col. 175,
176.

(i) Le Neve, as
above, p. 387.

Life [F]. On the 22d of February 1668, he was installed Prebendary of Westminster (f): and soon after appointed Minister of St Margaret's (g). July the 3d, 1669, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (b). And January 14, 1680, was also installed Canon of Windsor (i). The service he did the Court, by drawing up the account of the Conspiracy, known by the title of The Protestant Plot [G], procured him greater preferments. For in 1683, he was advanced to the Deanery of Westminster; being installed September the 21st (k). He was next promoted to the Bishopric of Rochester, and consecrated the 2d of November 1684 (l). And on the 29th of December 1685, was sworn Clerk of the

(k) Wood, Ath.
col. 1096.

(l) Lond. Gaz.
No. 1979.

(9) P. 2.

‘ that whoever undertakes to defame your Country, he must, at the same time, forfeit his Wit, and his Understanding, as well as his good Manners (9).’
——So Scandalous were Sorbier's reflexions, that King Lewis XIV. published an arrêt, or order, of his Council, for suppressing that Book in France.

[F] He also wrote Mr Cowley's life. He wrote it first in Latin, and prefixed it to Mr Cowley's six books *De Plantis*, printed at London 1668. 8vo. Afterwards he drew it up in a fuller manner in English, and placed it at the head of Mr Cowley's Poems, who had recommended to him, in his will, the care of his printed works and manuscript papers. But the pious Mr Edmund Elys, of Exeter-College, Oxford, taking umbrage at some passages in it, published, ‘ An Exclamation to all those that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, against an apology, written by an ingenious person, for Mr Abraham Cowley's lascivious and profane verses.’ Lond. 4to (10).

(10) Wood, Ath.
Vol. II. col. 943,
1097.

[G] By drawing up the account of the Conspiracy, known by the title of the Protestant Plot. It was printed in 1685. fol. with this title, ‘ A true Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against the late King, his present Majesty, and the Government: As it was ordered to be published by his late Majesty.’ Reprinted in 1686. 8vo. As this was a most odious talk, and that exposed our Author to the *Resentment* of persons of great titles and high stations, and indeed of the bulk of the nation; he found it necessary, after the Revolution, to write an Apology for himself, in a *Second Letter to the Earl of Dorset*: wherein he thus speaks upon the subject of this book.——‘ First, my Lord, as for the book of the Conspiracy, it is true, I have often heard that some noble and eminent persons, whose Kindred or Friends were unhappily concerned in the subject of that History, had entertained a prejudice against me thereupon. But to them I shall make this equitable request, that they would suspend any farther censure of me for what I did write, till they shall be fairly informed how much there is that I have not written.

‘ I will not deny, that it was at the Request, or rather the Command, of King Charles the Second, that I drew up a relation of that Plot: And to that end, I had free liberty to consult the Paper-Office and Council-books, whence I was plentifully furnished with such authentick Materials, either of Papers printed by Authority, or of sworn Depositions and Confessions, as have been always thought the best ground for an Historian to work upon. But now, my Lord, I can still alledg, that though a vast heap of such matter was immediately supplied to my hands; and though I often received earnest Messages, and some sharp Words from that gentle King to quicken my slowness, yet more than twelve months had passed before I could be brought to put pen to paper; out of my natural aversion to any business, that might reflect severely upon any man: my own inclination rather leading me to the other extreme, that is, rather to commend too much what in the least seems well done, than to aggravate what is ill done by others. However, upon King Charles's frequent commands, and continued importunity, I did at length obey; and the rather, because I had formerly somewhat incurred that King's and his brother's displeasure, by my declining to write against the states of Holland, during the time of the first and second Dutch wars. Being thus over-persuaded, I made my Collections, and presented them to that King: Which his Majesty having himself perused, was pleased to direct me to put them into the hands of the Lord Keeper North, who carefully read and corrected what I had done, and added divers matters of fact, which had escaped my observation. Thus the work stood in preparation for the press, when the deplorable death of that King happened. And shortly after King James the Second calling for the Papers; and having read them, and altered divers passages; caused them to be printed by his own authority, as is

‘ to be seen before the Book. But now, my Lord, I can truly declare, that during my composing those collections, I earnestly requested King Charles the Second, that few or no Names of persons should be mentioned, whatever probable suggestions might be against them, but only such, upon whom publick Judgment had passed, which it could be to no purpose for me to conceal. I could indeed have wished, that my Lord Ruffel's, and some other Names of Persons of Honour, might have been of the number to be omitted, upon that very account; but it was none of my fault that they were not. I could not hinder, nor did I in the least contribute to their fall: Nay I lamented it, especially my Lord Ruffel's, after I was fully convinced by discourse with the Reverend Dean of Canterbury, of that noble Gentleman's great probity, and constant abhorrence of falsehood; but that was a good while after. All that I did, was the publishing, or rather indeed the putting together methodically, what before was sufficiently published in printed Papers that were licensed: And out of them to draw the substance of a Declaration of State, in vindication of that which the Authority of the nation, at that time, called, The Publick Justice of the Kingdom. But, my Lord, to return to what I was saying. King Charles having granted my desire of concealing divers Names, according to this allowance I proceeded, leaving out some, and abbreviating others; endeavouring all along to spare Parties and Families, and particular Persons, as much as would be allowed. All which may be demonstrated from the Copies of the Depositions, as they went out of my hands, where there were several Names visibly marked by my own pen, to be passed by in the publication. So that if some indifferent man should now compare the informations as they are in print, with the Originals in the Secretary's, or the Paper-Office, he would, it may be, be apter to suspect me of connivance, than of calumny on that side. If I have now given your Lordship any satisfaction touching my fair dealing in my part of that Book, I doubt not but what follows will give you more; when I shall assure you of my having refused to write a *Continuation of the same History*. For, my Lord, it was some time after the Duke of Monmouth's overthrow and execution, that King James the Second required me to undertake such another task, and presently to set about a *Second Part*. To that purpose his Majesty gave me a sight of multitudes of Original Letters and Papers, together with the Confessions of several persons then taken in England and Scotland; who did indeed seem all to outvie one another, who should reveal most, both of Men and Things, relating to the Old Conspiracy, as well as to the Duke of Monmouth's, and the Earl of Argyle's invasion. But finding the Innocence of divers Persons of Worth and Honour touched in those Papers, and by that time beginning vehemently to suspect, things were running apace towards the endangering of our Laws and Religion, I must say, I never could be induced by all his Majesty's reiterated commands, to go on with that work. Instead of that, though I had all the Materials for such a Narrative within my power, for above three years, and might easily have finished it in a month or six weeks space, yet I chose rather to suppress and silence, as much as I could, all that new Evidence; which, if openly produced, would have blemished the Reputation of some honourable persons. Give me leave, my Lord, only to add, That I am confident there are several Original Papers still in being, which would be more than enough to convince all impartial men, how moderate and tender I was in that cause.—There is something very stinging in what he says of the Lord Ruffel; ‘ that he was carried away into this traiterous enterprise, by a vain Air of popularity, and a wild Suspicion of losing a great Estate by an imaginary return of Popery;’—meaning the Abbey-lands (11).

* Dr Tillotson

(11) Account of
the Conspiracy,
8vo edit. p. 28.

Closet to King James II (*m*). In 1686, he was put in the Ecclesiastical Commission, then newly erected (*n*); and acted under it, in hopes of being translated to the vacant See of York, of which some hints had been given by the Court (*o*): But he found himself mistaken, and this imprudent compliance exposed him to the contempt and resentment of all good and considerate men. So that, after the Revolution, he was forced to endeavour to take off the bad impressions caused thereby, in two Letters written to the Earl of Dorset [17]. He was one of the persons employed to draw up the Form of Thanksgiving for the

(e) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, ed. 1753, 8vo. Vol. II. p. 371.

[17] In two Letters written to the Earl of Dorset.] The first begins thus, 'My Lord, I think I should be wanting to myself at this time, in my own necessary Vindication, should I forbear any longer to give my Friends a true account of my Behaviour in the late Ecclesiastical Commission. Though I profess, what I shall now say, I only intend as a reasonable Mitigation of the Offence I have given, not entirely to justify my Sitting in that Court; for which, I acknowledge, I have deservedly incurred the Censure of many good Men; and I wish I may ever be able to make a sufficient amends to my Country for it. Yet thus much, my Lord, I can justly alledg for myself, That the Commission was made, and my Name put into it, altogether without my knowledge; when I happened to be at Salisbury, holding an Archiepiscopal Visitation with the Bishop of Chichester, and other Commissioners At my return from thence to London, I found I was appointed to be one in a new Commission: But I could never see a copy of it, nor did I ever hear its contents, or know the powers granted in it, till the time of its being publickly opened at Whitehall; whither I was sent for, on purpose, in haste, that very morning from my house in the country. . . . Upon the first publishing the Commission, I confess through my ignorance in the Laws, I had little or no objection in my thoughts against the Legality of it; especially when I considered, that having passed the broad Seal, it must needs, according to my apprehension, have been examined and approved by the King's learned Council in the law, men generally esteemed of eminent skill in their profession. Besides, I was farther confirmed (though too rashly I grant) in my Error, when I saw two Gentlemen of the long robe, persons of the greatest place and authority in Westminster-hall (12), joined with us; who, I should have thought, would never have ventured their fortunes and reputations, by exercising a jurisdiction that was illegal. And I believed I had reason to conclude, that this very argument might prevail also with some others of the temporal Lords that sat among us: particularly the Earl of Rochester has often assured me, it was that which induced him to accept of the Commission; and that he did it, as I myself did, with a purpose of doing as much good as we were able, and of hindering as much evil as we possibly could, in that unfortunate juncture of affairs. As for my own part, I was startled when I perceived my Lord of Canterbury (13) scrupled to be present with us; whose Example, it is true, I ought rather to have followed than the greatest Lawyers in all matters of Conscience. Yet I hope his Grace will excuse me, if I declare, that I did not at first know he made a matter of Conscience of it. Nor did I understand his Grace took exception at the Lawfulness of the Commission itself, till after my Lord of London (14) was cited, and had appeared and answered, and the unjust sentence was past against him. For it was on the very day the Commission was opened, immediately, as I remember, after it was read, that my Lord of London was informed against for not suspending Dr Sharpe: Which, though it exceedingly surprized me at first, yet observing with what heat the prosecution was like to be carried on against him, that very consideration did the more incline me to sit and act there, that I might be in some capacity of doing right to his Lordship. And whether I did him any service through the whole process of his cause, I leave it to my Lord himself to judge. That I gave my positive vote for his Acquittal, both the times when his suspension came in question, I suppose I need not tell the world. Having thus, in the beginning of that court, and the highest ferment of it, freely discharged my conscience, by endeavouring to clear my Lord of London, I must own I thenceforth unawares took a resolution, which, how hurtful soever it may now prove to myself, yet I am still apt to believe, did the Church of England no disservice in the main, my design, by conti-

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ning longer among them, was to make sure of one Vote at least, and to do my part, to the utmost of my small interest and ability, to lessen the blow which I feared was coming on the Clergy, since it could not altogether be avoided. And I was the more persuaded to take this course, not only because the Legality or Illegality of the Commission seemed at first rather a moot-case, than a determined point either way; divers of the principal Lawyers, as I was told, being divided in their opinions concerning it; but also because I saw some other persons were ready to fill my chair there, as soon as it should be empty; Men of whose principles and practices I was so well aware, that I knew they would not have the same regard as myself for the Churches preservation. And perhaps I might add this further for the extenuation of my fault, that I was not discouraged by some grave and worthy persons, for this very purpose, to keep in some longer time; but I forbear to name them, that I may not involve any good man in my infelicity. However, upon these motives I acted, and, in pursuance of this design, God knows, I voted as long as I remained at the board; where all my opinions were so contrary to the humour of the Court, that I often thought myself to be really in as much hazard from the Commission itself, by my not complying, as any of my brethren could be that were out of it. I appeal to all that were acquainted with the transactions there, whether ever I gave my consent to any irregular or arbitrary sentence; whether I did not constantly and firmly declare against every extravagant decree. I could almost presume to affirm, that I was, as far as in me lay, some way or other, a common solicitor, or advocate, for all that were unjustly prosecuted before them. And I might exemplify this beyond all contradiction, if I should enumerate every particular cause that came under their cognizance. After my Lord of London was sentenced, his Lordship knows, I was always upon the watch to obstruct all further proceedings against him: Nay, his Lordship well remembers, I had once obtained to have his suspension taken off; if he would but have made an ordinary submission. Then I was zealous for *Exeter-College*, in their defence against Father Petre, in a business of so great importance, that if the college had been overcome in the suit, that whole Society must soon have been abandoned to Popery. I did my utmost to oppose the violent persecution upon the whole university of *Cambridge*, when the Vice-Chancellor was suspended his office, and his Mastership of *Magdalen-College*; because a Popish Priest, who was one of the Missionaries to pervert the Scholars, was denied a degree in their Convocation. I faithfully assisted and served *Christ-Church* in Oxford, when they were in danger of having new statutes imposed upon them, which would infallibly have laid open that royal College, to the ruine of their good learning and religion. I absolutely resisted all the alterations in the Statutes of *Sidney-College*, and all other changes and abrogations of Oaths, that were then made or designed in the statutes of either University, for the advantage of Popish Priests and students, and for the freer course of *Mandamus's* in their favour. I ever gave my advice for all sorts of business, to be returned into the common course of justice; as that all ecclesiastical matters should be referred back to the several Bishops from whose dioceses the complaints were brought; and that all informations against Colleges and Hospitals should be recommitted to their proper visitors. I persisted unmoleable in my dissent from every vote that passed against *Magdalen-College* in Oxford; from their very first citation before that court, to the cruel incapacitating of the President and Fellows. I could mention many other particulars, wherein I successfully laboured to relieve divers of the inferior and greater Clergy from oppression; to prevent some from being called before us at all; to preserve others after they were accused by malicious sycophants and informers, that swarmed then every where: some in the case of Tythes; some

(m) Wood, *ibid.* But he was not Dean of the Chapel, as is said in the General Dictionary.

(n) See that Commission in the Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 453.

(12) L. C. J. Jefferys, and Sir Edward Herbert.

(13) Archbishop Bancroft.

(14) Bishop Compton.

(p) Complete
Hist. as above,
p. 496.

the Queen's being with child of the pretended Prince of Wales (p) [I]. But August 15, 1688, he withdrew himself from the Ecclesiastical Commission [K], and thenceforth concurred

(*) Dr T. Barlow.

(15) Vol. III.
p. 507. note.

some for pressing Churchwardens to take legal Oaths; some for not reading, some for preaching against the King's declaration. But there are two eminent instances, which I cannot omit. The one, that when the Bishop of Lincoln (*), was petitioned against by his Archdeacon, and there was, at that time, inclination enough in the Court to pursue him to extremity, yet our Author says, that he so effectually wrought with the Commissioners, that the prosecution against him was discountenanced and fell to the ground. But the author of the Complete History of England informs us (15), that Bishop Barlow's engaging to write in favour of the Dispensing Power, proved his best security and protection.—The other instance (as our Author's Apology goes on) concerns my Lord of Canterbury; and I am confident his Grace will readily give me this testimony, That I served him honestly and industriously on some occasions, wherein he was like to be embroiled with the Commission; which must inevitably have ended in his Grace's suspension at least, since he was resolved, whenever he should be brought before them, whatever the pretence had been, to deny the whole Power and Jurisdiction of the Court. As for the last scene transacted there, which was in order to censure the whole Clergy, for refusing to read the Declaration: In that I hope I need say nothing in my defence, it being publickly known to the whole Nation, how I then demeaned myself; how I broke loose from the Commission, in a time when I was convinced I could do the Church no farther service there, and when the Popish party was in the height of their power and rage. Then it was that I joined myself again to the common interest of the honest Clergy, just when they were on the very brink of destruction, before we ever dreamt of this glorious Deliverance. . . . Upon the whole matter therefore, though as to the legal part of the Commission, which belonged to Lawyers to judge of, I was mistaken, for acting in it at all: Yet in the conscientious part, which properly concerned me as a Divine, to act in it honestly and sincerely, according to the best of my judgment; in that, if I shall not be thought to deserve thanks, yet I hope I may obtain pardon from all men of candour and ingenuity.—As this Letter contains the most plausible Excuses that could be made for the most exceptionable part of our Prelate's conduct, we thought it a point of justice due to him, to lay this long Extract of it before the Reader.

[I] He was one of the persons employed to draw up the Form of Thanksgiving for the Queen's being with child, &c.] It was upon that occasion, that a ballad was made, beginning with the following stanza.

(16) i. e. Thomas Sprat, Thomas White bishop of Peterborough, and Nathanael Crew bishop of Durham.

Two Toms, and Nat (16),
In Council sat,
To rig out a Thanksgiving,
And make a pray'r,
For a thing in the air,
That's neither dead nor living, &c.

(17) P. 16.
edit. 1711, 8vo.

[K] He withdrew himself from the Ecclesiastical Commission.] In his Second Letter to the Earl of Dorset (17), he declares, that his attendance at the Tryal of the Seven Bishops, was the critical Time when he came to be convinced of the Illegality of the Commission, and took a resolution to abandon it.—For my part, says he, I must own, I was so fully satisfied by the excellent Pleadings of those great Lawyers at that tryal, that I confess I never had till then so clear a notion, what unalterable Bounds the law has fixed between the just Prerogatives of the Crown, and the legal Rights of the Subject. And therefore from that very day I hastened to make what reparations I could for the Errors occasioned by my former ignorance; and to act for the future, what I always intended, as became a true Englishman. Nor was it long after, that I met with a signal opportunity to put this my purpose in practice: For perceiving the rage of the Popish party against the Church of England was rather heightened than abated, by my Lords the Bishops being acquitted; and fearing the Ecclesiastical Commission was next to be employed, to wreak the Papists' revenge on the orthodox clergy, when Westminster-hall could not do it, I presently resolved to desert

that commission, from whence I had often before laboured and intreated in vain to be fairly dismissed: And immediately I sent the Commissioners the following Letter, whereof your Lordship may remember I then presented you with a copy; as knowing how much you would be pleased, with my other friends, at my forsaking that board upon any terms.—My Lords, I most humbly intreat your Lordships favourable interpretation of what I now write, That since your Lordships are resolved to proceed against those, who have not complied with the King's commands in reading his Declaration, it is absolutely impossible for me to serve his Majesty any longer in this Commission, I beg leave to tell your Lordships, that though I myself did submit in that particular, yet I will never be any ways instrumental in punishing those my Brethren who did not. For, as I call God to witness, that what I did was merely upon a principle of Conscience; so I am fully satisfied, that their forbearance was upon the same principle. I have no reason to think otherwise of the whole body of our Clergy, who, upon all occasions, have signalized their loyalty to the Crown, and their zealous affections to his present Majesty's person in the worst of times. Now, my Lords, the safety of the whole Church of England seeming to be exceedingly concerned in this prosecution, I must declare, that I cannot, with a safe conscience, sit as Judge in this cause, upon so many pious and excellent men: With whom, if it be God's will, it rather becomes me to suffer, than to be in the least necessary to their suffering. I therefore earnestly request your Lordships to intercede with the King; that I may be graciously dismissed any farther attendance at your board, and to assure his Majesty, that I am still ready to sacrifice whatever I have to his service, but my Conscience and Religion.

Bromley Aug. 15, 1688.

My Lords &c.

Your Lordship seeing what I have said in this letter, concerning my submitting in that business of the Declaration, upon a principle of Conscience, as I then thought, you may expect my reason for doing so. I must frankly confess, I had then a doubt in my mind, arising from a Rubrick in the Common Prayer (which is as much as any other a law in the land) whether a Bishop could lawfully deny the reading of whatever the King should ordain to be read in Churches. And 'twas merely upon that mistaken scruple of conscience, I was induced not to oppose that command of the King in council; I say not to oppose it: Farther than that, I still say, I went not in that business. For it is most true, that the Orders of Council, for publishing that Declaration in Churches, were dispersed through the places of my jurisdiction immediately from the King's printing-house, without my injunction, or so much as my knowledge. And after they were sent abroad, though I did not, 'tis true, revoke them, as not being then well determined in the case; yet I nowhere insisted to have them obeyed. Nay both in my own diocese of Rochester, and in that of London, where I had then very unwillingly some inspection, there is no one Clergyman can upbraid me for urging any man to read, or reproving any for not reading the Declaration. If it shall be objected, that I permitted it to be read in Westminster-abbey, I desire it may be also considered, what dreadful Apprehensions this Royal Church and School were then under, from our neighbours the Jesuits at Court; who lay in wait to take any advantage, whereby they might stir up the King to ruin us. Besides that a Quo Warranto was then actually issued out against us, and we were every day threatened, that as we were the nearest, so we should fall the first prey into the hands of the Popish Priests. But to go on; I need not remind your Lordship what wrath and indignation this Letter to the Commissioners produced against me from the Jesuited Party at Court; for which yet I esteemed myself abundantly recompensed by the Peace it gave me in my own mind, and I hope I may say by the good will it revived towards me in the hearts of good men; especially of my Lord Archbishop, and the other persecuted Bishops, with whom I ever after acted in perfect conjunction for the publick Good.—

Else-

curred with the rest of the Bishops, in such salutary measures as were thought most for the advantage of the nation (q). He was one of the managers in the conference concerning the Abdication of King James II, and one of those who voted against the throne's being vacant (r). Notwithstanding which, he submitted to the new government, and remained unmolested in his See; but undoubtedly he was forced to buy his peace, by giving up to the Court the disposal of his best preferments, as the Bishop of Durham was obliged to do (s). In 1692, a most villainous conspiracy was formed against his life, and the lives of several other persons of honor and distinction; by forging an Association under their hands, to restore King James, and seize the Princess of Orange [L]. But, after a short confinement, and strict examination before the Privy-Council, he was honorably acquitted. From thenceforth he spent the remainder of his days in a happy tranquillity, charitable and generous to all, esteemed by the impartial and disinterested, and beloved by his acquaintance (t). He joined himself to those who were looked upon as best affected to the Church, and voted with them; as in Dr Sacheverell's affair &c. (u). At length he dyed at Bromley in Kent, May 20, 1713, of an apoplexy, in the seventy-ninth year of his age; and was buried in Westminster-abbey, where a monument was afterwards erected to him (v). He left only one son named Thomas, who was Archdeacon of Rochester, Prebendary of the Churches of Rochester, Winchester, and Westminster; and who dyed May 10, 1720, aged forty-one. Our learned Author, besides his several works already mentioned, published some Sermons, and a few other pieces, of which an account is given in the note [M].

Elsewhere, the Bishop more fully explains the great danger he exposed himself to, by thus relinquishing the Commission. 'This is certain (says he) that my leaving and defying the Commission at that time, did apparently exasperate the Popish Priests, and the Ringleaders of the Jesuitical Faction against me, to the highest degree imaginable. Nay, some worthy men have made me almost so vain as to fancy, that my bidding the Commission then farewell in so public and peremptory a manner, was no inconsiderable stroke towards the dissolution of the Commission itself. It is evident, that immediately upon the receipt of my Letter, wherein I renounced them, they adjourned in confusion for six months, and scarce ever met afterwards. Thus far I am sure, my perpetual behaviour therein was so much all of a piece, so directly against the vogue of the Court, and the counsels of Popery then prevailing; and the effects of it did so visibly destroy my former interest with the King, that whereas it is manifest I was, when the Commission began, in as fair a probability as any Clergyman in England, to receive great effects of his Majesty's favour; yet after my opposing my Lord Bishop of London's suspension, and my other votes conformable to that, I fell by degrees under his severe displeasure. I might add moreover, that it is very probable, I was at last in more imminent Danger than any of my Brethren; I say, my Lord, than any of my Brethren, the seven petitioning Bishops, and my Lord of London only excepted (18).'

An Answer to each of these Letters was published in 1689, said to have been written by one Mr Charlton (19).

[L] In 1692, a most villainous conspiracy was formed against his life, and the lives of several other persons of honor and distinction; by forging an Association, &c.] This most wicked Contrivance was formed, by one Robert Young, a Scotchman, (who had insinuated himself into Deacon's orders by forged certificates, and afterwards had forged his Priest's orders, but had been degraded for Bigamy, and other the most heinous of crimes,) and Stephen Blackhead, both prisoners in Newgate; the latter for forging a Bond. They contrived an Association, to which they affixed the forged hands of W. Sancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, Tho. Sprat Bishop of Rochester, the Earls of Marleborough and Salisbury, Lord Cornbury, Sir Basil Firebrace, and John Wilcox. The substance of the Association was, That they would contribute their utmost assistance towards King James's Recovery of his Kingdoms; would have 30,000 men ready to meet him at his landing; would seize the Princess of Orange dead or alive, &c. It was dated March 20—91. In order to come at the Bishop's hand to counterfeit it, R. Young sends by Blackhead, in April 1692, a Letter to the Bishop then at Bromley, under the feigned name of one Robert Hookes, D. D. Rector of Windgrave in Buckinghamshire; pretending, that one James Curtis had applied to him to be his Curate; but, that having reason to suspect his instruments were forged, he desired the Bishop to send him word, *under his own hand*, by the bearer his man, whether he had ordained such a one, in such, or such years. The Bishop, after searching his books, writes a letter, importing, that he had never ordained any such person. This letter being brought to Young, he copies thence

the Bishop's hand to the Association. And then, in order to lodge it in the Bishop's house, Young sends Blackhead a second time to Bromley; under pretence of telling his Lordship, that Dr Hookes had seized Curtis, and would have him severely punished. In reality, Blackhead's intention was, to leave the Association in the Bishop's Study; and for that purpose earnestly desired to see the House, particularly the Study: But this not being granted him, he found an opportunity of dropping the Association into a Flower-pot in the chimney of the great Parlour, the door of which was without a lock. Immediately after, Young lodged an Information before the Privy-Council. In pursuance of which, May 7, 1692, Mr Dyve, Clerk of the Council, and Mr Knight, one of the King's Messengers, went to Bromley, and arrested the Bishop upon suspicion of high-treason: who being brought to his lodgings in Westminster, was put under the charge of the messenger and a guard of four soldiers night and day; and thus he continued eleven days.—In the mean time, the messenger having omitted searching the room wherein the Association was, Young sent Blackhead a third time to Bromley, on Whitsunday, May the 15th, to try to recover it, being the original. Accordingly, getting privately into the parlour, unseen by the family, he took the Association out of the same Flower-pot where he had laid it, and returned it back to Young.—The Bishop was examined before the Council, May the 8th, and remained in confinement till the 18th, when, upon his petition, he was enlarged, and retired the next morning early to Bromley: But June the 9th he was sent for again, and examined a second time on the 10th, and again on the 13th, and being confronted with Blackhead and Young, his Innocence so plainly appeared, that he was honorably acquitted.—His Lordship published an Account of it under this title, 'A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, against the Lives of several Persons, by forging an Association under their hands. Written by the Bishop of Rochester. In two Parts: The first Part being a Relation of what passed at the three Examinations of the said Bishop by a Committee of the Privy-Council. The Second being an Account of the two above mentioned Authors of the Forgery.' Lond. 1692, and 1693. 4to. Upon the whole, it was one of the most horrid scenes of wickedness that ever was invented. And so thankful to Providence was the Bishop for his happy Deliverance, that he kept a Thanksgiving day for it as long as he lived (20).

[M] Besides his several works already mentioned, published some Sermons, &c.] The Sermons were published at several times, as they were preached, and reprinted together in 1710 and 1722, 8vo. They were preached before the King, the House of Commons, at the anniversary meeting of Clergymen's sons, before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, the Artillery-company, &c. The last mentioned, which is on Luke xxii. part of the 36th verse, we are told (21), is almost word for word the same with a Sermon preached by Dr Smallwood in Flanders, upon the same text.—As to his other pieces, they were, A Discourse to the Clergy of his Diocese at his Visitation in the year 1695. Lond 1696. 4to. &c.

(u) See the Doctor's Trial, and History of Queen Anne by Abel Boyer, fol. Lond. 1735. P. 444, 445.

(v) Some Account of his Life, p. 14.

(20) See his Will; and the Conclusion of his Relation of that wicked Contrivance.

(21) N. Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops, 8vo. 1733. P. 328.

(q) His second Letter to the Earl of Dorset, edit. 1711. 3to. p. 16, 17.

(r) See N. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, fol. Vol. III. in the Summary, p. 162.

(s) From the information of a late Prebendary of Durham.

(t) Some Account of his Life, as above; and the Lives of the Poets by Cibber, Vol. III. p. 239.

(18) First Letter to the Earl of Dorset, p. 8.

(19) Wood, Ath. at supra, col. 1093.

(x) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 1096, 1097, and Boyer's Annual List, at the end of his Hist. of Queen Anne, p. 60. and Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. IV. p. 406.

As to his Character [N], we are informed, that he was a person of neat and bright parts, a good, charitable, and learned Divine; a commanding and eloquent preacher; an excellent poet; justly esteemed a great master of our language; one of our correctest writers (x); and one who deserves the first rank in history, for his mastery in the art of Oratory [O]; and his raising the English tongue to that purity and beauty, which former writers were wholly strangers to, and those who came after him can but imitate (y). But the right honorable the Earl of Orrery hath passed a very different judgment upon his style and manner of writing [P].

(y) Boyer, *ibid.* and Some Account of his life, p. 14.

[N] *As to his character.*] Some say, that 'he bore a dubious character as to his Principles in Divinity and Politicks, being said to accommodate one to the other, and both to the times, and persons in power (22).' And others, that 'his parts were bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but these were blasted by a lazy libertine course of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him, without considering the duties or even the decencies of his profession (23).' But with some this will only pass for slander.—On the other hand, the late author of his life (24), observes, that 'in the character of a dignified clergyman, he has a claim to be copied in those retired and private virtues, in those acts of beneficence and humility, and that unaffected and primitive piety, for which he was justly distinguished.'

(22) Boyer's annual List, p. 60.

(23) Burnet, as above, p. 406.

(24) Lives of the Poets by Cibber, Vol. III. p. 242.

(25) Arts of Logic and Rhetoric, as above, p. 417.

(26) 8vo. edit. 1752. p. 219.

[O] *For his mastery in the art of Oratory.*] J. Oldmixon, though otherwise no very equitable judge, owns, that 'in the sublime way, Dr Sprat, and Dr Burnet of the Charter-house, in prose; and Milton in verse, are equally eminent (25).'

[P] *The right honorable the Earl of Orrery hath passed a very different judgment upon his style and manner of writing.*] It is in his *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr Swift* (26); and what his Lordship says upon that

occasion, is in these words. 'Among our English writers, few men have gained a greater character for elegance and correctness, than Sprat bishop of Rochester, and few men have deserved it less. When I have read his works, I have always wondered from whence such a piece of good fortune might have arisen, and could only attribute it to Mr Cowley, who, in a very delicate copy of verses, has celebrated his friend Dr Sprat for eloquence, wit, and a certain candid style, which the poet compares to the river Thames, gliding with an even current, and displaying the most beautiful appearances of nature (27). Poets and painters have their favourites, whom they transmit to posterity in what colours and attitudes they please: but I am mistaken, if, upon a review of Sprat's works, his language will not sooner give you an idea of one of the insignificant tottering boats upon the Thames, than of the smooth noble current of the river itself.'—Such is his Lordship's censure: But, on the other hand, it may be observed, That too smooth and uniform a style is apt to lull the reader asleep; whereas a beautiful metaphor, or other awakening figure, well-placed, rouses his attention, and makes him go on with fresh vigour and pleasure. C

(27) See above, note [D].

STANLEY [THOMAS], a very learned person, in the last century, was the son of Sir Thomas Stanley Knight, and born at Comberlow, within the parish of Clothall in Hertfordshire (a) [A]. After having been educated in grammar-learning, in his father's own house, by the ingenious Mr Edward Fairfax [B]; he was admitted a gentleman-commoner of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, at the age of thirteen, and became an early proficient in all sorts of polite-literature, not without the assistance of Mr Fairfax, as well during his stay in the university, as afterwards. In 1640 he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, having taken before that degree at Cambridge (b). Then he travelled for his improvement into foreign countries, and on his return [C] lived, during part of the civil wars, in the Middle-Temple; where he entered into an intimate friendship, and prosecuted his studies, in the most industrious and successful manner, with the learned Edward Sherburne, Esq; (c), who had retired thither after the Surrender of Oxford to the parliament-forces.

(a) Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, by Sir Henry Chauncy, fol. p. 51.

(b) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. ed. 1721. col. 284.

(c) See the article SHERBURNE [EDWARD].

[A] *Was born at Comberlow.*] He was born in the manor-house of Comberlow, a Seat built by John Comberlow. It might seem probable, that he was descended from the noble family of Stanley, Earls of Derby. But all we can learn, is, that, his grandfather Thomas (1) Stanley, Esq; was a citizen and scrivener of London; and his father, *Thomas Stanley*, was knighted by King Charles I (2). He was born of this Knight's second wife, namely, *Mary*, one of the daughters of Sir William Hammond, of St Albans in Nonington in the county of Kent, Knt, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter to Antony Awcher of Bourne, in Kent, Esq; which Antony had married Margaret, daughter of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York, sister to Sir Edwin Sandys of Bourne in Kent, Knt, and to George Sandys, Esq; the famous traveller and poet (3).

(1) Or, James.

(2) Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire by Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 51. see p. 208, 210. b.

(3) Wood's Ath. as above.

[B] *By the ingenious Mr Edward Fairfax.*] This gentleman was seated at Newhall in the parish of Oteley in Yorkshire; being the fifth son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, Knight, and brother of Sir Thomas Fairfax, created by King Charles I, on the 4th of May 1627, Lord Fairfax of Cameron in Scotland (4). Mr Fairfax was a famous Poet in his time, and translated Tasso's *Gierusalem* into English verse, &c.

(4) The Peerage of Scotland, by Geo. Crawford, Esq; p. 61.

[C] *And on his return.*] J. Hall sent the following verses to Mr Stanley, after his return from France.

Bewitched senses, do you lie,
And cast some shadow o're mine eye?
Or do I noble Stanley see?
What! may I trust you? Is it he?
Confess, and yet be gradual:
Left sudden joy, so heavy fall
Upon my soul, and sink unto
A deeper agony of woe.

'Tis he, 'tis he: we are no more
A barb'rous nation: He brought o're
As much humanity, as may
Well civilize America;
More learning than might Athens raise
To glory in her prowdest days.
With reason might the boyling main
Be calm, and hoary Neptune chain
Those Winds, that might disturbers be,
Whilst our Apollo was at sea,
And made her for all knowledge stand
In competition with the land.
Had but the courteous Dolphins heard
One note of his, they would have dar'd
To quit the waters, to enjoy
In banishment such melody.
And had the mimick Proteus known,
H'had left his ugly herd, and grown
A curious Syren, to betray
This Ulysses to some stay.
But juster fates denied, nor would
Another land that genius hold,
As could, beyond all wonder hurl'd,
Fathom the Intellectual world.
But whither run I? I intend
To welcome only, not commend:
But that thy Virtues render it
No private, but a public debt.

So that in a short time, He (Mr Stanley) became a very good Linguist and Philologer; an excellent Poet, as manifestly appears, not only by his own original Poems [D], but also by his several translations from the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French [E]; a compleat

[D] *By his own original Poems.* They were printed at London in 1651, 8vo. dedicated to Love. For a specimen of his manner of writing, we shall present the Reader with these two Poems of his.

Delay.

Delay? alas there cannot be
To Love a greater Tyranny:
Those cruel Beauties that have slain
Their Votaries by their Disdain,
Or studied Torments, sharp and witty,
Will be recorded for their Pity.
And After-ages be misled
To think them kind, when this is spread.

Of Deaths, the speediest is Despair,
Delays, the slowest Tortures are.
Thy Cruelty at once destroys;
But Expectation starves my Joys.
Time and Delay may bring me past
The Power of Love to cure at last:
And should'st thou wish to ease my Pain,
Thy Pity might be lent in vain;
Or if thou hadst decreed that I
Must fall beneath thy Cruelty,
O kill me soon! thou wilt express
More Mercy, ev'n in shewing less.—

The Deposition.

Though when I lov'd thee thou wert fair,
Thou art no longer so;
Those Glories all the Pride they wear
Unto Opinion owe.
Beauties, like Stars, in borrow'd Lustre shine,
And 'twas my Love that gave thee thine.

The Flames that dwelt within thine Eye
Do now with mine expire,
Thy brightest Graces fade and dye
At once with my Desire.
Love's Fires thus mutual Influence return,
Thine cease to shine, when mine to burn.

Then (proud Celinda) hope no more
To be implor'd or woo'd,
Since by thy Scorn thou dost restore
The Wealth my Love bestow'd.
And thy despis'd Disdain too late shall find,
That none are fair, but who are kind.

Some of Mr Stanley's Poems were set to music by John Gamble, among his Ayres and Dialogues, to be sung to the Theorbo or bass Viol.—A copy of his verses to Mr Edward Sherburne, is printed among some of that Author's.—And, 'A Register of Friends,' in verse, of his own composition, was preserved in manuscript, in the collection of the late Dr Fr. Bernard (5).

[E] *But also by his several translations, &c.* The several pieces he translated, and published, were, 1. From the Idylls of Theocritus, Europa; Cupid crucified; Venus Vigils: with annotations. Lond. 1649. 8vo; reprinted in 1651, with a translation of Anacreon, Bion, Kisses of Secundus; and notes on them. 2. From the Spanish, Aurora Ismenia, and the Prince; written by Don Juan Perez de Montalvan. Lond. 3. From the Italian, Oronta the Cyprian Virgin, by Signor Girolamo Preti. Lond. 8vo. 4. A Platonic Discourse of Love, written in Italian by John Picus of Mirandula. Lond. 1651, 8vo. 5. Sylvia's Park, by Theophile; Acanthus Complaint, by Tristan; Orontó, by Preti; Echo, by Marino; Love's Embassie, by Boscan; The Solitude, by Gongora. All printed in 1651. 8vo.

John Hall of Durham highly celebrates him, in the Dedication of his Poems to him in 1646. 12mo, which

is as follows. 'To his truly noble and worthily honoured friend Thomas Stanley, Esq;—My dearest friend, since it is the hard fortune of these glow-worms to see day, I wish they might have passed your examination; for I know you to be a severe critick in Poetry, as well as in Philology and the Sciences: but since others importunities, and mine own pressing occasions have denied it, I must present them loaden with their own blemishes, that being sifter objects of pardon, they may draw in pardoning more demonstrations of your candor, and add to my engagements, could they receive augmentation. I will not commit a rape upon your modesty by any praises, though Truth herself might be your Panegyrist, and yet continue naked; give me only leave to tell you from mine own experience, that Love is more than a mere Sympathy: for admiration did first attract my thoughts to you, and after fix them; though it were only your innate Sweetness that received them with an undeserved entertainment. Sir, what I was first indebted to you at Durham, I endeavoured to acquit in part here at Cambridge; for the Totall, though it be rather above my ability than desires, yet should I hate the thought of a generall discharge. Let me only beg of you, that these Cherrystones may draw from you your own Pearls, which cannot but break themselves a day through that darknes, to which you now confine them. Let us once see Fancy triumph in the spoils of the richest Learning; there will many no doubt press to follow the Chariot, yet shall none be more forward than,

' Sir,

' Your most affectionately devoted Servant,

' J. Hall.'

He also greatly commends him, in the following verses.

Who would commend thee (friend) and thinks't
may be

Performed by a feint Hyperbole,
Might also call thee but a Man, or dare
To praise thy Mistrefs with the term of Faire.
But I, the choicest of whose knowledge is
My knowing thee, cannot so grossly miss,
Since thou art set so high, no words can give
An equal character, but negative.
Subtract the earth and baseness of this age,
Admit no wild-fire in Poetick rage,
Cast out of learning whatsoever's vain,
Let ignorance no more haunt Noblemen,
Nor Humour Travellers, let wits be free
From over-weening, and the rest is Thee.

Thee, noble Soul! whose early flights are far
Sublimier than old Eagles soarings are,
Who light'st Love's dying torch with purer fire,
And breath'st new life into the Teian lyre:
That Love's best secretaries, that are past,
Liv'd they, might learn to love, and yet be chaste.
Nay, Vestals might as well such sonnets hear
As keep their vows and thy black ribband wear:
So chaste is all, that though in each line lie
More Amorettoes than in Doris eye;
Yet so they're charm'd, that look'd upon they
[prove

Harmless as Charicssa's nightly love.
So pow'rful is that tongue, that hand, that can
Make soft Ionicks turn grave Lydian.
How oft this heavy leaden Saturnine
And never elevated soul of mine
Hath been pluck'd up by thee, and forc'd away,
Enlarged from her still adhering clay?
How ev'ry line still pleas'd? When that was o're,
I conceal'd it, and prais'd the other more.

complete master of Philosophy [F]; and, to add to his consummate erudition, a very good Grecian. Of this last, he gave full proof in his beautiful and valuable edition of Æschylus [G], and in his curious Manuscripts which he left behind him [H]. This learned person dyed, on the 12th of April 1678, at his lodgings in Suffolk-street in the parish of St Martin's in the fields Westminster; and was buried in the Church there (d), without any memorial that we can find. As to his character; He was endowed with eminent parts, a nimble fancy, an acute wit, and a facetious and generous humour, which rendered him a most accomplished Gentleman. When he was young, he married Dorothy, eldest daughter, and one of the coheirs of Sir James Enian (e), of Flowre in the county of Northampton, Bart. which brought him the accession of a fair estate to his own. By her, he had Thomas, his son and heir [I], who sold his seat and manor of Comberlow (f). The learned Dr William Wotton wrote an Elogium of our Author, which was published by Mr Henman, at Eysenach, at the end of Scævola Sammarthanus's Elogia Gallorum; but we have not been able to procure it, at any rate.

(d) Idem, col. 285.

(e) Wood calls him, Sir John Enyon, ubi supra.

(f) Chauncy, and Wood; as above.

That if thou writ'st but on, my thoughts shall be
Almost engulf'd in an infinity.

But, dearest friend, what Law's power ever gave
To make ones own free first-born to be his slave?
Nay manumise it; for what else wil't be
To strangle, but deny it liberty.
Once lend the world a day of thine, and fright
The trembling still-born children of the night.
That at the last, we undeceiv'd may see,
Theirs were but Fancies, thine is Poetry.

Sweet Swan of silver Thames! but only she
Sings not till death, thou in thy Infancy.

As warm in our Author's praises, is Edward Sherburne Esq; in his verses "To Mr Stanley, on his unimitable Poems.

The Stagirite, who Poesie defines
An Imitation, had he read thy lines,
And thy rich Fancy known, he would have then
Recall'd the learned Error of his pen,
And have confest, in his convicted State,
Nought those could equal, this would imitate;

Nor can our Art a fitting value fit
Upon thy noble courtesie of Wit;
Which to so many Toungs doth lend that store
Of pleasing sweetness which they lack'd before,
Th'Iberian, Roman, and the fluent Greek;
The nimble French, and the smooth Thuscan,

For severall Graces from thy Pen alone,
Which that affords to all these Toungs, in One.
Whose forraign Wealth transferr'd, improv'd by

Doth with a fair increase of Lustre shine
Like Gems new set upon some richer foyle,
Or Roses planted in a better foyle."

[F] *A compleat master of Philosophy.* He most eminently shewed himself such, in his very learned Book, intituled, 'The History of Philosophy: Containing the Lives, Opinions, Actions and Discourses of the Philosophers of every Sect. Illustrated with the Effigies of divers of them.' Fol. It was published in three volumes fol. at different times, in the following order. I. The History of Philosophy, containing those on whom the Attribute of Wife was conferred. Lond. 1655. fol. in three parts. II. The second Volume was printed in 1656, containing Five parts more. And, at the end of it, was the Doctrine of the Stoicks, in two parts. III. The third Volume came out in 1660, containing four parts. IV. The History of the Chaldaick Philosophy appeared in 1662, in five parts. All these several parts were reprinted together in 1687; and again in 1700, in one volume fol. and in 1743, in one volume, 4to.—Part 1, comprehends the *Wise-men* of Greece. Part 2, the Ionick Philosophers. Part 3, the Socratick Philosophers. Part 4, the Cyrenaick, Megarick, Eleack, and Eretrick Sects. Part 5, the Academick Philosophers. Part 6, the Peripatetick Philosophy. Part 7, the Cynick Philosophers. Part 8, the Stoick Philosophers. Part 9, the Italic Sect. Part 10, the Heraclitian Sect. Part 11, the Eleatic Sect. Part 12, the

Sceptick, or Pyrrhonian Sect. Part 13, Part 14, and 15; the Chaldaick Philosophy and Doctrine. Part 16, and 17, of the Persians, and their Doctrine. Part 18, and 19, of the Sabæans, and their Doctrine.—He observes, in the Preface, that, 'Although some Grecians have challenged to their nation the Original of Philosophy, yet the more learned of them have acknowledged it derived from the East. To omit the dark traditions of the Athenians concerning Musæus; of the Thebanes concerning Linus, and of the Thracians about Orpheus, it is manifest that the original of the Greek Philosophy is to be derived from Thales, who travelling into the East, first brought Natural learning, Geometry, and Astrology, thence into Greece, for which reason the Attribute of Wise was conferred upon him, and at the same time upon six others for their eminence in morality and politicks. Thus learning in the ancientest times was by the Greeks called *Sophia* (wisdom) and the professor thereof, who raised his soul to an eminent degree of knowledge, *Sophos* (wise) Pythagoras first named it *Philosophy* (love of wisdom) and himself a *Philosopher*, affirming that no man is wise, but only God.'—The learned John Le Clerc translated the History of the Chaldaick Philosophy into Latin, and published it at Amsterdam, in 1690, 8vo, under this title, *Thomæ Stanleii Historia Philosophiæ Orientalis. Recensuit, ex Anglica Linguâ in Latinam transfuit. Notis in Oracula Chaldaica, & Indice Philologico auxit Johannes Clericus.* The rest of the History of Philosophy was also translated into Latin by Godfrey Olearius, and published at Leipsic in 1711, 4to.

[G] *His beautiful and valuable edition of Æschylus.* It was printed, with large and elegant types, at London in 1663, folio, with this title, 'Æschyli Tragoedia VII. cum Scholiis Græcis, deperditorum Dramatum Fragmentis, Versione, & Commentariis Thomæ Stanleii.' The learned John Cornelius de Pauw reprinted it in 1745, in two Volumes 4to. without any omission, as he testifies in these words, 'Editio hæc ad editionem Stanleii typis expressa est, & nihil in ea, quod hic omisum.' He hath added large notes of his own, at the end of the second Volume, wherein he is full petulant against Mr Stanley; but he doth not seem to have known, or at least to have made use of, Mr Stanley's Commentaries on Æschylus, mentioned in the next Note.

[H] *And in his curious Manuscripts which he left behind him.* The chief of them were in the late Bishop More's possession, and are now in the public Library of the university of Cambridge; Namely, 1. *Amplissimi Commentarii in Æschyli Tragoedias, nondum editi*; i. e. Very large Commentaries upon the Tragedies of Æschylus. Eight Volumes, fol. 2. *Adversaria, in quibus Sophoclis &c. loci plurimi emendantur vel explicantur*; i. e. His Common-place-book, wherein many passages in Sophocles &c. are corrected, or explained, fol. 3. *Prælectiones amplissimæ in Theophrasti Characteres*; i. e. Lectures upon the Characters of Theophrastus. 4. *Æschylus: sive Exercitatio philologica de Primitiis ac Decimis Prædæ, ad versum 4. capituli VII. Epistolæ ad Hebræos, &c.* i. e. A Dissertation on Hebrews, chap. VII. ver. 4. (6).

[I] *By her, he had Thomas, his son and heir.* This gentleman was educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; and, when very young, translated from the Greek into English, Claudius Ælianus his Various Histories (7); printed at London in 1665, 8vo. dedicated to his aunt the Lady Newton, wife of Sir Henry Puckering-Newton, Knight and Baronet, to whom the father had dedicated his edition of Æschylus.

(6) Catalog. MSS. Angliæ & Hib. Vol. p. 378.

(7) Wood, ubi supra.

STEELE [Sir RICHARD], famous for his numerous polite writings, was born probably about the year 1676 (a), at Dublin in Ireland, in which kingdom one branch of the family was possessed of a considerable estate in the county of Wexford (b). His Father, a Counsellor at Law, was some time private Secretary to James the first Duke of Ormond (c) [A]. But he was of English extraction, and his son, while very young, being carried to London, he put him to school at the Charter-house (d), whence he was removed to Merton College in Oxford, where he was admitted a Postmaster in 1692 (e). His inclination and genius being turned to polite literature, he commenced Author during his residence in the University, and actually finished a Comedy; which however he thought fit to suppress by the advice of one of his fellow collegians, who, upon the perusal, condemned it as unworthy of his genius [B]. Mr Steele's submission to this censure sets his good sense and modesty in the most amiable light. Accordingly he was well beloved and respected by the whole Society, and had a good interest with them after he left the university [C], which he did without taking any degree, in the full resolution to enter into the Army. This step was highly displeasing to his Friends; but the ardor of his passion for a military life, rendered him deaf to any other proposal. He was absolutely inflexible, so that not being able to procure a better station, he entered a private gentleman in the Horse-guards, notwithstanding he thereby lost the succession to his Irish Estate [D]. However, the turn of his mind was very well adapted to the bent of his inclination: he had a flow of good nature, a generous openness and frankness of spirit, and a sparkling vivacity of wit where there was no want of courage. These qualities rendered him the delight of the soldiery, and procured him an Ensign's commission in the guards (f). In the mean time he had made choice of a profession, which set him free from all the ordinary restraints in Youth to an unthinking gaiety; and he spared not to indulge his genius in the wildest excesses, prostituting the exquisite charms of his conversation-talents to give his pleasures a daintier and more poignant relish (g). Yet these revels did not pass without some cool hours of reflection, and in these it was that he drew up his little treatise intituled *The*

(f) Memoirs of Sir R. Steele, &c. before.

(g) His Apology, &c. p. 296.

[A] His father was private Secretary to the Duke of Ormond. Our Author dedicates his play, called *The Lying Lover*, to the late Duke of Ormond, where he makes use of his connexion to that noble family as the best plea for that address. 'Out of gratitude, says he; to the memorable and illustrious Patron of my infancy, your Grace's grandfather, I presume to lay this comedy at your feet.' From the turn of this expression it seems not improbable, that Mr Steele sent his son to the Charter-house school by the direction of this Patron, who was one of the governours of that hospital (1), and consequently, had he lived long enough, might have been of service to him.

[B] He suppressed his play by the advice of a friend. This friend's name was Mr R. Parker, afterwards Fellow of the College, who thought there was nothing extraordinary in it, falling much short of his subsequent theatrical performances, which gained him so great reputation (2). His first appearance as an author in print was in a poem upon the death of Queen Mary in 1695, called *The Procession*. The subject is sublime, and the execution shews, that the writer's talent did not lie that way so much as to the familiar stile; yet the following lines are truly poetical, and seem not unworthy the Princess whom he strives to adorn.

The poor her first and deepest mourners are,
First in her thoughts, and earliest in her care:
All hand in hand with common friendly woe,
In poverty, our native state, they go.
Some whom unstable terrors did engage
By luxury in Youth to need in Age:
Some who had virgin vows to wedlock broke,
And where they help expected found a yoke:
Others who in their want feel double weight
From the remembrance of a wealthier state.
There mothers walk, who oft despairing stood,
Pierc'd with their infants deaf'ning sobs for food,
Then to a dagger run, with threat'ning eyes,
'To stab their bosoms, and to kill their noise;
But in the thought they stopt, their locks they tore,
Threw down the steel, and cruelly forbore.
The innocents their parents love forgive,
Smile at their fate, nor know they are to live.
These modest wants had ne'er been understood,
But by Maria's cunning to be good.

[C] He had an interest in the Society after he left it. One part of the charge against him, for which he was

expelled the House of Commons in 1713, being, that his writings were injurious to the Universities. In answer to this, in his Apology, having quoted a passage from the Englishman, No. 34, where the Universities are mentioned with respect, he proceeds in the following words, 'It appears by these and many other passages in my writings, that I have retained the greatest honour and esteem for those learned bodies; in one of which I received a part of my education, and where I can boast of much personal friendship and acquaintance [3].' This declaration by himself, being a kind of appeal to the world for the truth of what he asserts, and was never controverted, may be fairly deemed sufficient to support what is advanced in the text. But we have a further confirmation of it, which puts it beyond the reach of a doubt: About the year 1712, when Mr R. Breton, the present Archdeacon of Hereford, stood candidate for a fellowship in Merton College, having the honour to be known to our Author, he procured letters of recommendation from him to the then Warden, Dr Holland; as also to the beforementioned Mr Parker, to whom he recommended him as to his old friend and acquaintance. At the same time he likewise sent to the Warden the four volumes of his *Tatlers* in the large octavo edition, desiring he would give them a place in the library of his College, of which he had once the honour to be a member. To which may be added, that in one of Sir Richard's last journies to Wales, passing through Oxford, he made a visit to that society (4); which shews that he preserved a good respect for it as long as he lived.

[D] He lost the Irish estate. In answer to a calumny thrown upon him by Mr Dennis (5), who, in diminution of his birth and breeding, had derived his descent from a trooper's horse, he defends himself in the following words. 'It may perhaps fall in my way to give an abstract of the life of this man, whom it is thought thus necessary to undo and disparage. When I do, it will appear, that when he mounted a war-horse with a great sword in his hand, and planted himself behind King William III. against Lewis XIV, he lost the succession to a very good estate in the county of Wexford in Ireland, from the same humour which he has preserved ever since, of preferring the state of his mind to that of his fortune. When he cocked his hat, and put on a broad sword, jack-boots, and shoulder-belt, under the command of the unfortunate Duke of Ormond, he was not acquainted with his own parts, and did not then know he should ever have been able (as he has since appeared to be in the Cafe of Dunkirk) to demolish a fortified town with a goose-quill (6).'

(3) Steele's political works, p. 247. edit. 1715.

(4) Communicated by Mr Allch, as before.

(5) In his character and conduct of Sir John Edgar, p. 17. edit. 1720. 8vo.

(6) Theatre, No. XI.

Christian Hero, with a design, if we may believe himself, to be a check upon his passions [E]. For this use and purpose it had lain some time by him when he printed it in 1701, with a Dedication to Lord Cutts, who had not only appointed him his private Secretary, but procured for him a Company in Lord Lucas's regiment of Fusiliers (b). The whole plan and tenor of our Author's book was such a flat contradiction to the general course of his life, that it became a subject of much mirth and raillery: But these shafts had no effect; he persevered invariably in the same contradiction, and though he had no power to change his heart, yet his pen was never made a victim to his follies. Under the influence of that good sense, he wrote his Comedy called *The Funeral, or Grief a-la-mode* [F], which was brought upon the stage the same year. This play procured him the regards of King William, who resolved to give him some essential marks of his favour [G]; and though upon his Majesty's death the curtain dropt over all those pleasing scenes of hope, yet was it drawn up again in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, when he was appointed Gazetteer [H]. He owed this Post to the friendship of Lord Halifax and the Earl of Sunderland, and he discharged the duties of it with the exactest fidelity to his Masters. He had been recommended to those Ministers by his schoolfellow Mr Addison (i), and that gentleman lent him also a helping hand in promoting the Comedy called *The Tender Husband, or the accomplished Fools*, which was acted in 1704, with great success [I]. But his next play, *The Lying*

(b) Dedication to this book.

(i) Morgan's New Political State, p. 7.

(7) In Remark [C].

[E] *A check upon his passions.* For this we have his own word, which, from what has been already observed (7), may perhaps pass for no bad authority. He tells us, that 'when he was an ensign in the guards, being thoroughly convinced of many things, of which he often repented and as often repeated, he wrote, for his own private use, a little book, called *The Christian Hero*; with a design principally to fix upon his mind a strong impression of virtue and religion, in opposition to a stronger propensity to unwarrantable pleasures.' This secret admonition was too weak. He therefore printed the book with his name, in hopes, that a testimony against himself, and the eyes of the world (that is to say of his acquaintance) upon him in a new light, might curb his desires, and make him ashamed of understanding and seeming to feel what was virtuous, and living so quite contrary a life. This had no other good effect but that, from being thought no undelightful companion, he was soon reckoned a disagreeable fellow. One or two of his acquaintance thought fit to misuse him, and try their valour upon him; and every body measured the least levity in his words and actions with the character of a *Christian Hero* [8]. It will not be impertinent, now we are touching upon this untractable temper of our Author with regard to his moral character, to observe, that he was equally ungovernable in regard to his political conduct, notwithstanding he had a constant check upon it in his friend Mr Addison. Having told us, that there never was a more strict friendship than that between them, he proceeds to declare, that 'they never had any difference but what arose from their different way of pursuing the same thing; the one, with patience, foresight, and temperate address, always waited and stemmed the torrent; while the other often plunged himself into it, and was as often taken out by the temper of him, who stood weeping on the bank for his safety, whom he could not dissuade from leaping into it (9).'

(8) His apology, ubi supra, p. 296.

(9) The Theatre, No. XII.

(10) Apology, as before.

[F] *The Funeral, or Grief a-la-mode.* He declares, that the rebuffs he met with, instead of encouragements for his declarations in regard to religion, laid him under a necessity of enlivening his character, which was the reason of his writing this comedy; where, though the incidents that move laughter be numerous, yet, virtue and vice appear just as they ought to do (10). The play was levelled at some enormities of the Undertakers, which, in the preface he observes, it is not in the power of any pen to paint better than they do themselves. 'As for example, says he, on a door I just now passed by, a great artist informs us of his cures upon the dead. *W. W. known and approved for his art of embalming, having preserved the corpse of a gentlewoman sweet and entire thirteen years without embowelling, and has reduced the bodies of several persons of quality to sweetness in Flanders and Ireland, after nine months putrefaction in the ground, and they were known by their friends in England. No man performeth the like.* He must be strangely in love with his own life, continues our Author, who is not touched with this kind invitation to be pickled; and the noble operator must be allowed a very useful person for bringing old friends together. Nor would it be unworthy his labour to give us an account at large of the *sweet* conversation that arose upon meeting such an *intire* friend as he mentions.' The other part of the play is aimed at the Lawyers,

in speaking of which part he takes occasion to make a handsome compliment to Lord Somers, then in disgrace, 'of whom, he says, he will mention in words that which of all men breathing can only be said of him, It is he that is excellent:

' *Seu lingua causas acuit seu civica Jura*

' *Responsare parat, seu condit amabile carmen.*'

After all, the success of this performance was chiefly owing to the zeal of his fellow-foldiers, arising from the Author's interest in the army.

[G] *King William had resolved to give him some essential marks of his favour.* This we have from himself. 'Nothing, says he, ever makes the town so fond of a man as a successful play; and this, with some particulars enlarged upon to his advantage, (for Princes never hear good or evil in the manner that others do) obtained him the notice of the King. And his name, &c. to be provided for, was in the last table-book, ever worn by the glorious and immortal King William III (11).'

(11) *Ibid.*

[H] *He was appointed Gazetteer.* He calls this the lowest Minister of State, and assures us, that he worked in the office faithfully according to order, without ever erring against the rule observed by all ministries, to keep that paper very innocent and very insipid. 'It is believed, continues he, that it was to the reproaches he heard every gazette-day against the writer of it, that the Defendant owes the fortitude of being remarkably negligent of what people say which he does not deserve (12).'

(12) Apology

[I] *The Tender Husband was acted with great success.* In this comedy, as well as the *Funeral*, our Author steadily preserved the point of morality, of which he makes his dedication of it to Mr Addison a test, since he should not have dared to offer it as a memorial of their inviolable friendship, had not he been careful to avoid every thing that might look ill-natured and immoral, or prejudicial to what the better part of mankind held sacred and honourable. After Mr Addison's death, he took an occasion of mentioning the assistance that gentleman gave him in this play. 'I remember, says he, when I finished *The Tender Husband*, I told him [Addison] there was nothing I so tenderly wished, as that we might some time or other publish a work written by us both, which should bear the name of *The Monument*, in memory of our friendship. When the play abovementioned was last acted, there were so many applauded strokes in it, which I had from the same hand, that I thought very meanly of myself, that I had never publickly acknowledged them (13).'

(13) Preface the Drummer second edition

It is commonly said, that this intimacy commenced so early as when they were schoolfellows at the Charterhouse (14); if so, it is a memorable instance, both of the pregnant parts of the one, and the good-natured condescension of the other. Addison was full ripe for the University, and accordingly left that school in 1687, when Steele, if there, must have been very low in it, as is evident from his not leaving it till 1692, five years afterwards. So great a distance of place in two schoolboys makes the intimacy then contracted, if true, almost unexampled; which likewise becomes more extraordinary, in viewing their very different tempers; the one remarkably gay, the other as remarkably grave.

(14) See Mr Addison's article

Lover, found a very different fate [K]. Upon this last rebuff from the stage, he turned the same humorous current into another channel, and early in the year 1709 he began to publish *The Tatler* (k). That admirable Paper was undertaken in concert with Dr Swift [L]. Both the general usefulness of the plan, and the inimitable humour and spirit, kept up in full bloom throughout the execution of it, were universally approved and admired [M]. His

[K] *The Lying Lover met with a different fate.* Sir Richard, in his defence before the House of Commons, mentions the event of this play, as an instance of his suffering for the cause of virtue. 'I have carried, says he, this inclination to the advancement of virtue so far, as to pursue it even in things the most indifferent, and which perhaps have been thought foreign to it. To give you an instance of this, Sir, I must mention a comedy, called the *Lying Lover*, which I writ some years ago, the preface to which says, *Though it ought to be the care of all governments, that public representations should have nothing in them but what is agreeable to the manners, laws, religion, and policy, of the place or nation wherein they are exhibited; yet it is the general complaint of the more learned and virtuous amongst us, that the English stage has extremely offended in this kind. I thought therefore it would be an honest ambition to attempt a comedy which might be no improper entertainment in a Christian commonwealth.* Mr Collier had, about the time when this was published, written against the immorality of the stage. 'I was (as far as I durst for fear of witty men upon whom he had been too severe) a great admirer of his book, and took it into my head to write a comedy in the severity he required. In this play I make the spark or hero kill a man in his drink, and finding himself in prison the next morning, I give him the contrition which he ought to have on that occasion. It is in allusion to that circumstance, that the preface further says as follows; The anguish he there expresses, and the mutual sorrow between an only child and a tender father in that distress, are perhaps an injury to the rules of comedy; but I am sure they are a justice to those of morality. And passages of such a nature being so frequently applauded upon the stage, it is high time that we should no longer draw occasions of mirth from those images, which the religion of our country tells us we ought to tremble at with horror. But her most excellent Majesty has taken the stage into her consideration; and we may hope, from her gracious influence on the muses, that Wit will recover from its apostacy, and that, by being encouraged in the interests of Virtue, it will strip Vice of the gay habit in which it has too long appeared, and cloath it in its native dress of shame, contempt, and dishonour. I acknowledge that I cannot tell, Sir, what they would have me to do to prove myself a churchman; but I think I have appeared one even in so trifling a thing as a comedy. And, considering me as a comic poet, I have been a martyr and confessor for the church; for this play was damned for its piety (15).'

[L] *He began the Tatler in concert with Dr Swift.* This is acknowledged by our Author, first in the dedication to the two first volumes, as follows. 'A work of this nature requiring time to grow into the notice of the world, it happened very luckily, that, a little before I had resolved upon this design, a gentleman had written predictions, and two or three other pieces, in my name, which had rendered it famous through all parts of Europe, and, by an inimitable spirit and humour, raised it to as high a pitch of reputation as it could possibly arrive at.' This passage he refers to in the preface to the fourth volume, where, in pursuance of a promise in the last *Tatler* to give an account of the assistants he had in the work, he uses the following words. 'I have, in the dedication to the first volume, made my acknowledgments to Dr Swift, whose pleasant writings in the name of Bickerstaff, created an inclination in the Town towards any thing that should appear in the same disguise. I must acknowledge also, that, at my first entrance upon this work, a turn in conversation peculiar to that agreeable gentleman, tendered his company very advantageous to one whose imagination was to be continually employed upon obvious and common subjects, though obliged, at the same time, to treat of them in a new and unbeaten method. His *Verses on the Shower in the Town*, and the description of *The Morning*, are instances of the happiness of that genius, which could raise such pleasing ideas upon occasions so barren to an ordinary invention.' Whoever compares this with his acknow-

ledgments to Mr Addison, will see, that the first are exemplified by only two trifling juvenile descriptions, *when*, as Mr Pope observes, *fond description takes the place of sense*; while those of the other are instanced in the most sublime and important subjects of the whole work, The discourses on the immortality of the soul, &c. Nay, as if that was not sufficient to eclipse the merit of Dr Swift in the *Tatler*, he declares, that he thinks 'the finest strokes of wit and humour in all Mr Bickerstaff's lucubrations, are those for which he is also beholden to Mr Addison (16).' But this treatment of his quondam friend, Dr Swift, will easily be accounted for, when we recollect, that not only *The Examiner*, but *The Whig Examiner*, by Mr Addison (17), and *The Medley*, in which our Author had a share (18), were begun some time before the last *Tatler*, and especially before the preface to the last volume of that work was written; not to mention that the dedication of the first volume is addressed to Mr Mainwaring the Undertaker of *The Medley*.

[M] *Approved and admired.* The general purpose of this paper, Sir Richard tells us (19), was to expose the false arts of life, to pull off the disguises of cunning, vanity, and ostentation, and to recommend a general simplicity in our dress, discourse, and behaviour. Nothing more was aimed at while Dr Swift was engaged in it, nor did the papers rise above this design, as it is planned out into its several branches in the first paper, till the change of the ministry, when Mr Addison had leisure to engage more constantly in it, who raised it to a greater thing than our Author had intended it. This advanced its reputation in the view of becoming a more important work. The air of the familiar, which had never been transgressed before, was raised into the sublime, and these subjects were set off with all the elegance, purity, and correctness, which they deserved. But then the inoffensiveness of the first plan was a little broke into. At the same time the change of the ministry was seen in the change of *The Tatler*, and objected to. The raillery in behalf of Mr Hoadly [the present Bishop of Winchester] was too much pointed to be consistent with that conduct which had been professed and preserved in the two first volumes, in which the amiable parts in the characters of Atterbury and Smallridge are drawn without any such points of offence. But our Author owned [after the just-mentioned change] he could not be cold enough to conceal his opinion in politicks (20). However, as politicks are almost always,

When the bill to prevent duelling was brought into parliament, Sir Richard took that occasion of seconding his blow against the duellists, which at the same time gave him an opportunity of doing justice to one of his correspondents in *The Tatler*, who was at that time unknown to him. Speaking of this bill in 1720, 'I can hardly conceive, says he, a more laudable act, than declaring an abhorrence of so fashionable a crime [as duelling] which weakness, cowardice, and impatience of the reproach of fools, have brought upon reasonable men. This sort of behaviour cannot proceed but from a true and undaunted courage, and I cannot but have in great veneration a generous youth, who in public declared his assent and concurrence to this law, by saying, *that, in spite of the prevailing custom, he triumphed more in being a second to prevent, than he should have been in being one to promote, murder.* A speech thus ingenuous could come only from a heart that scorned reserves in compliance to falsehood, to do injury to truth. This was true greatness of mind; and the man who did it could not possibly do it for his own sake, but must be conscious of a courage sufficient for his own defence, who could thus candid-

(16) The last paper of the *Tatler*.

(17) See Prior's article in remark [P].

(18) See the remark [N].

(19) In the dedication to the first volume.

(20) The Examiner had fallen upon the *Tatler* in the paper of Sept. 28, 1710. No. 230: The *Tatler* replied in No. 239.

His reputation became perfectly established by it, and during the course of it, he was made a Commissioner of the Stamp-Duties in 1710. Upon the change of the ministry the same year, he sided with the Duke of Marlborough, who had several years entertained a friendship for him. And upon his Grace's dismissal from all employments in 1711, Mr Steele addressed a Letter of thanks to him for the services done to his Country (l). However, as our Author still continued to hold his place in the Stamp-Office under the new Administration, he forbore entering with his pen upon political subjects. But adhering more closely to Mr Addison, he dropt *The Tatler* (m); and afterwards, by the assistance chiefly of that steady Friend, he carried on the same plan under the title of *The Spectator* (n). The success of this paper was equal to that of the former, which encouraged him before the close of it to proceed upon the same design in the character of *The Guardian*. This was opened in the beginning of the year 1713 (o), and was laid down in October the same year. But in the course of it, his thoughts took a stronger turn to politics (p); he engaged with great warmth against the Ministry, and being determined to prosecute his views that way by procuring a seat in the House of Commons, he immediately removed all obstacles thereto. For that purpose, he took care to prevent a forcible dismissal from his Post in the Stamp-Office by a timely resignation of it to the Earl of Oxford [N]; and at the same time, gave up a pension which had been till this time paid him by the Queen, as a servant to the late Prince George of Denmark [O]. This done, he wrote the famous *Guardian* upon the demolition of Dunkirk,

(l) The title of it is *The Englishman's Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough*. It is the first in the Collection of his Political Writings, published in 1715. 8vo.

(m) The last paper is dated Tuesday Jan. 2, 1710-11.

(n) This paper begun March 1, 1710-11, and continued without interruption till December 6, 1712, when it was dropt for a while.

(o) The *Spectator* was discontinued, but resumed in June 18, 1714, and continued till December 20 the same year.

(p) Mr Congreve and Mr Pope withdrew their auxiliaries on this occasion.

ly, at his time of life, rescue other men from the necessity of bearing contempt, or doing an ill action. The mind usually exerts itself in all its faculties with an equal pace towards maturity; and this gentleman, who, at the age of sixteen, could form such pleasant pictures of false and little ambitions of low spirits as Mr Fuller did, to whom we owe, with several other excellent pieces, *The Vain-glorious Glutton*, when a secret correspondent of the *Tatler*, I say such a one might easily, as he proceeded in human life, arrive at this superior strength of mind at twenty-four. The soul that labours against prejudice, and follows reason, ripens in her capacities and grows in her talents at the same time. As therefore courage is what a man attains by thought, as much as he improves his wit by study, it is only for want of opportunity to call one or the other forth, and draw the respective qualities into habit, if ever a man of sense is a coward (21).

(21) The *Theatre*, No. 26, for Tuesday, March 29, 1710.

[N] By a timely resignation of it to the Earl of Oxford.] The Paper was drawn up in these terms, the uncommon strain of which will repay the Reader's attention in perusing them.

To the Right Honorable the Lord High Treasurer of Great-Britain.

Bloomsbury-Square,
June 4, 1713.

My Lord,

I presume to give your Lordship this trouble to acquaint you, that having an ambition to serve in the ensuing Parliament, I humbly desire your Lordship will please to accept of my resignation of my office as Commissioner of the Stamp-Revenues. I should have done this sooner, but that I heard the Commission was passing without my name in it. I would not be guilty of the arrogance of resigning what I could not hold. But having heard this since contradicted (22), I am obliged to give it up, as with great humility I do, by this present writing. Give me leave, on this occasion, to say something as to my late conduct with relation to the late men in power, and to assure you, that whatever I have done, said, or writ, has proceeded from no other motive, than the love of what I think truth. For merely as to my own affairs, I could not wish any man in the Administration rather than yourself, who favours those that become your Dependants with a greater liberality of heart, than any man I have ever before observed. When I had the honour of a short conversation with you, you were pleased not only to signify to me, that I should remain in this office, but to add, that if I would name to you one of more value which would be more commodious to me, you would favour me in it. I am going out of any particular dependance on your Lordship, and will tell you with the freedom of an indifferent man, that it is impossible for any man who thinks, and has any public spirit, not to tremble at seeing his country, in its present circumstances, in the hands of so daring a genius as yours; if incidents should arise, that should place your own safety, and what ambitious men call greatness, in a ballance against the general good. Our all depends upon your choice under such a temptation. You have

(22) This expression seems to imply, that the design to dismiss him was superseded by the prospect of his getting into Parliament, which would oblige him to resign.

my hearty and fervent prayers to Heaven to avert all such dangers from you. I thank your Lordship for the regard and distinction which you have at sundry times shewn me, and wish you, with your Country's safety, all happiness and prosperity. Share, my Lord, your good fortune, with whom you will; while it lasts you will want no friends: but if any adverse day happens to you, and I live to see it, you will find I think myself obliged to be your friend and advocate. This is talking in a strange dialect from a private man to the First of a nation; but to desire only a little, exalts a man's condition to a level with those who want a great deal. But I beg your Lordship's pardon, and am, with great respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

Richard Steele.

We see here our Author takes notice of the design to dismiss him, which indeed he had reason to have apprehended long before; for he had frequently attacked this Minister under borrowed names (23), and particularly in *The Medley*, where the pleasant Narrative of the Ball at Wapping, in the twenty-fifth Number, was written by him (24).

(23) See *Remarks* [W].

(24) *Life of Author Maynaring*, p. 19.

[O] He resigned his pension, &c.] When *The Examiner* afterwards made an attempt to consume him in the fire of Ingratitude, this step furnished him with cold water to throw upon that fire. It is entertaining enough to view the contrast, in the words of each Antagonist: I believe, says *The Examiner* (25), speaking of *The Guardian*, then just published, I may challenge all the nations of the world, and all the histories of this nation for a thousand years past, to shew us an instance so flagrant as what we have now before us, viz. whenever a subject, nay a servant under a salary, and favoured, in spite of ill behaviour past, with a considerable employ in the government, treated his Sovereign in such a manner as *The Guardian* has done the person of the Queen, and went unpunished. If the clemency of the Queen prevails to save such a man; if her Majesty thinks it below her to resent an injury from so contemptible a wretch, by so much the rather should every subject resent it, and shew their duty and respect to their Sovereign, by trampling under their feet the very name and memory of the man, that can have boldness enough to insult his Prince in a printed, and for that reason a scandalous libel, and can have ingratitude enough to do it, while he is eating her bread.' To this very warm charge, our Author makes the following very cool reply: *The Examiner*, says he, accuses me of ingratitude, as being actually under salary, when I write the Letter to *The Guardian*; but he is mistaken in that particular; for I had resigned, not only my office in the Stamp-Duties, but also my pension as a servant to his late Royal Highness, which her Majesty hath been graciously pleased to continue to the whole family of that excellent Prince. I divested myself of all that I was so happy as to enjoy by her Majesty's goodness and favour, before I would pre-

(25) In the *Pa* Aug. 11, 1713.

sume

Dunkirk, which was published Aug. 7, 1713; and the Parliament being dissolved the next day, *The Guardian* was soon followed by several other warm political tracts against the Administration [P]. Upon the meeting of the new Parliament, Mr Steele having been returned a Member for the borough of Stockbridge in Dorsetshire, took his seat accordingly in the House of Commons, but was expelled thence in a few days after, for writing several seditious and scandalous libels, as he had been indeed forewarned by the Author of a periodical Paper, called *The Examiner* [Q]. Presently after his expulsion, he published Proposals for

(26) Importance of Dunkirk considered, p. 61, 62, in Steele's political Works.

'sure to write any thing which was so apparently an advertisement to those employed in her service (26).'
 [P] *The Guardian*, and several other tracts against the Administration. In the *Guardian* of Aug. 7, 1713, our Author had said twice, *The British nation expect the immediate demolition of Dunkirk*, and a third time, pray Mr Ironside repeat it again, that *The British nation expect the immediate demolition of Dunkirk*. Upon which, in a few days came out, *The honour and prerogative of the Queen's Majesty vindicated, and defended against the unexampled influence of the author of the Guardian*. In a letter from a country noble to Mr Steele. The writer of which, in speaking to the just-mentioned passage of the *Guardian*, cries out, "See how the villain treats the best of sovereigns, the best mistress to him, whose bread he has eaten, and who has kept him from a Goal. Read it again. Put it into English, said a neighbour of mine to me, Come make the best of it. Then he reads as follows, *The British nation expect*, &c. and again, *The British nation expect the immediate demolition of Dunkirk*. And a third time, with a tone of threatening, *The British nation expect it*.—I would fain have pleaded for you, that this was not to be understood to be spoken to, or pointed at their Queen; but it would not do, they laughed at me. Come, says my neighbour, if you can't put it into words, I'll do it for you: *The British nation expect the immediate demolition of Dunkirk*. We all know her Majesty has possession of Dunkirk; and though the work is to be done by the French, her Majesty may appoint the day. Now, says he, read the words; what is it but thus; *Look you, Madam, your Majesty had best take care that Dunkirk be demolished, or else*, &c. and again, *Madam, We expect, and we would have you take notice that We expect, that Dunkirk be demolished, and that immediately*. Just thus an imperious planter at Barbadoes speaks to a negro slave, *Look you, firrab, I expect this sugar to be ground; and look to it that it be done forthwith. It is enough to tell you I expect it, or else*, &c. and then he holds up his stick at him." This *Guardian* was reprinted together with *The Importance of Dunkirk considered, in a defence of that Guardian, in a letter to the bayliff of Stockbridge*, which concludes with the following story, by way of reply to that of his antagonist: "If I might make an abrupt digression from great things to small, I should, on this occasion, mention a little circumstance which happened to the late King William. He had a Frenchman who took care of the gun-dogs, whose business it was also to charge and deliver the piece to the King. This minister once forgot to bring out shot into the field, but did not think fit to let so passionate a man, and so eager a sportsman, as the King, know his offence; but gave his Majesty the piece loaded only with powder; when the King missed his aim, the impudent cur stood chattering, admiring, and commending the King's skill in shooting, and, holding up his hands, said, *He had never seen SA MAJESTE' miss before in his whole life*. This circumstance was no manner of argument to them (who afterwards found out the fellow's iniquity) against the King's reputation for a quick eye, and shooting very finely."

This piece was preceded by *The Englishman*, a paper published three days in a week, the first of which is dated October 8, 1713. During the course of this paper came out *The Crisis, or a discourse, representing, from the most ancient records, the just causes of the late revolution, and the several settlements of the crown of England, with some seasonable remarks on the danger of a popish successor*. Our author tells us (27); that the plan of this treatise was first hinted to him by some incidental discourse in a visit to a friend of his, Mr More of the Inner Temple, a man perfectly skilled in the laws and constitution of this kingdom. This gentleman pressed him likewise to the undertaking, and observed, that he thought Mr Steele, from the kind reception the world gave to what he published, might be more instrumental towards curing this evil [the disaffection to the house of Hanover] than any private man in England; that in conclusion it was agreed for them both to join in writing the book, and share the profits arising from the sale equally between them.

(27) In his A-pology, p. 301, 302.

[Q] *He was expelled the house, as he had been forewarned by the Examiner.* The warning was published in the *Examiner*, before his election, in the following words. 'This man [Steele] was never so dear to the Whigs as since he let them know, that he durst assault his Queen. This has made him their favourite, and one of their authors has made his dull panegyrick upon him already for it; while another set of them are to get him chosen for the next parliament, that he may carry on his insults there, and obtain the honour; as another of their haughty leaders has already done, of being expelled the house.' The person here signified was the famous Mr Walpole; and there is room to think that our Author (like some others after him) (28) even courted this honour. Presently after his election at Stockbridge he begun the *Englishman*, and printed the *Crisis*, which procured that honour for him. His great care, in drawing up this last treatise, seems to have been not to bring upon himself a heavier punishment. 'When the *Crisis*, says he, was written hand in hand with that gentleman [Mr More], I, who was to answer for it with my all, would not venture upon my own single judgment; therefore I caused it to be printed, and left one copy with Mr Addison, another with Mr Lechmere, another with Mr Minshull, and another with Mr Hoadly. From these corrected copies the *Crisis* became the piece it is. When I thought it my Duty, I thank God I had no further consideration for myself than to do it in a lawful and proper way, so as to give no disparagement to a glorious cause from my indiscretion, or want of judgment. I was willing to ripen the question of the succession upon my own head.' When the parliament met, after two or three gentlemen had proposed Sir Thomas Hanmer for Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr Steele took upon him to say he had the same honourable sentiments of that gentleman in the following words:

'At the close of the last parliament, her Majesty was graciously pleased to declare from the throne, that the late rejected bill of commerce between Great-Britain and France should be offered to this house. That declaration was certainly made, that every gentleman, who should have the honour to be returned hither, might make himself master of that important question. It is demonstration that was a most pernicious bill; and no one can have a greater merit to this house, than he by whose weight and authority that pernicious bill was thrown out. I rise up to do him honour, and distinguish myself by giving him my vote for that his inestimable service to his country.'

'It will be impossible for the Reader, continues he, to conceive how this speech was received, except he has happened to have been at a cock-match, and has seen the triumph and exultation which is raised, when a volatile, whose fall was some way gainful to part of the company, has been necked. At the mention of the *Bill of Commerce*, the cry began; at calling it *pernicious*, it increased; at the words *doing him honour*, it grew insupportably loud.' In this state of the house, on March 12, 1713, a complaint was made to them against certain paragraphs in three printed pamphlets; *The Englishman*, from Saturday January 16 to Tuesday January 19, 1713, wherein is a printed letter to the *Englishman*, to which is subscribed the name Richard Steele; another, intitled *The Crisis*, in the title-page whereof it is said by Richard Steele, Esq; and another, intitled *The Englishman*, being the close of the paper so called; in the title whereof it is also said by Richard Steele, Esq; as containing several paragraphs tending to sedition, highly reflecting upon her Majesty, and arraigning her administration and government. Upon which Mr Steele was ordered to attend. He did so on Saturday 13, and heard the several paragraphs, complained of, read; after which he stood up, and desired time to make his defence, which, after great debates, was granted till Thursday 18. In these debates Mr Auditor Harley moved for having him heard on the Monday following. In answer to whom we are told (29), that

(28) Particularly Mr Poultney, the present Earl of Bath. General History of England.

(29) Boyer's Annals of Queen Anne, ad ann. 1713.

for writing the History of the Duke of Marlborough [R]. At the same time he also wrote *The Spinster*, and in opposition to *The Examiner*, he set up a Paper called *The Reader*, and continued publishing several other things in the same spirit, till the death of the Queen [S].

Imme-

that Mr Steele, out of contempt of his adversaries, who were known, says this Author, to have been rigid Presbyterians, though they now sided with the High-church, assumed their sanctified countenance, and owned, in the meekness and contrition of his heart, that he was a very great sinner, and he hoped the member who spoke last, who was so justly renowned for his exemplary piety and devotion, would not be necessary to the accumulating the number of his transgressions, by obliging him to break the sabbath of the Lord in perusing such profane writings as might serve for his justification. On Monday 15, Mr Steele made the following motion, as of use, he said, to his defence; That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to give directions, that the several representations of her Majesty's engineers, and others who have had the care and inspection of the demolition of Dunkirk, and all orders and instructions given thereupon, be laid before the house. It passed in the negative, and from that moment Mr Steele despaired of his cause. On Thursday the 18th, Mr Foley, the Accuser, demanded the matter appointed for the day might be entered upon. This gentleman had, in the first debate, remarked, that the drift of the writings before them was to make a great number of the gentlemen of England appear Jacobites and enemies to their country. Mr Steele chose to make his appearance near the bar of the house, and mentions one circumstance in this scene that he says very much sweetened his affliction, which was, that he had the honour to stand between Mr Stanhope and Mr Walpole (30), who condescended to take upon them the parts of his advocates. He was likewise assisted by his friend, Mr Addison, member for Malmesbury, who sat near him to prompt him upon occasion (31). He began his defence with the usual preface of bespeaking favour to any mistakes that might escape him therein, and, after complaining of the Examiner for abusing him the Friday before, he proceeds to maintain the truth of the observations in the several paragraphs alledged as crimes against him. The first, in No. 46 of the Englishman, concludes thus: 'I own I have nothing to say for the liberty I take now, or the book I put out to-day, when nobody else talks in the same stile, but what the sailor said, when he fired out of the stage-coach upon some highwaymen before they cried, Stand, would you have me stay till they have boarded us;' and the last paragraph from the close of that paper is in these words, 'I wish that his Electoral Highness of Hanover would be so grateful as to signify to all the world, the perfect good understanding with the court of England in as plain terms as her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house on her part. This last circumstance, dear Jack, would be very pleasing to all of us who are churchmen, because, if the elector should be any ways disobliged, I am confident her Majesty has given no cause for it. I cannot but attribute any misunderstanding, if such there should be, to the artifices of some new converts, who, for ought I know, may still be Presbyterians in their hearts (32).' After he was withdrawn, Mr Foley said, Without amusing the house with long speeches, it is plain the writings we had complained of were seditious and scandalous, injurious to her Majesty's government, the church, and the universities, and called for the question. Thence arose a very warm debate, which lasted till eleven o'clock at night. The first who spoke for Mr Steele was Robert Walpole, Esq; who was seconded by his brother Horace, Lord Finch, Lord Lumley, and Lord Hinchinbroke; but it was resolved by a majority of 245 against 152, "That a printed pamphlet, entitled *The Englishman*, being the close of the paper so called, and one other pamphlet, entitled *The Crisis*, written by Richard Steele, Esq; a member of this house, are scandalous and seditious libels, containing many expressions highly reflecting upon her Majesty, upon the nobility, gentry, clergy, and universities of this kingdom, maliciously insinuating, that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover is in danger under her Majesty's administration, and tending to alienate the affections of her Majesty's good subjects, and to create jealousies and divisions among them. It was resolved likewise, for his offence in writing and publishing the said scandalous and seditious libels, that he be expelled this house." How much soever he complained afterwards of this resolu-

tion, as unjustly depriving him of his property in the house, and his good name in the world, yet there is reason to believe, that he was sensible he deserved more, and expected to have gone to this honour through the Tower, as Mr Walpole had done before him. In his Apology he declares, No man could help plainly seeing, that, in these writings he had gone as far as he could, with any safety to his liberty and life; and that he got into the House of Commons for no other reason but to say more for the good of his deluded country.

[R] *The History of the Duke of Marlborough.*] He gives an account of his design in the sixth Number of *The Reader*, where he informs us, that it would be done from proper materials, in his custody; that the relation would commence from the date of his Grace's Commission of Captain General and Plenipotentiary, and to end with the expiration of these Commissions. 'It is not doubted, says he, but his history, formed from the most authentic papers, and all the most secret intelligence, which can be communicated with safety to persons now living, and in the confidence of foreign Courts, will be very entertaining, and put the services of her Majesty's Ministers, at home and abroad, in a true light. The Work is to be printed in folio, and Proposals for the encouragement of it, may be seen at Mr Tonson's, Bookseller in the Strand.' But this Work was never executed; and the materials were afterwards returned to the Dutches Dowager of Marlborough, who by her last Will, left for writing the History of the Duke's Life, under the inspection of Philip Earl of Chesterfield, a thousand pounds, to be equally divided between Mr Glower, Author of *Leonidas*, and Mr Mallet, Writer of the Life of Lord Bacon, and several Plays and Poems. The former of these Gentlemen having declined the offer, the papers have been many years in the hands of the latter; but what progress is made in the work, does not appear.

[S] *He continued writing with the same spirit till the death of the Queen.*] One of these pieces is intitled *A Letter to Sir Miles Wharton, concerning occasional Peers; written in 1713.* In this pamphlet, to prevent the mischiefs that might arise from the twelve Peers newly created, the list of which he says he was told was to be increased with a dozen more, he proposes that a Bill be brought into the House to disable any Peer to vote in any case, till three years after the date of his Patent. This is something like the year of silence enjoined to the Advocates at Doctors Commons, at their first admission, which he not improbably had in his eye; and some such institution, as he proposes, might perhaps not be altogether absurd, as a preservative in such extraordinary cases, which require in the body politic, as well as the natural, extraordinary remedies. In order to recommend it, he makes an observation, which is pointed at the then present conjuncture, 'That when the minds of men are prejudiced, wonderful effects may be wrought against common sense. One weak step, continues he, in trying a fool for what he said in the Pulpit, with all the pomp that could be used to take down a more dangerous and powerful man than ever England yet has seen, cost the most able Ministry that England was ever honoured with, its Being. The Judgment of the House of Lords was by this means insulted and evaded, and the anarchical fury ran so high, that Harry Sacheverell swelling, and Jack Higgins laughing, marched through England in a triumph more than military.'

Another of his pamphlets is called *French Faith represented in the present State of Dunkirk; A Letter to The Examiner in defence of Mr Steele*, in 1714. It was wrote after the delivery of Dunkirk to the French, who were building a new harbour at Mardyke. 'The Harbour of Dunkirk indeed, says he, was demolished. But they have made a new one, and another sort of harbour than it was before; but not a jot less com- modious to themselves, or less terrible to us;' to evince which, he has given a map of the place as it then stood; whereupon he turns *The Examiner's* words upon himself, and his Friends the French. 'Your words, says he, are, in No. I. of your current Volume, in speaking of these restless silly Rogues, the Whigs, *They have made no discoveries, nor opened any new sluices or streams of Scandal;* but

(30) This gentleman particularly distinguished himself on this occasion in behalf of liberty, and added to the popularity he had acquired before among the Whigs. Life of Sir Robert Walpole.

(31) See his Apology.

(32) The substance of this speech, which lasted near three hours, is printed in his Apology.

Immediately after which, as a reward for these services, he was taken into favour by her Successor to the throne, King George I, and appointed Surveyor to the Royal Stables of Hampton-Court, and put into the Commission of the Peace in the County of Middlesex; and having procured a Licence for chief Manager of the Royal Company of Comedians, he easily obtained it to be changed the same year 1714 into a Patent from his Majesty (q), appointing him Governor of the said Company during his life, and to his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, for the space of three years afterwards [7]. He was also chosen

(q) The Licence bore date October 18, and the Patent January the 19th following.

'but yet, like the ingenious Winstanly and other Masters in Hydraulics, they have laid their pipes so well, and disposed their wheels and machines in such order, that the same mass and body of water, with good husbandry and management, circulates and comes round again at proper periods, as they direct it (33).' He compares this artifice with another, which he had met with in a little treatise in French, the Author of which tells us, that in a treaty with Spain the French obtained an article, that whatsoever should be found within the dominions of either State, at the time of the ratification, shall belong to the respective Sovereign. The French pillaged a wood, and carried the timber out of the bordering territories of Spain into those of France, in order to profit, as they did, by the Article.

A third pamphlet wrote by our Author at this time, was intitled *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, concerning the Bill to prevent the growth of Schism*, dated May 28, 1714. It was written presently after his expulsion from the House of Commons, and he concludes in these terms: 'This, dear Sir, is all I have to trouble you with upon this occasion; and though you accuse me of being cast down with my Expulsion, you see I have not dunned you to move that the other pamphlets may be examined as well as *The Crisis*, and *The Englishman*. Give my service to poor Tom and Ned: I must confess, they were the last I forgave; but I have forgiven them too now: I am thoroughly convinced, since this Bill, that I was not worthy. For now you have taken upon you ecclesiastical matters; and I should not have known how to behave myself among you as a *Communion of Saints* (34).'

Another treatise of our Author came out in this interval, intitled *The Romish Ecclesiastical History of Late Years*. This he observes, is no more than an account of some collateral and contemporary circumstances and secret passages, joined to an account of the ceremony of the last Inauguration of Saints, by his Holiness the Pope. 'This account, continues he, gives us a lively idea of the pageantry used in that Church, to strike the imagination of the Vulgar, and needs only to be repeated to give any serious man an abhorrence of their Idolatry.' There is an Appendix, No. I. of which presents us with a list of the Colleges, Monasteries, and Convents, of men and women of several Orders in the Low Countries, with the revenues which they draw from England. No. II. exhibits an extract of the *Taxa Camerae seu Cancellariae Apostolicae*, the fees of the Pope's Chancery, a Book printed above a hundred years before by the authority of the Pope, being a table or list of the fees paid to him for Absolutions, Dispensations, Indulgencies, Faculties, and Exemptions. No. III. is A Bull of the Pope in 1357, given to the then King of France, whereby the Princes of that nation have received an hereditary right to cheat all the rest of mankind. No. IV. gives us a translation of Pope Sixtus IV's Oration, as it was uttered in the Consistory at Rome in 1589, defending the execrable fact of Jaques Clement, a Jacobine Friar, upon the person of Henry III, King of France, to be commendable, admirable, and meritorious. The fact was the Assassination of that King (35), who in order to crush the Popish Party, then in open Rebellion against him (36), had lately joined the Protestants under the King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France, who was also assassinated by the Jesuit *Ravillac* in 1610, which was likewise vindicated as a meritorious fact by that Religious Fraternity. No. V. contains a Collection of some Popish Tracts and Positions, destructive of Society and all the good ends of government.

[7] *A Patent for the Play-house*] He obtained this by the interest of the Duke of Marlborough, who had long entertained a friendship for him. He first drew the Duke's regards by a pleasant repartee, which he made upon his Grace's preferring his own relations, and which coming to the Duke's ear, had the good luck to be taken as the Author meant it. Upon the

great change of the Administration, after the accession of King George I, Mr Collier the former Patentee of the Company in Drury-Lane being no more heard of, and the Licence of the Managers of that House expiring with the late Queen, they therefore applied to Sir Richard to use his interest for the renewal of their Licence, and begged him to do them the honour of getting their names to stand with his in the same Commission. We have a full account of this matter from Mr Colley Cibber, who was then one of the Managers (37), and relates it in the following words, much to the honour of Sir Richard. He assures us, that this application to our Author was not only owing to the high favour he now stood in at Court, but to the obligations the Stage had to his Writings. There being scarce a Comedian of merit in their whole Company whom his *Tatlers* had not made better by his public recommendation of them, 'and many days, continues he, had our house been filled by the influence and credit of his Pen. Obligations of this kind, from a Gentleman with whom they all had the pleasure of a personal intimacy, the Managers thought could not be more justly returned, than by shewing him some warm instances of their desire to have him at the head of them. This they told him would put it still in his power to support the Stage in that reputation to which his lucubrations had already so much contributed, and that therefore he had better pretensions to partake of its various successes, than any other person whatsoever. He was highly pleased with the offer, and his spirits took such a lively turn upon it, that had we been all his own sons, no unexpected act of filial duty could have more endeared us to him. The Licence being obtained, the Managers agreed to give Sir Richard 700 l. per ann. as they had done before to Mr Collier. Soon after this, the House in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields being finished by the old Patentee who had been silenced, he procured, by the interest of Mr Craggs the younger, his suspension to be taken off: upon which that Play-house being opened, proved at first a great drawback upon the profits of the Old House: on this occasion, the Managers remonstrated to Sir Richard, that as he now stood in Collier's place, his pension of 700 l. per ann. was liable to the same conditions, which was, that it was only payable during their continuance to be the only company permitted to act; but in case another was set up against them, this pension was to be liquidated into an equal share with them, and which they now hoped he would be contented with. While they were offering to proceed, Sir Richard stopt them short, by assuring them, that as he came among them by their invitation, he should always think himself obliged to come into any measures for their use and service; that to be a burthen to their industry would be more disagreeable to him, than it could be to them; and as he had always taken a delight in his endeavours for their prosperity, he should be still ready on their own terms to continue them. Every one, proceeds Mr Cibber, who knew Sir Richard in his prosperity (before the effects of his good nature had brought him to distress) knows that this was his manner of dealing with his Friends in business. Another instance of the same nature will immediately fall in my way. When we proposed to put this agreement in writing, he desired us not to hurry ourselves, for that he was advised upon the late desertion of our Actors (38), to get our Licence, which now subsisted only during pleasure, enlarged into a more ample and durable authority, and which he said he had reason to think would be more easily obtained, if we were willing that a Patent for the same purpose might be granted to him only for his life and three years afterwards, which he would then assign over to us. This was a prospect beyond our hopes, and what we had long wished for. For though I cannot say, continues this Manager, we had ever occasion to grieve at the personal severities of any Lord Chamberlain; yet the several officers under

(37) The other three were Wilks, Dogget, and Booth.

(38) Several of their best Actors went to the New House in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

(r) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

chosen one of the Representatives for Boroughbrigg in Yorkshire, in the first Parliament of that King, who conferred the honour of Knighthood upon him, April 28, 1715 (r). And in August following he received five hundred pounds from Sir Robert Walpole, for special services [U]. Thus highly encouraged, he triumphed over his opponents in several Pamphlets wrote in this and the following year [W]. In 1717, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for

(39) This Author tells us too that Lord Cowper, then Lord Chancellor, in compliment to Sir Richard, would take no fee. He was made Chancellor the same day that the Patent was signed, viz. Jan. 19, 1714; Salmon's Chr. Hist. but the Patent appears to be signed, By Writ of Privy-Seal, Cocks.

(40) Cibber's Apology, p. 289, 290. Lond. 1740. 4^{to}.

(41) Communicated by Mr Walpole, Alderman of St Albans.

(42) The present Duke of Newcastle; who was raised from the title of Lord Pelham to that of Earl of Clare on the 26th of October, 1714. Collins's Peerage of England, under his article.

‘ them often treated us with all the insolence of Office. ‘ But a Patent, we knew, would free us from so absolute a state of dependance. Accordingly we desired ‘ Sir Richard to lose no time.—A few days after ‘ Sir Richard told us, that his Majesty being apprized, that others had a joint power with him in ‘ the Licence, it was expected that we should under ‘ our hands signify, that his petition for a Patent should ‘ be preferred by them all; such an enlargement was ‘ immediately signed, and the patent thereupon passed ‘ the Great Seal (39). The form of it was drawn after ‘ that of Sir William Davenant's, in King Charles II's ‘ reign; after relating the abuses of the Stage, both ‘ as to Religion, and Government, it declares, that for ‘ the purpose of redressing, this command is granted to ‘ the Patentee, not only on account of his public services ‘ to Religion and Virtue; but of his steady adherence to ‘ the true interest of his Country: then his power is set ‘ forth in all the particulars of which it consists. After ‘ which it concludes, with an injunction that no representations be admitted, whereby the Christian Religion in general, or the Church of England in particular, may suffer reproach, inhibiting every degree ‘ of abuse and misrepresentations of Sacred Characters, ‘ enjoining the strictest regard to such representations ‘ as any way concern Civil Policy, or the constitution ‘ of the Government. And lastly, commanding that ‘ no new Play, or any old revived Play, be acted, containing any passages of offence to Piety, before such ‘ passages be corrected and purged out by the said Governor. The Patent was received January 19, and ‘ the Patentee set out next morning for Boroughbrigg, ‘ where he was soon after elected Member for the new ‘ Parliament. So that the Managers were forced, that ‘ very night, to draw up in a hurry (till their Council ‘ might more advisedly perfect it) his assignment to ‘ them of equal shares in the Patent, with further conditions of Partnership.’ But this assignment (drawn by Cibber) was so unluckily worded, that it gave Sir Richard as clear a title to their property, as it had given them to his Authority in the Patent. Sir Richard, notwithstanding, when he returned to Town, took no advantage of the mistake, and consented, on their second agreement, to pay 1200l. to be equally intitled to their property, which at his death they were obliged to repay: As they did to his Executors. Our Author, by this moderation, was 300l. per ann. a Gainer; so that his Income from the Play-house amounted now to 1000l. per ann. (40).

[U] He received 500l. for special services.] In the Appendix to the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons in 1741, and 1742. In a table of monies expended by Sir Robert Walpole, among other articles, there is one for special services, in which is the following article; Aug. 27, 1715: 500l. to Leonard Welstead, Esq. But this Gentleman some years afterwards declared, that he received the money for Sir Richard Steele, and paid it to him (41).

[W] He wrote several pamphlets in 1715 and 1716.] In 1715 he collected his pamphlets against the late ministry, and published them in one volume 8vo, with this title, *The Political Writings of Sir Richard Steele*. In the dedication to the Earl of Clare (42) he writes thus; ‘ The following papers were written to confront ‘ daring and wicked men in the prosecution of purposes ‘ destructive to their country.—The painful struggle ‘ under so great a difficulty as explaining with a ministry ‘ in open contradiction to their proceedings, is what ‘ can be supported by nothing less than the testimony ‘ of a good conscience, and a heart pure from avaricious ‘ ambition; and these are such supports as will keep a ‘ man from languishing in discontent. Should he, ‘ among the prosperities of a cause he has endeavoured ‘ to serve, live to find zeal for the public, of all human ‘ virtues the most exposed to the cool comfort of being ‘ its own reward; and that which was undertaken ‘ against the inclinations to mirth and pleasure, out of ‘ a sense of duty and honour, to have little other effect, ‘ than to become a man's characteristic, and by that ‘ means to give a hortulent air to all his other pretensions, and even to sink the agreeableness of the friend ‘ and companion in the appearance of somewhat sup-

posed to be demanding in the patriot.’—These words intimate, that he did not think his services yet sufficiently rewarded, to obtain which was apparently the chief motive for the publishing his merit with an address to a nobleman then in the highest favour at court.

Among these pieces he now first printed his apology, with this motto, *Fabula quanta fui!* It is dedicated to Mr Walpole, to whom he observes, that the member accused had not a harsh personal expression used against him; though the minister who brought on the accusation, in the midst of all his power, was treated in a different manner; which confirms what we have before observed, that the heaviest part of his punishment was the lightness of it; he was not considerable enough for any weightier notice. This he seems to resent in the preface, as follows; ‘ The onset was made in the poorest ‘ manner, and the accusation laid with an insipid action ‘ and cold expression. The accuser arraigned a man ‘ for sedition with the same indolence and indifference ‘ as another man pares his nails; what was spoken appeared only a rheum from the mouth, and Mr Foley, ‘ as well as do what he did, might have blown his nose ‘ and put the question. But, though the cholera of my ‘ accusers was corrected by their phlegm, &c.’ In the dedication he celebrates Mr Walpole on the two great talents for which he was eminently distinguished; his admirable talent of speaking in the house, and his happy ability in explaining the most difficult parts of business to men wholly unacquainted with negotiations; and the character of an open honest English gentleman.

Our Author published also this year in 8vo, *The State of the Roman catholic religion throughout the world, written for the use of pope Innocent XI. by mons. Cervic, secretary of the congregation DE PROPAGANDA FIDE; now first translated from an authentick Italian MS. never published. To which is added, A discourse concerning the state of religion in England, written in French in the time of King Charles I, and now first translated, with a large dedication to the present pope, giving him a very particular account of the state of religion among the Protestants, and of several other matters of importance relating to Great Britain.* The translation of this account was done by Michael de la Roche, author of *The Memoirs of literature*; and the dedication to the pope was, upon good grounds, supposed to be done by another (*), and not by Sir Richard. In this last he rallies the notion, that the church may err but never does, maintaining, that the power and authority of the protestant church is as strong upon this foundation as that of the pope founded upon infallibility (43). The same year Sir Richard published *A Letter from the Earl of Mar to the King before his Majesty's arrival in England, with some remarks on my Lord's subsequent conduct.* Our Author also continued his *Lover* to this year, though it was begun in 1714 (44). The character of Sir Anthony Crabtree, of Goatham in Herefordshire, in No. 14. was designed for the Earl of Oxford (45). About the years 1715 and 1716 he wrote the paper called *The Town Talk*, and another intitled *The Tea-Table*, and some of the Pasquins. Also in 1716 he published the second volume of the *Englishman*. In the preface of which he observes, ‘ that to insinuate ‘ that there are evil purposes in the ministers of any ‘ country is in itself a seditious and unwarrantable practice; but that the apparent tendency of the proceedings in the late times, justified the disrespect with ‘ which the officers of the state were then treated in the ‘ former volume of the *Englishman*. That volume ‘ alarmed mankind of their purposes, and of the ‘ methods they had taken to accomplish them. It is ‘ incumbent upon one who had treated them so frankly ‘ when they were only suspected, to make good what ‘ he seemed to accuse them of, now their actions are ‘ brought to light.’ In answer to this it was maintained, on the other hand, that the late ministry had never entertained any such evil purposes as they are here charged with, which is evident from the peaceful entrance of the Queen's successor into the possession of the throne; and that the practices and designs to disturb him in that possession afterwards, were entirely owing to the violent proceedings of his ministers against their immediate predecessors in the administration. In reality, the violence on both sides was the genuine effect of that never enough

(*) Who was better versed Ecclesiast. H

(43) The w tenour of th dedication a pears indeed be above Sir chard's reac church mat. Yet the Au whoever he here confou (affectedly p haps) the di rence betwe popish infall ty and prote certainty.

(44) No. I came out o Tuesday Fe that year.

(45) Oldmi life of Artl Maynwair p. 193. wh us; that h courted at time by th Lord to co into his me fures.

for enquiring into the Estates forfeited by the late Rebellion in Scotland. This carried him into that part of the united kingdom, where how unwelcome a guest soever he might be to the generality, yet he received from several of the Nobility and Gentry, the most distinguishing marks of respect (s), inasmuch that he began to turn his thoughts upon the much to be desired, but hopeless project of perfecting the Union between the two kingdoms, by extending it to the policy in Church as well as State. In this view, he had frequent conversations with some of the Presbyterian Ministers [X], concerning the restoration of Episcopacy, the ancient church government of that nation; and often lamented this division in the ecclesiastical administration, which still serves to maintain a kind of alienation between the people. Sir Richard wished well to the interests of Religion, and as he imagined that Union would promote it, he had some thoughts of proposing it at Court; but that, as was likely, proved abortive (t). In 1718 he buried his second wife, who had brought him a handsome fortune, and a good estate in Wales [Z]; but neither that, nor the ample additions lately made to his income, were sufficient to answer his demands. The thoughtless vivacity of his spirit, often reduced him to little shifts of wit for its support [Z]; and the Project of the *Fish-pool* this year, owed its birth chiefly to the Projector's necessities [A.1]. The following year he opposed the remarkable Peerage bill in the House of Commons,

enough to be lamented mischief of party rage. And we shall see our Author himself presently groaning under a persecution from the same cause in some of his now applauded ministry.

[X] *He talked with several of the Scotch Ministers.* Among these was one Hart, with whom Sir Richard commenced a friendship, and afterwards honoured him with his correspondence. This Hart he used to stile the Hangman of the Gospel; for though he was a facetious good-natured man, yet he had fallen into a peculiar way of preaching what he called The Terrors of the Law, and denounced Anathemas from the Pulpit without reserve. Our Knight also, during his stay in Scotland, indulged his genius in searching into the humours of low life. In which view, he prepared a splendid feast at Edinburgh, and ordered his servants to pick up all the beggars and poor people they could find in the streets for his Guests. The Servants obeyed, and Sir Richard soon saw himself at the head of forty or fifty beggars, together with some poor decayed Tradesmen. After dinner he pled them with punch and wine; and when the frolick was ended, he declared, that besides the pleasure of filling so many empty bellies, he had learned humour enough to make a good Comedy (46).

[Y] *He buried his second Wife.* She died on the 26th of December this year, at the age of forty years, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Sir Richard had testified his great esteem for her in the Dedication to her, prefixed to the third Volume of *The Lady's Library* while she was living (47), and after her death he laments his loss of her as the best Woman that ever man had, intimating that she frequently lamented and pined at his neglect of himself (48). The account of her birth and family is given at the close of this Memoir.

[Z] *He was often reduced to little witty shifts.* Among many instances of Sir Richard's good nature, his kindness to the unfortunate Mr Savage, natural son to Earl Rivers, was none of the least. He declared in this Gentleman's favour with all the ardor and benevolence which constituted his character, promoted his interest with the utmost zeal, related his misfortunes, applauded his merit, took all opportunities of recommending him, and asserted that the inhumanity of his mother had given him a right to call every good man his Father. He proposed to establish him in some settled scheme of life, and to have contracted some kind of alliance with him by marrying him to a natural daughter, on whom he intended to bestow a thousand pounds. But though he was always lavish of his future bounties, he conducted his affairs in such a manner, that he was very seldom able to keep his promises, or execute his own intentions. However, he gave Savage a certain allowance till the said marriage should be consummated (49). During this state of things, he once desired Savage in 1718, with an air of the utmost importance, to come very early to his house the next morning, which Savage did, and found the chariot at the door, Sir Richard waiting for him, and ready to go out. What was intended, and whither they were to go, Savage could not conjecture, and was not willing to enquire, but immediately seated himself with Sir Richard in the chariot. The Coachman was ordered to drive, and they hurried with the utmost expedition to Hyde-Park Corner, where they stopped at a petty Tavern, and retired to a private room. Sir Richard then informed him, that he intended to publish a pamphlet, and that he had desired him to come thither that he

might write for him. They soon sat down to the work; Sir Richard dictated, and Savage wrote, till the dinner that had been ordered was set upon table. Savage was surprized at the meanness of the entertainment, and after some hesitation, ventured to ask for wine, which Sir Richard, not without reluctance, ordered to be brought. They then finished their dinner, and proceeded on their pamphlet, which they concluded in the afternoon. Savage then imagined his task was over, and expected that Sir Richard would call for the reckoning; but he was deceived, for Sir Richard told him, that he was without money, and that the pamphlet must be sold before the dinner was paid for. Savage was therefore obliged to go and offer their new production to sale for two guineas, which, with some difficulty, he obtained. Sir Richard then returned home, having retired that day only to avoid his Creditors, and composed the pamphlet only to discharge his reckoning. This was related by Savage himself, who also told another equally uncommon shift as follows: Sir Richard having one day invited to his house a great number of persons of the first quality, they were surprized at the number of Liveries that surrounded the table; and after dinner, when wine and mirth had set them free from the observation of rigid ceremony, one of them enquired of Sir Richard how such an expensive train of domestics could be consistent with his fortune? Sir Richard frankly confessed, that they were fellows of whom he would very willingly be rid. And being then asked, why he did not discharge them, he declared, that they were Bailiffs, who had introduced themselves with an execution, and whom, since he could not send them away, he had thought it convenient to embellish with Liveries, that they might do him credit, whilst they staid. His friends were diverted with the expedient, and by paying the debt, discharged the Attendance; having obliged Sir Richard to promise, that they should never find him again graced with a retinue of the same kind. It will be proper to inform the Reader, before we finish this remark, the substance of which was furnished by Mr Savage, that his marriage beforementioned with a natural daughter of Sir Richard, never took place; for during the delay occasioned by waiting till our Knight could raise the promised Fortune, he was informed, that Savage had ridiculed him, at which he was so much exasperated, that he withdrew the allowance that he had paid him, and never afterwards admitted him to his house (50).

[AA] *The Fish-pool.* Sir Richard had a patent for this invention (51). By which it appears, that this vessel was intended to carry fish alive, and without wasting, to any part of the kingdom. The project was promising enough in the theory, and he accordingly built himself up with great hopes of such success as would make a handsome fortune. He even comforted himself with the prospect of making up the loss of his patent for the playhouse by the profits of it. 'I shall not whine longer, says he, in the conclusion of *The Theatre* (†), about the hardships I have suffered, but advertise my friends and others, that, since a late judgment in my favour concerning a certain ridiculed invention, I want nothing but that men will support a design of mine, by which they may divide ten per cent. six times a year, to be in possession of a much greater income than any man living has merit enough to deserve.' But, after all these towering hopes, the

(s) Morgan's Chron. Diary in the Historical Register for this year.

(t) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, under our Author's article.

(46) Cibber's Lives of the Poets, Vol. IV. p. 118.

(47) Published in 1714 by him in three Volumes, 8vo.

(48) In the Theatre, No. XII. Tuesday, Feb. 9. 1720.

(49) Plain Dealer by Aaron Hill, Esq;

(50) Life of Richard Savage, p. 13—16.

(51) It was dated June 10, 1718.

(†) In Number XXVIII. which is the last of those Papers.

Commons [BB], and during the course of this opposition to the Court, his Licence for acting Plays was revoked, and his Patent rendered ineffectual at the instance of the Lord Chamberlain. He did his utmost to prevent so great a loss [CC]. And finding every direct

the scheme proved a ruinous one to him; for, after he had been at immense expence in contriving and building his vessel, besides the charge of the patent, it appeared upon the trial to be a meer project. His intention was to bring salmon alive from the coast of Ireland, where that fish abounded, to London, where it was very scarce (52). But these fish, though supplied by this contrivance with a continual stream of water in crossing the sea, yet, not brooking the confinement, battered themselves to pieces against the sides of the pool, so that when they were brought to market, they fetched little money. The great cheapness of this fish at present in London, where it is sold for a shilling a pound, is owing to the extraordinary plenty of it caught in the Trent and Severn, especially this last season, whence it is brought to London in the Cirencester and Gloucester stage-coaches (53).

(52) It was usually sold there for 5s. a pound.

(53) This was written in 1755.

[BB] He opposed the Peerage Bill.] Upon this occasion he wrote the following letter to the Earl of Oxford.

‘ My Lord,

‘ I am very glad of the occasion wherein I have the good fortune to think the same way with your Lordship, because I have very long suffered a great deal of pain in reflecting upon a certain virulence with which my zeal has heretofore transported me to treat your Lordship’s person and character. I do protest to you, excepting in the first smart of my disgrace and expulsion out of the House of Commons, I never writ any thing that ought to displease you but with a reluctant heart, and in opposition to much good-will and esteem for your many great and uncommon talents. And I take the liberty to say thus publicly to yourself, what I have often said to others on the subject of my behaviour to you; I never had any other reason to lessen my Lord of Oxford than that which Brutus had to stab Cæsar, the love of my country. Your Lordship will, I hope, believe, there cannot be a more voluntary unrestrained reparation made to a man, than that I make to you, in begging your pardon thus publicly for every thing I have spoken or written to your disadvantage, foreign to the argument and cause which I was then labouring to support. You will please to believe, that I could not be so insensible as not to be touched with the generosity of part of your conduct towards me, or have omitted to acknowledge it accordingly, if I had not thought that your very virtue was dangerous; and that it was (as the world then stood) absolutely necessary to depreciate so adventurous a genius, surrounded with so much power as your Lordship then had. I transgressed, my Lord, against you, when you could make twelve peers in a day; I ask your pardon, when you are a private nobleman; and, as I told you when I resigned the Stamp-office, I wished you all prosperity consistent with the public good; so now I congratulate you upon the pleasure you must needs have in looking back upon the true fortitude, with which you have passed through the dangers arising from the rage of the people, and the envy of the rest of the world. If to have rightly judged of mens passions and prejudices, vices and virtues, interests and inclinations, and to have waited with skill and courage for proper seasons and incidents to make use of them for a man’s safety and honour, can administer pleasure to a man of sense and spirit, your Lordship has abundant cause of satisfaction. In confidence that you will accept of my sorrow and repentance for the unprovoked liberties I have taken in my former writings, I make you my patron in this present discourse on the greatest occasion that has perhaps ever happened in England. Your Lordship will see I write in haste; and the necessity of pressing forward to be time enough to be of any use, will excuse the failures in style and expression. I shall therefore immediately fall into the matter of the bill; which I fear may change this free state into the worst of all tyrannies, that of an Aristocracy. I shall support my reasons for that terror by running through the several parts of it, and making it appear, that this is more likely than any other consequence that can be supposed will attend such a law as this would be. The whole tenour of it is very unfortunately put together, if any thing but an additional power to the peers is intended by it.’

Sir Richard is also said to be the author of a paper, written in opposition to the same bill, called *The Plebeian*, which was answered by Mr Addison in *The Old Whig*. Concerning which, we refer to this last gentleman’s article (54), with this remark, that the Plebeian is ascribed by Mr Oldmixon (55) to William Benson, Esq; late one of the Auditors of the Imprest, the great venerator of Milton. (56).

[CC] He did all he could to prevent such a loss, &c.] Our Author’s pen, in every exigence, was an engine which, like Flavia’s fan, was always ready at hand to serve the various purposes of the Engineer, and which, in the present case like that too, in raising a flame in every other breast, gave such a proper degree of coolness, as was necessary for preserving that gaiety of spirit, by which he had constantly procured the attention of the public. He opened his design in a Paper called *The Theatre*, with a display of the usefulness of the Stage, and the merit of good Actors in general. But he had proceeded on this general plan only a few weeks, when the first step was taken to perplex his government, by suspending Mr Colley Cibber, a principal Actor, and a Fellow-manager with him by the licence; he entered particularly into the defence of his character and merit. But this was cut very short by the succeeding direct measures that were taken to displace him Governor. A particular Account of which was immediately published, in a Letter from himself under his real name, to himself under the feigned name of Sir John Edgar, which he had assumed in this Paper, as follows.

‘ Sir,

‘ Your last Paper having descended to the case of particular men, who are concerned in the Theatre, I hope you will allow me the advantage of being represented to the Town by your means, and of conveying my thoughts to a Noble Person, who has forbid me, without any fault of mine, ever to approach him either by speech or writing, as long as we live; but you will understand me better by reading, what I know not how to convey to him, unless you will please to print it.

‘ My most honoured Lord and Patron,

‘ If your Grace believes that it is as great to undo as to make a man, I am the unhappy instrument in both kinds; and, if it is a gratification to you, I have some consolation in the wretched distinction of being the only man the Duke of Newcastle (*) ever injured. My high obligations to you temper my spirit; and, after some tumult of soul, and agony of the worst passions in it, I behold you in the pleasing light you have heretofore appeared to me. I make you allowance for the disadvantage of youth and prosperity, and my benefactor covers my oppressor; as this last word must needs give offence to a noble nature, it stands upon me to make out my complaint, and shew all the world, for all the world will be curious in this case, as obscure as I am, for I have ceased to be so, since I have been distinguished by your Grace’s displeasure. The patent which I have from his Majesty makes me the sole governor of a company of comedians for my life, and that franchise is to subsist in those who claim under me three years after my death; there is nothing in it, as to the bestowing part from the crown, but what are meer transcripts of the patent given by King Charles II. to Sir William Davenant; and, though I might have had it to myself as well as he, I made a conscience and scruple of asking for my heirs, an office that required a very particular turn and capacity to execute. It is not, my Lord, very common in Courts, for a man to ask less, when he knows he may obtain more; the very night I received it, I participated the power and use of it with relation to the profits, that should arise from it, between the gentlemen who invited me into the Licence upon his Majesty’s happy accession to the throne; and it has flourished in all manner of respects to a degree unknown in any former time. When your Grace came to be Chamberlain (57), from a generous design of making every office and authority the better for your wearing, your Grace was induced to send for me, and the other Sharers, and in an absolute manner offered

(54) In-Vol. I. p. 38. remark [P].
(55) In History of England, &c. p. 675. Edit. 1735. Fol.
(56) See that poet’s article, Vol. V. remark [Y] and in the text, p. 3117.

(*) The Earl of Clare was created Marquis of Clare and Duke of Newcastle August 2, 1715. Peerage of England, as before.

(57) He was made Chamberlain April 14, 1717. Salmon’s Chron. Hist. under that year.

direct avenue of approach to his Royal Master effectually barred against him by his powerful Adversary, he had recourse to the method of applying to the public, in hopes that

‘ offered us a Licence, and demanded a resignation of the Patent, which I presumed as absolutely to refuse; this refusal I made in writing, and petitioned the King for his protection in the Grant, which he had given me: this matter rested thus for many months, and the next molestation we received, was by an Order, signed by your Grace, to dismiss Mr *Cibber*. The Actors obeyed, but I presumed to write to your Grace against it, and expressed my sorrow, that you would give me no better occasion of shewing my duty but by bearing Oppression from you; this freedom produced a message by your Kinsman and Secretary, whom I treated with as much deference and respect, as any man living could do the Duke of Newcastle coming from the King. This message was in your Grace’s name, to forbid me ever to write, speak, or visit you more. The Gentleman, I dare say, has told you, and will tell you, that I answered him almost in these very words:

‘ Sir, I beg of you to take notice of my Manner, my Voice, and my Gesture, when I answer to this severe Message; and let the Duke of Newcastle know, that with the most profound submission and humility I received it, and protested to you, that I could have no message from any Family, except the Royal one, that could give me half this mortification. If I have not fallen into phrases, that speak me truly sorrowful and humble, use any you yourself can think of, which are more so, and you will then best express my meaning. At the same time you may very truly say, that if any other man were Chamberlain, and should send me such a message, my reply should be as haughty as it is now humble.

‘ He left me with a farther declaration, that my Patent should be prosecuted according to Law. I rested as well satisfied as one who had lost so powerful a friend could, from a security in a still greater Power, that of the Laws of the Land; but I was soon after awakened out of this slumber, which was far from being an easy one, by hearing that your Grace had sent for Mr *Booth*, and threatened a signed Manual, which must necessarily disable me, as to my defence, before you would proceed against me according to Law. I did your Grace the Justice to think it impossible for you to be prevailed upon to do that. I assure your Grace, the great name on the Top of the Paper, did not give me more Terror, than the name at the bottom did Sorrow. The Minister who subscribes, is answerable for what the King writes. Our Laws make our Prince Author of nothing but favour to his subjects. My Patent cannot be hurt, except it can be proved, it was obtained *per deceptionem*, as according to my duty, I am to believe this Order, for it does, by an artificial method in its effect, destroy by his signed Manual, what is granted by his Great Seal, which had been impossible to have been brought about, had the matter been fairly represented. All I could do, was to represent it by Petition, which I delivered in your Grace’s presence on Friday Night, the Prayer of which was: *Votre Suppliant donc prie très humblement votre Majesté, qu’il ne recoive aucune Molestation, que par la Loye en juste forme de Proces*; Your petitioner therefore most humbly prays, he may not be any way molested but by due course of Law. I know not by what Accident it happened, that my Petition was never read, but the next news I heard was the Order of Revocation. But I must take the liberty to say, that his Majesty must grant the Russians, mentioned in the last Proclamation, which is denied unhappy me, a Trial by due course of Law. The Revocation came on the Saturday, your Grace was so good as not to break the Sabbath upon me; but the sufficient evil of this day, being Monday, is an Order of Silence. Your Grace will please to read them both over again, which are to this effect:

‘ Whereas by our Royal Licence, bearing date the 18th day of October, 1714, We did give and grant unto *Richard Steele* Esq; now *Sir Richard Steele* Knt. *Mr Robert Wilks*, *Mr Colley Cibber*, *Mr Thomas Dogget*, and *Mr Barton Booth*, full power, licence, and authority, to form, constitute, and establish a

‘ Company of Comedians. And having received Information of great misbehaviours committed by our Company of Comedians now acting at the Theatre in *Drury-Lane*: Therefore for reforming the Comedians, and for establishing the just and ancient Authority of the Officers of our Household, and more especially of our Chamberlain, We have thought fit to revoke the abovementioned Licence. And we do further (as much as in us lies, and as by Law we may) revoke and make void all other Licences, Powers, and Authorities whatsoever, and at any time heretofore given by us to the said *Sir Richard Steele*, *Robert Wilks*, *Colley Cibber*, *Thomas Dogget*, and *Barton Booth*, or to any of them severally. In pursuance of this your Grace proceeds thus:

‘ Whereas his Majesty has thought fit, by his Letters of Revocation, bearing date the 23d day of January, 1719, (for divers weighty reasons therein contained) to revoke his Royal Licence: For the effectual prevention of any future misbehaviour, in obedience to his Majesty’s commands, I do, by virtue of my Office of Chamberlain of his Majesty’s Household, hereby discharge you the said Managers and Comedians at the said Theatre in *Drury-Lane* in *Covent-Garden*, from further acting. Given under my hand and seal this 25th day of January, 1719.

‘ To the Gentlemen managing the Company of Comedians, at the Theatre in *Drury-Lane* in *Covent-Garden*, and to all the Comedians and Actors there.

‘ ’Tis observable, that though his Majesty took great care to express himself according to his gracious inclination, with much reserve and care that nothing but the Law should hurt his poor subject, in the words *as much as in us lies, and as by Law we may*, your Grace has been prevailed upon to supply the defective hardship. I shall not say more, or make stronger observations upon what you have signed; for my Love to you, will not let me call this an act of yours, as my duty to my Prince will not let me call it an act of his: I wish your Grace had been as careful as he in leaving me to the Law. But if you will allow me to ask you one favour, before you have quite broke my heart and spirit; give me but the name of your Adviser, that is to say, your Lawyer on this occasion, and you shall see, that it is not for want of skill in life, that I am subjected to all the pains and punishments, to which those wicked ones are exposed, who are described by the monosyllable, Poor. When I know who has made your Grace thus injure the best Master and best Servant that ever man had, I will teach him the difference between Law and Justice: he shall soon understand, that he who advises how to escape the Law, and do Injustice to his Fellow-subject, is an Agent of Hell; such a man for a larger fee; would lend a Dark-lantern to a Murderer, which would be but the same iniquity practised in a higher degree, that would be more cruel, but not more unjust. When I am sure who he is, I shall with justice use him, as he does with injustice use me: I shall so far imitate him as to be within the Law, when I am endeavouring to starve him; I hope he is Poor, by selling Poyson to get himself food (58). But I fear I grow transported beyond the respect that is due to your Grace’s presence, and protest to you, in the most solemn manner, that rather than never to be well with you more, were myself and family only concerned in it, I would this moment resign my Patent, for any employment of less profit, that you would procure me: but my obligations to your Grace will not discharge those, which I am under to the rest of the world. I would not hurt any man now in *India*, for the favour of the greatest man in *England*, or give up a Door-keeper of the Play-house to make myself: therefore your Grace I hope will forgive me, that to gratify you, I do not consign to distress and poverty, above sixty families, who all live comfortably, many of them plentifully, under my present Jurisdiction. When I resign them, they may be governed by your Grace’s Successor in your office, as they have been by your Predecessor, according to humour and caprice, and not reason and justice. In their defence and my own, I deny all Allegations of voluntary neglect imputed to me or them; or undue demands made upon

(58) This Lawyer was *Sir Thomas Pengelly*, some time Chief Baron of the Exchequer Court, whose name he distorts thus: *Pen* is the Welsh word for Head, *Guilt* the Dutch word for Money, which with the English word *Ly*, express one, who turns his head to lye for money. The Theatre, No. IX and XI.

that his complaints would reach the Ear of his Sovereign, though in an indirect course, by that canal. In this spirit he formed the plan of a periodical Paper, to be published twice a week under the title of *The Theatre*; the first number of which came out on the 2d of January, 1719-20. In the mean time, the misfortune of being out of favour at Court, like other misfortunes, drew after it a train of more. During the course of this Paper, in which he had assumed the feigned name of *Sir John Edgar*, he was outraged by Mr *John Dennis*, the noted Critic, in a very abusive pamphlet, entitled *The Character and Conduct of Sir John Edgar, called by himself Sole Monarch of the Stage in Drury-Lane; and his Three Deputy Governors, in two Letters to Sir John Edgar*. To this insult, our Author made a proper reply in *The Theatre* [DD]. While he was struggling with all his might to save himself from ruin, he found time to turn the same Engine, his Pen, against the mischievous South-sea Scheme [EE], which had nearly brought the nation to ruin in 1720. And the next year

‘ the subject by me or them; and shall always with
‘ safety to my honour, and duty to the rest of the
‘ world, and no other reserve, be,

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Grace’s most obliged,

‘ Most devoted and obedient humble Servant,

‘ Villars-Street,
‘ York-Buildings,
‘ Jan 25, 1719-20.

‘ Richard Steele (59).’

(59) *The Theatre*, No. VIII.

But this application proving ineffectual, he published soon after *The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty’s Household, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians. With the opinions of Pemberton, Northy and Parker concerning the Theatre*. In this pamphlet he states the account of his loss by this proceeding, as follows :

	l.	s.	d.
Six hundred pounds a year for life, moderately valued, amounts to	6000	0	0
Three years after my life	1800	0	0
My share in the scenes, stock, &c.	1000	0	0
The profit of acting my own plays already writ, or I may write	1000	0	0
Total	9800	0	0

He then declares he never did one act to provoke this attempt, nor, says he, does the Chamberlain pretend to assign any direct reason of forfeiture, but openly and wittingly declares he will ruin Steele; ‘ which, in a man in his circumstances against one in mine, is as great as the humour of Malagene, in the Comedy, who valued himself upon his activity in tripping up Cripples. All this is done against a man to whom Whig, Tory, Roman Catholic, Dissenter, Native, Foreigner, owe zeal and good-will for good offices endeavoured towards every one of them in their Civil Rights, and their kind wishes for him are but a just return. But what ought to weigh most with his Lordship the Chamberlain, is my zeal for his Master; of which I shall at present say no more than that his Lordship and many others may perhaps have done more for the House of Hanover, than I have; but I am the only man in his Majesty’s Dominions, who did all he could (60).’

(60) *State of the Case*, &c. p. 39.

It is observable, that our Author’s friend, Mr Walpole, was at this time in disfavour at Court, having resigned his Post of First Commissioner of the Treasury on the 10th of April, 1717 (61), and was not replaced till April 2, 1721, presently after which, viz. on the 18th of May following, Sir Richard was also restored to his Office of Comptroller of the Theatre (62).

(61) *Salmon’s Chron. Hist.* under that year.

(62) *Ibid.* under the year 1721.

[DD] *He made a proper reply in the Theatre.* The impotence of the critic’s attack was a subject justly provocative of mirth, a provocative which was very seasonable to our Author, then groaning under such a persecution from the hand of real power, as had almost sunk his native gaiety: but here he appears perfectly restored. ‘ The Defamer, says he of himself in the character of Sir John Edgar, has this phrase in his first page: *Your black peruke and your dusky countenance*— ‘ This treatment of a visage so well known is an impudence that transcends all example; and I have ordered new editions of his face after Kneller, Thornhill, and Richardson, to disabuse mankind in this particular. He is painted by the first *resolute*, by the second *thoughtful*, and by the third *indolent*. Sir Godfrey bewailed that Caraccio was not living when he sat to him; and, when he took pencil in hand, re-

peated this sentence out of Mr Steele’s epistle to the Bayliff of Stockbridge: *He is gone but a little way in the course of virtue, who cannot bear reproach for her sake*. You may observe a roughness in the portraiture from the rigor of that thought, which has occasioned that most ladies chuse Mr Richardson’s work rather than Sir Godfrey’s (63).’ In the same perfectly good humour he published afterwards the following advertisement. *An eminent Turkey-merchant and an ingenious Foreigner do hereby give notice, that if any person will discover the libeller or libellers, who has and have falsely and maliciously insinuated in their writings, that Sir R—d S—le is ugly, so as he or they may be prosecuted by law, shall have all fitting encouragements; the said gentlemen having lost considerable matches by reason of the similitude of their persons to the said injured Knight (64).*

(63) *The Theatre*, No. X.

(64) *The Theatre*, No. XVIII.

[EE] *He employed his pen against the South-sea scheme.* Upon this subject he wrote *The Crisis of Property; an argument proving, that the annuities for ninety-nine years, as such, are not in the condition of other subjects of Great-Britain; but, by compact with the legislature, are exempt from any direction relating to the said estates; which was soon followed by A Nation a Family; being the Sequel of the Crisis of Property; or a Plan for the Improvement of the South-sea proposals; both published in Feb. 1720.* He entered also into this subject in *The Theatre* for Tuesday February 16, the same year, where having, in defence of his struggle to preserve his patent according to the first plan of this paper, descanted upon the necessity of guarding against poverty by all warrantable means, by displaying the many calamities that were its attendants, he passes, by way of no very unnatural transition, to the unjustifiable means of doing it by the South-sea scheme. This is the subject of a feigned visit from himself, Sir John Edgar, to the injured Knight, Sir Richard Steele. In the conclusion of which, ‘ Sir John Edgar, says he, turned off the discourse, by asking what those papers were upon the table, which he told me, with a very grave face, were a calculation he had made of the difference between a scheme of his for paying the debts of the nation, which he is printing in all haste, and says will be for the advantage of the whole kingdom, and is built upon what he calls his first rule of politics, to wit, *A Nation a Family*. I told him, says Sir John Edgar with exquisite humour, people would expect great things of him indeed upon that foundation, he had such a reputation for œconomy. He pertly answered, ‘ I would provide for my family as it belongs to the nation, and not for the nation as if it belonged to my family. Let others serve the nation by taking care only of themselves, I will serve it with contempt of any thing for myself, but what I will enjoy in common with others. I suppose we shall see this, and a great deal more, too old-fashioned even for me, in print within a few hours. I left him very much out of humour with him; and, in ridicule of his paying the public debts, before he had recovered his estate to pay his own, I placed the extemporary distich at the head of this present writing. This is

‘ To make his publick spirit better known,
‘ He to the public debts postpones his own.
‘ Confess and avoid

‘ Culprit Civil (65).’

(65) *The Theatre*, No. XIV.

As the South-sea scheme was not obtained without a proper consideration given to the ministry, our Author’s engine was apparently directed against it by the spirit of opposing the ministry which then oppressed him. *The Crisis of Property* was attacked in a pamphlet printed the same year under the title of *The Crisis of Honesty, being an Answer to the Crisis of Property; in a Letter to Sir Richard Steele*. He took no notice in print of this

anta-

year he was restored to his office and authority in the Play-house in Drury-Lane (r). Of this it was not long before he made an additional advantage, by bringing his celebrated Comedy, called *The Conscious Lovers*, upon that Stage, where it was acted with prodigious success in 1722. So that the receipt there must have been very considerable, besides the profits accruing by the Sale of the Copy, and a Purse of five hundred pounds given to him by the King (s), to whom he dedicated it. Yet notwithstanding these ample recruits, about the year following, being reduced to the utmost extremity, he sold his share in the Play-house, and soon after commenced a Law-suit with the Managers, which in 1726 was determined to his disadvantage [FF]. Having now again, for the last time, brought his fortune, by the most heedless profusion, into a desperate condition, he was rendered altogether incapable of retrieving the loss, by being seized with a paralytic disorder, which greatly impaired his understanding. In these unhappy circumstances, he retired to his seat at *Languanor* near *Caermarthen* in Wales; where he paid the last debt to nature on the 21st of September, 1729, and was privately interred, according to his own desire, in the Church of *Caermarthen*. Among his papers were found, the MSS. of two plays; one called *The Gentleman*, founded upon *The Eunuch of Terence*; and the other intituled *The School of Action*; both nearly finished.

Sir Richard's first Wife was a Gentlewoman of *Barbadoes*, with whom he had a valuable Plantation there, on the death of her brother, who was taken by the French, at sea, as he was coming to England, and died in France. After the death of this wife, without Issue, he married Mary the daughter of *Jonathan Scurlock* of *Languanor* in *Caermarthenshire*, Esq; by whom he had three children, a son named *Eugene*, and two daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Mary* (t). His son was some years under the care of Mr *Solomon Lowe*, of *Blythe-House* in *Hammersmith*, who gave him the character of a sprightly lad, of fine parts; but not long after he was taken home to his Father's house in *York-Buildings*, being indulged (as his genius lay that way) in acting plays in the *Censorium* (u), his constitution was broke by frequent heats and colds, and the child lost (w). His daughter *Elizabeth*, being the only one then living (*), was married young, in the end of May 1731, to the honourable John Trevor, then one of the Welsh Judges, and now Baron Trevor of *Bromham*, who hath Issue by her one daughter, named *Diana* (x). As Sir Richard was beloved when living, his loss was sincerely regretted at his death. He was a man of undisssembled, and extensive benevolence; a friend to the friendless, and, as far as his circumstances would permit, the Father of every Orphan. His works are chaste and manly; he himself admired Virtue, and he drew her as lovely as she is. He celebrates a generous action, with a warmth that is only peculiar to a good heart. He was a stranger to the most distant appearance of Envy or Malevolence, never jealous of any man's growing reputation, and so far from arrogating any praise to himself from his conjunction with Mr *Addison*, that he was the first who desired him to distinguish his Papers in the *Spectator*; and after the death of that Friend, was a faithful Guardian of his Fame, notwithstanding an aspersion which Mr *Tickel* was so unjust to throw upon him [GG]: Sir Richard's greatest Error

antagonist, being prevented probably by the sudden catastrophe of the project, the iniquity of which became a parliamentary enquiry before the end of the year (v). Upon the whole, it was very lucky for Sir Richard's character, that he was thrown into the opposition both against the Peerage bill and the South-sea scheme. The reputation he gained thereby as a patriot may be deemed a sufficient ballance for whatever loss he sustained as a patentee.

[FF] *The suit ended to his disadvantage.* Mr *Cibber* is here again our authority, who begins his account thus. In all the transactions of life there cannot be a more painful circumstance than a dispute in law with a man with whom we have long lived in an agreeable amity. But when Sir Richard, proceeds he, to get himself out of difficulties, was obliged to throw his affairs into the hands of lawyers and trustees, upon that consideration the friend and the gentleman had no more to do in the matter. Thus, whilst Sir Richard no longer acted from himself, it can be no wonder if a flaw was found in our conduct for the law to make work with. About three years before the law-suit commenced, upon Sir Richard's total absenting himself from all care and management of the stage, which by our articles he was equally and jointly with us obliged to attend, we let him know that we could not go on at that rate; but that, if he expected to make the business a sinecure, we must be paid for our extraordinary care of it: we therefore intended to charge for it a salary of 1l. 13s. 4d. every acting day for our management. To which in his composed manner he answered, that to be sure we knew what was next to be done better than he did; that he had always taken a delight in making us easy, and had no reason to doubt of our doing him justice; and he never once objected to, or complained of, this for near three years together. But, though no man alive can write better of economy, yet perhaps no man is more fond of the drudgery of practising it. He was often in

want of money; and, while we were in friendship with him, we assisted his occasions: but this compliance had so unfortunate an effect, that it only heightened his opportunity of borrowing more; and the more we lent, the less he minded us, or shewed any concern for our welfare. Upon this we stopt our hands at once, and peremptorily refused to advance another shilling, till, by the ballance of our accounts, it became due to him. This treatment, though we hope not in the least unjustifiable, we have reason to believe so ruffled his temper, that he at once was as short with us as we had been with him; for from that day he never came near us: nay, he not only continued to neglect what he should have done, but did what he ought not to have done; he made an assignment of his share without our consent, in manifest breach of our agreement. Our part suffered by this neglect, since his rank and figure in the world were of extraordinary service to us. The cause was heard before Sir *Joseph Jekyl*; and the issue was, that, Sir Richard not having made any objection to what we had charged for management for three years together, as our proceedings had been all transacted in open day, without any clandestine intention of fraud, we were allowed the sums in dispute abovementioned, and Sir Richard not being advised to apply to the Lord Chancellor, both parties paid their own costs, and determined this should be the last law-suit between them (67).

[GG] *He shewed himself a guardian of Addison's fame against Tickel.* Instances of this friendship to the memory of Mr *Addison* have been already mentioned, and sufficiently enlarged upon in this work, to which places we must refer the reader (68), who, it is hoped, will excuse some inaccuracies there too hastily dropt, to the prejudice of Sir Richard's account of this friendship, which our Author ascribes to the persuasions of Lord *Halifax* (69), and proves it against Mr *Tickel*, who had imputed this charge to Mr *Addison's* seriousness and

(*) Mary died in her infancy.

(67) *Cibber's Apology*, p. 308.

(68) Vol. I. under Mr *Addison's* article.

(69) In the dedication of the *Drummer*, p. 17, 2d edition, published by Sir *Richard*.

(r) On the 15th of May, 1721. *Salmon's Chron. Hist.* under that year.

(s) *Cibber's Lives of the Poets*, as before.

(t) *Memoirs of Sir Richard Steele*, as before.

(u) So Sir *Richard* called his great room there.

(w) *Gen. Dict.* under Sir *Richard's* article.

(x) *Collins's Peerage*, under the article of Lord *Trevor*.

(v) Which met Dec. 8th, and on the 12th, the Commons ordered, that the Directors of the South-sea company should forthwith lay before the House an account of all their proceedings. *Salmon's Chron. Hist.* under that year.

(9) Cibber's
Lives of the
Poets, as before.

Error was want of Oeconomy. However, he was certainly the most agreeable, and (if we may be allowed the Expression) the most innocent rake, that ever trod the rounds of indulgence (9).

and modesty, which represented the duties of the priestly office as too weighty for him, without taking notice of any other reason, and thereby manifestly insinuating, that this, at least, was the principal if not the sole cause of the change. But this is utterly inconsistent with Sir Richard's account of it, which as plainly implies, that the principal if not the sole cause of it came from Lord Halifax. Whence it is evident, that both the accounts cannot be true (70) in the full sense and meaning of their

respective Authors. In justice therefore to Sir Richard let it be allowed, as candour requires it should, that his remark is not ill-grounded; and then we hope the charge of ill-nature in it may not be turned upon the critic, by reflecting too severely, that *the seriousness of the visage* may fairly be understood to imply *the seriousness of the temper* from which the visage naturally takes its air.

(70) Addison's
article, remark
[E].

STILLINGFLEET [EDWARD], the late very learned Bishop of Worcester, was the seventh son of Samuel Stillingfleet Gent. descended from an ancient family [A], by Susanna his wife, the daughter of Edward Norris of Petworth in Suffex Gent. who was his godfather as well as grandfather, and from whom he received his name. He was born April the 17th 1635, at Cranbourn in Dorsetshire; and educated from his tender years, in the grammar-school of that place by Mr Thomas Garden, a man of eminence and character in his profession: Under whom he made so considerable a progress, that he continued there till the time drew on, that it would be proper to settle him in the university. In order whereunto, he was removed for a while to Ringwood in Hampshire, with the view of an exhibition, given for such Scholars as should be elected thence to either of the Universities, by William Lynne Esq; founder of that school. From hence he was chosen at Midsummer 1648, and admitted the Michaelmas following into St John's college in Cambridge: and about six weeks after, on November the 8th, was admitted a Scholar of the house, at the nomination of the Earl of Salisbury. In this station he acquitted himself with such applause, and was taken so much notice of for his singular ingenuity, and constant improvement of it by a diligent application to his studies (a); that no sooner had he commenced Bachelor of Arts, which was in 1652 (b) [B], but the very next election, he was chosen Fellow of the college, and admitted as such March the 31st 1653. About the year 1654, he withdrew a while from the university to live at Wroxhall in Warwickshire with Sir Roger Bourgoine, or Burgoigne, Bart. [C], a person of great piety, prudence, and learning, to whom he had been recommended by Dr Paman, one of the Fellows of his college. But, the year following, he removed to Nottingham, to be tutor to Francis, eldest son of the honorable Francis Pierrepont Esq; brother to the Marquis of Dorchester. Here he began his *Irenicum* (c), which was published in 1659 [D]. Mean time,

(a) Life and
Character of Dr
Edward Stilling-
fleet, Bishop of
Worcester.
Lond. 1710. 8vo.
p. 8—10.

(b) From the
University
Registers.

(c) Life &c, as
above, p. 11—
14.

[A] *Descended from an ancient family.* He was descended from the family of the Stillingfleets of Stillingfleet, about four miles from York, where his [namely Samuel's] grandfather John Stillingfleet Esq; brother to Cuthbert Stillingfleet Abbot of York, had a fair estate (1).

(1) Life, &c. as
above, p. 8.

[B] *That no sooner had he commenced Bachelor of Arts.* Whilst he was Bachelor, he was appointed *Tripes*, and much applauded for his witty and inoffensive speech on that occasion. But this did not take him off from his severe and more useful studies (2).

(2) Life, &c.
p. 10.

[C] *To live at Wroxhall in Warwickshire with Sir Roger Burgoigne Bart.* In what station Mr Stillingfleet was there, whether as a Companion or Chaplain, we are not informed. However, he behaved himself extremely well, as appeared not only from Sir Roger's kindness to him whilst in his family, but always by his unusual respects to him when he made him visits, and afterwards especially by his presenting him to the considerable Living of Sutton [3].

(3) See Life,
p. 11.

[D] *Here he began his Irenicum, which was published in 1659.* The whole title of this Book, is, '*Irenicum. A Weapon-Salve for the Churches Wounds, or the Divine Right of particular Forms of Church-Government discussed and examined according to the Principles of the law of Nature, the positive Laws of God, the practice of the Apostles, and the Primitive Church, and the judgment of reformed Divines. Whereby a Foundation is laid for the Churches peace, and the accommodation of our present differences. Humbly tendered to consideration.*' In 1662 he put out a second Edition, 'with an Appendix concerning the power of Excommunication in a Christian Church.' 4to. The running title is, '*The divine Right of Forms of Church-Government, examined.*' He hath divided it into two books. And, after having enquired, in the *first*, How far Church-Government is founded upon the Law of Nature; He proceeds in the *second* to lay down these positions; That, of divine right, there must be some form of Government in the Church; and, That Church-government must be administered by officers of divine appointment. And then he shews, That Christ

did not determine the Form of the Government of his Church by any positive Laws; That the Apostles, in settling the government of it, copied the Model of the Jewish Synagogue; That Episcopacy is owned as a human Institution by the sense of the Church; That, in all probability, the Apostles did not observe any one fixed course of settling Church-government; but settled it according to the several circumstances of time, places, and persons; That there is no foundation for Lay-Elders, either in Scripture or Antiquity; That Episcopacy is lawful; That no certain unalterable Form of Church-Government was observed in the primitive Church, as delivered down to them either by a law of Christ, or an universal Constitution of the Apostles; That the most eminent Divines of the Reformation did never conceive any one form necessary; Those who look upon equality as the primitive Form, yet judge Episcopacy lawful; Those who judge Episcopacy to be the primitive Form, yet look not on it as necessary. . . . 'The book is written with a great deal of Learning, Moderation, and wit in some parts, especially the preface. It was esteemed a master-piece (4):' and well it might be so, when it is considered that the Author was only twenty-four years of age at the time of its publication (5). Bishop Burnet tells us, that it 'took with many; but was cried out upon by others as an attempt against the Church. Yet the argument was managed with so much learning and skill, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it. . . . The writing of it was a great snare to the Author: For, to avoid the imputations which that brought upon him, he not only retracted the book, but he went into the humours of a high sort of people, beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things.' He was obliged more than once to make a kind of Apology for it. Thus, in one place (6), he 'professes to have published it, hoping by it to bring over those to a compliance with the Church of England (then like to be re-established) who stood off upon the supposition that Christ had appointed a Presbyterian Government to be always continued in his Church, and therefore thought Prelacy was to be detested as

(4) Burnet's
History of his
own Time,
Vol. I. p. 265

(5) Life, p. 1

(6) Ep. Ded.
an Ordination
Sermon preach'd
at St Peter's
Cornhill,
March 15,
1634-5.

an

time, he took his Master of Arts degree in 1656 (d), as soon as he was of proper standing; and was incorporated in the same at Oxford, June 14, 1677 (e). He had not been above two years at Nottingham, when he was called back from thence by his worthy patron Sir Roger Burgoigne, who presented him, in 1657, to the Rectory of Sutton in Bedfordshire [E]. Before he was instituted to it he received episcopal orders from Dr Brounrig, the then ejected Bishop of Exeter. In this cure he performed all the duties of a most diligent and faithful Pastor; and there he composed his very learned book intituled *Origines Sacrae*, printed in 1662 (f) [K]: Which so recommended him to the favour of his diocesan, Bishop Sanderson, that he granted him, October the 16th 1662, the singular privilege of a License to preach the word of God throughout his diocese of Lincoln (g). It also procured him such esteem amongst the rest of the learned world, that Dr Henchman Bishop of London employed him to write a Vindication of Archbishop Laud's conference with Fisher the Jesuit [G]. The reputation of these excellent performances was the occasion of his being chosen by Sir Harbottle Grimston Preacher at the Rolls-Chapel; which obliging him to be in London in Term-time, was a fair introduction to his settlement in that noble city (b). And it followed soon after; for in January 1664-5, he was presented by Thomas Earl of Southampton to the great living of St Andrew's Holbourn; to which he was instituted the 21st of March (i). He kept notwithstanding his office of Preacher at the Rolls: And was chosen Lecturer at the Temple, where for several years he preached in the afternoon before those learned and venerable Societies; which procured him the acquaintance and friendship of the most eminent men in the law (k). On the 9th of February, 1666-7, he was collated by Bishop Henchman to the Prebend of Isledon, or Islington, in the church of St Paul's (l). Having taken in 1663 the degree of Batchelor of Divinity, he commenced in 1668 Doctor in that faculty (m); at which time he was persuaded to keep the public Act [H]. And having been for some time Chaplain to King Charles II,

his

an unlawful Usurpation: . . . and it did not want success that way both here and in a neighbour kingdom. . . . In another place (-), he speaks of it thus, in the person of P. D. . . . 'I believe there are many things in it, which if Dr Stillingfleet were to write now, he would not have said: For there are some which shew his Youth and want of due consideration; others which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the Dissenting Parties to the Church of England; but upon the whole matter, I am fully satisfied the Book was written with a design to serve the Church of England. . . . He says further, I dare challenge any man to produce one passage in the whole Book that tendeth to encourage Faction or Schism, or opposition to the Church of England, but on the contrary, I endeavoured to recommend the Episcopal Government, as having the advantage of all others, and coming nearest to Apostolical practice.' Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged by ail, to contain a mass of Learning abundantly beyond what could have been expected at his years, and which few, if any, of his contemporaries, could pretend to equal (8).

[E] Who presented him, in 1657, to the Rectory of Sutton in Bedfordshire. One of the Seats of Sir Roger's family being here, might make him the more sollicitous to place a serious, ingenious, pious, and prudent person there, to be both a good neighbour, and suitable companion for himself, as well as a watchful and skilful guide of souls. And of whom could he more fitly make choice upon such an occasion, than of Mr Stillingfleet, whom he had so thoroughly known, and of whose character and abilities he was so fully satisfied, by his own conversation with, and experience of him, at Wroxhall (9)?

[F] *Origines Sacrae, &c.*] The whole title of it is, *Origines Sacrae: Or a rational Account of the Christian Faith, as to the Truth and Divine Authority of the Scriptures, and the matters therein contained.* Lond. 1662. 4to. The compiler of his life justly observes (10), that this was 'a work of great extent, and variety of admirable learning, and written with such perspicuity of expression, such solidity of judgment and strength of argument, that it would have been deservedly esteemed a most compleat performance for one of more than twice his age: And so it was thought by a most excellent judge; for when he appeared at a Visitation before his diocesan, Bishop Sanderson, the Bishop seeing so young a man, could hardly believe it was Mr Stillingfleet, whom as yet he only knew by his Books; and afterwards, when he had embraced him, said, "He much rather expected to have seen one as considerable for his age, as he had already shewn himself for his learning;" It having always been justly esteemed one of the best Defences of revealed Religion that ever was extant in our own or any other

Language. And it shewed the early ripeness of his Understanding, and that he had attained to the Knowledge of the Aged, when himself was yet but very young, he being but about twenty-eight years old at the time of its publication. An excellent work in its kind! but which would have been still much improved, had God granted him a longer life: A large Specimen whereof is to be seen in the Folio editions of that work, printed since his decease, which was to have made part of the First Volume; for he designed to have published it in several parts in 8vo, and had so well considered it, as to have gone on writing and printing as fast as ever health and business would have permitted him.' The Specimen here referred to, is printed at the end of the folio Editions of *Origines Sacrae*; and bears this further title. "Or, a Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Revealed Religion: wherein the Foundations of Religion, and the Authority of the Scriptures, are asserted and cleared. With an Answer to the modern Objections of Atheists and Deists. In five Books." But it contains only Two Chapters of Book I. of the intended work; and pages 116.

[G] *A Vindication of Archbishop Laud's Conference with Fisher the Jesuit.*] The book written against Archbishop Laud's Conference was intituled, '*Labyrinthus Cantuariensis, or Dr Laud's Labyrinth.*' By T. C. It was said to be printed at Paris, 1658, but did not appear abroad till 1663 — Mr Stillingfleet's Answer was named, I. 'A Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion; being a Vindication of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Relation of a Conference between him and John Fisher, from the pretended Answer of T. C.' Lond. 1664. fol. In this book, he so evidently manifested what are the true Grounds of Faith, and where, and on which side, the Schism between us and the Church of Rome lies; and what Corruptions have been introduced by, and are constantly maintained among those of that Communion; as effectually silenced the Adversary, and did not a little advance Mr Stillingfleet's reputation. He wrote his Answer at Sutton, and made such dispatch, that, besides constant attendance on the duties of the place, he sent up of that elaborate work six or seven sheets a week to the press (11). Dr Tillotson gives this just and true character of it, that he found it in every part answerable to its title, viz. *A Rational Account, &c.* (12).

[H] *At which time he was persuaded to keep the public Act.*] And he did it with universal applause, on account of his fluency in the Latin tongue, his quickness of reply, and his powerful vindication of the positions he undertook to maintain: which were these, 1. *Ratio secundi Praecepti in Decalogo est immutabilis, i. e.* The reason or ground, of the second Commandment in the Decalogue is immutable. 2. *Existentia τῷ λόγῳ ἢ αὐτῶν constat ex*

(11) Life, p. 18, 19.

(12) Dedication of the Rule of Faith to Dr Stillingfleet.

his Majesty constituted him, in 1670, Canon Residentiary of St Paul's [I]. On the 11th of October 1672, he exchanged his Prebend of Islington for that of Newington in the same church (n). And, to bring some of his other preferments together, May the 4th 1677, he was made by King Charles Archdeacon of London, upon the promotion of Dr Lamplugh to the See of Exeter: Moreover, being nominated Dean of St Paul's, he was elected January 16, 1677-8 (o). But to return to his learned writings; he published in 1669 some Sermons: one of which being 'concerning the Reason of Christ's suffering for us,' engaged him in a controversy with the Socinians [K]. He was also engaged soon after in a controversy with the Papists [L]. And he moreover exerted himself in writing against them in King James the Second's reign [M]; which he did with such an exactness and liveliness, that

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initio Evangelii secundum S. Johannem, i. e. The eternal Existence of the *Logos*, or Word, is plainly manifest from the beginning of St John's gospel (13).

[I] His Majesty constituted him, in 1670, Canon Residentiary of St Paul's. The recommendation sent by his Majesty, on that occasion, to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, is so much in the Doctor's praise, that we shall mention part of it. It begins thus. 'Cha. R. Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Our well-deserving and well-beloved subject and chaplain Edward Stillingfleet, Doctor in Divinity, hath by his learned writings done such eminent service for the Church of England in particular, and the defence of the Christian Truth in general, that we think ourselves bound to give him all fitting encouragement, and therefore we are graciously pleased to recommend [him] unto you in very especial manner, and further to will and require that you elect and admit Him the said &c. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 9th of June 1670 (14).'

[K] Engaged him in a controversy with the Socinians. One of them having reflected upon the doctrine of this sermon, and made at the same time unworthy reflections upon the rulers of our Church, as if they had countenanced and encouraged the Socinian doctrine; our learned Author published, II. 'A Discourse concerning the true Reason of the Sufferings of Christ, in confutation of Crellius's Answer to Grotius.' Wherein he justly exposes the Socinian method of interpreting Scripture, particularly by a witty parallel between the first chapter of Genesis, and the first of St John's gospel. He also seriously considers the nature and end of our Saviour's sufferings, and removes the Socinian objections against their merit, and the reason we have to expect Salvation by them. After his death there was published, III. A second part to this book of Satisfaction; occasioned by an Appeal from the Dissenting Ministers to him, touching some Differences among themselves about that point. There are in this several of their Letters, with his Answers, and then a fuller examination of the grounds of the controversy (but not quite finished) wherein he judiciously states and explains the points between them, and as strenuously vindicates that necessary doctrine of satisfaction from the Antinomian notion and consequences of it, as he had before done from the Socinian (15).—The first of these Discourses was reprinted in 1696, with this title, 'A Discourse concerning the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction; or the true Reasons of his Sufferings; with an Answer to the Socinian objections. To which is added a Sermon concerning the Mysteries of the Christian Faith; preached April 7, 1691. With a Preface concerning the True State of the Controversie about Christ's Satisfaction.' Lond. 1696. 8vo. The Sermon was preached at the Tuesday Lecture at St Lawrence Jewry, upon 1 Tim. i. 15.—He published also a Defence of it, or IV. 'A Discourse in Vindication of the Trinity: with an Answer to the late Objections against it from Scripture, Antiquity, and Reason. And a Preface concerning the different Explications of the Trinity, and the tendency of the present Socinian Controversie.' The Preface is dated Worcester, Sept. 30. 1696 (16). . . . And some Reflections being made on this last Treatise, he wrote an Answer to them (17).

[L] He was also engaged soon after in a Controversy with the Papists. The several pieces he now writ against them, were, V. 'A Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, and the hazard of Salvation in the Communion of it: in answer to some Papers of a Revolted Protestant. Wherein a particular account is given of the Fanaticisms and Divisions of that Church.' Lond. 1671. 8vo. VI. 'An Answer to several late Treatises occasioned by a Book entitled, A Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, and the hazard of Salvation in the Communion of it. Part I.' 8vo. VII.

'A Second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of Faith against the pretence of Infallibility in the Roman Church, in Answer to *The Guide in Controversie*, by R. H. and against *Protestancy without Principles, and Reason and Religion; or the certain Rule of Faith*, both written by E. W. with a particular Enquiry into the Miracles of the Roman Church.' Lond. 1673. 8vo. VIII. 'A Defense of the Discourse concerning the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome, in Answer to a Book entitled *Catholics no Idolaters*.' 8vo. IX. 'An Answer to Mr Cressy's Epistle Apologetical to a Person of Honour, touching his Vindication of Dr Stillingfleet.' Lond. 1675. 8vo. The Epistle Ded. is dated London, Nov. 14, 1674. The *Person of Honour* here mentioned, was Edward Earl of Clarendon, who wrote *Animadversions on a Book intit. Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr Stillingfleet, and the imputation refused and retorted, by Ser. Cressy*. Lond. 1674. 8vo. X. 'Several Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fanatick Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of England, concerning several Points both of Doctrine and Practice, chiefly relating to the Sin of Idolatry; and more especially these four, The Idolatry of the Church of Rome, and the Consequences of the Charge of Idolatry; the Nature of Idolatry, and a Parallel between the Heathen and Romish Idolatry; being a full Answer to the late Dialogues of T. G. (18).' Lond. 1679. 8vo. XI. 'A Letter to Mr G. giving a true Account of a late Conference at the D. of P's.' [i. e. Dean of St Paul's.] XII. 'A Second Letter to Mr G. in Answer to two Letters lately published concerning the Conference at the D. of P's.' He also published at the end of Dr Tillotson's *Rule of Faith*, XIII. 'A Reply to Mr J. S. [Serjeant] his Third Appendix, containing some Animadversions on our learned Author's *Rational Account &c.*' . . . XV. And, in another Postscript, he examined a Treatise called *Diaphanta*, said to have been written by the Author of *Fiat Lux*. . . . Likewise he republished, with a learned Preface, XVI. 'The Jesuits Loyalty manifested in three several Treatises, lately written by them (19) against the Oath of Allegiance.' From which it appears, that the Government can have no real security from them, so long as they refuse to renounce the Pope's power of deposing Princes, and absolving subjects from their Allegiance. To which are subjoined three other Tracts, viz. 1. The Execution of Justice in England, not for Religion, but for Treason. Dated Dec 17, 1583, and penned by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. 2. Important Considerations; tending to prove, that Queen Elizabeth's proceedings against the Catholics, since the beginning of her reign, were both mild and merciful. 3. The Jesuits Reasons unreasonable: or Doubts proposed to the Jesuits upon their Paper presented to divers Persons of Honour for Non-exception from the common Favour voted to Catholics. This last had been printed at London in 1662. 4to.—One of the chief Pieces written by the Catholics against Dr Stillingfleet, was printed at Paris, with this title, 'A just Discharge to Dr Stillingfleet's unjust Charge of Idolatry against the Church of Rome. With a Discovery of the Vanity of his late Defence, in his pretended Answer to a Book intituled *Catholics no Idolaters*. By way of Dialogue between Eunomius, a Conformist, and Catharinus, a Nonconformist. In three parts.' 1677. 8vo.

[M] And he, moreover, exerted himself against them in King James the Second's reign. He published then, XVII. 'An Answer to some Papers lately printed, concerning the Authority of the Catholick Church in matters of Faith, and the Reformation of the Church of England.' Lond. 1686. 4to. The Papers answered in this Tract, were said to be written by King Charles II, and found in his strong box. J. Dryden the poet, newly converted to Popery, writ a Defence

(n) Newcourt, as above, p. 189.

(o) Idem, p. 64, 53.

(13) Life, p. 24, 25.

(14) Life, p. 22.

(15) Life, p. 26, 27, 28.

(16) See his Life, p. 78, &c.

(17) See below, note [W].

(18) i. e. Goden.

(19) In K. James the First's time.

(p) Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 265.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Life, p. 48, 49.

no books of controversy were so much read and valued, as his were (p). In the opinion of Bishop Burnet (q), 'he wrote against Infidelity beyond any that had gone before him.' One of his pieces in that kind, was, 'A Letter to a Deist, in answer to several Objections against the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures [N].' The Dissenters having attacked a Sermon of his, preached in 1680, it occasioned his publishing *The Unreasonableness of Separation* [O]. And, about the same time, upon the contest that arose in the House of Lords, about the Bishops Right of voting in capital cases; he wrote his very learned treatise of *The Jurisdiction of the Bishops in capital cases* (r) [P]. In 1685, he published,

Origines

of them. Whereupon, our learned Author wrote XVIII. 'A Vindication of the Answer to some late Papers concerning the Unity and Authority of the Catholick Church, and the Reformation of the Church of England.' Lond. 1686. 4to. XIX. 'The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly represented, in answer to a Book intituled *A Popish misrepresentation and misrepresented*.' Lond. 1686. 4to. XX. 'The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared as to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition, in a new Dialogue between a Protestant and a Papist. Part I. wherein an Answer is given to the late Proofs of the Antiquity of Transubstantiation in the books called, *Consensus Veterum*, and *Nubes Testium*.' XXI. 'The Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation compared as to Scripture, Reason, and Tradition. Part II. wherein the doctrine of the Trinity is shewed to be agreeable to Scripture and Reason, and Transubstantiation repugnant to both.' XXII. 'Scripture and Tradition compared, in a Sermon preached at Guildhall-Chapel, the 27th of November, 1687.' XXIII. 'A Discourse concerning the Nature and Grounds of the Certainty of Faith; in answer to John Serjeant's Catholick Letters.' Lond. 1688. 4to. XXIV. 'The Council of Trent examined and disproved by Catholick Tradition in the main points in controversy between us and the Church of Rome; with a particular Account of the Times and Occasions of introducing them. Part I. To which is prefixed a Preface, containing the true sense of the Council of Trent and the notion of Transubstantiation.' Lond. 1688. 4to. XXV. 'An Appendix, in answer to some passages of J. W. of the Society of Jesus concerning the Prohibition of Scripture in vulgar Languages in the Council of Trent.' Lond. 1688. 8vo. XXVI. 'No Catholick Tradition for Seven Sacraments.' XXVII. 'Against the Doctrine of Indulgences.'—On account of our learned Author's zeal against Popery, and his unanswerable confutation of it; we are told, that he received several threats, and more than once had notice of barbarous designs formed against himself; notwithstanding which, he undauntedly went on doing what he thought his duty (20).

[N] *A Letter to a Deist, in answer to several Objections against the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures.* He styles it otherwise, 'A Letter of Resolution to a Person unsatisfied about the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures.' And he says in the Preface, that it was written for the satisfaction of a particular Person, who owned the Being and Providence of God, but expressed a mean Esteem of the Scriptures, and the Christian Religion.' 'Tis dated at the end, June 11, 1675, but was not published till 1677. Lond. 8vo. without the Author's name.

[O] *The Dissenters having attack'd a Sermon of his, preached in 1680, it occasioned his publishing The Unreasonableness of Separation.* That Sermon was preached at Guildhall-Chapel, before the Lord Mayor &c. the first Sunday of Easter-term, on Phil. iii. 16. And the occasion of it, as he tells us himself (21), was this. The Dissenters growing loud in their groundless clamours against the Church of England, as Popishly affected; and one of the principal leaders of them (Mr Baxter) having published two pernicious books, the one called *A Plea for Peace*, but which far better deserved the title of a Plea for Disorder and Separation; the other, *The true and only way of Concord of all Christian Churches*, but fraught with such impracticable notions, and dividing principles, as though his whole design had been to prove, that there is no true way of concord among Christians: . . . 'Since by the means of such books, (adds he) the Zeal of so many people was turned off from the Papists against our Church, I saw a plain necessity, that either we must be run down by the impetuous Violence of an enraged, but unprovoked Company of Men; or we must venture ourselves to try whether we could stem that Tide,

'which we saw coming upon us.' . . . He thought it therefore neither improper nor unseasonable to persuade Protestants to Peace and Union at any time, especially at such a time as that when things were in such a dangerous fermentation (22): And the whole drift of his Sermon was, to dissuade the Dissenters from the established Church to quit their needless and destructive Separation; shewing, that according to the judgment of divers even amongst themselves, a Conformity to our Church's worship was not unlawful, and by consequence their Separation must be sinful and dangerous, and what they ought therefore all to desist from, as they would consult the honour of God and Religion, the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, and would prevent the great Designs of our other Enemies, and leave the Protestant Religion established here to posterity. But several of the Dissenters, especially those three of principal note among their leaders, Dr Owen, Mr Baxter, and Mr Alsop, instead of a thankful acknowledgment for his intended kindness, set themselves to write against him (23), and some of them in a very indecent manner. Which unsuitable return of theirs had only this effect, that it produced his excellent Vindication of our Church, intituled, XXVIII. 'The unreasonableness of Separation: or an impartial Account of the History, Nature, and Pleas of the present Separation from the Communion of the Church of England. To which several late Letters are annexed of eminent Protestant Divines abroad, concerning the Nature of our Differences, and the way to compose them.' Lond. 1681 and 1683. 4to.

[P] *And, about the same time, upon the contest that arose in the House of Lords, about the Bishops Right of voting in capital cases, he wrote his treatise of The Jurisdiction of the Bishops &c.* That contest was occasioned by the prosecution of Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, as is abundantly manifest from our Historians, to whom the reader is referred (24). Many books were then written on both sides, concerning the point, whether the Bishops ought to be permitted to attend at that trial; and whether they can vote in the preliminaries in trials of treason. Denzil Lord Holles, in particular, wrote 'A Letter, . . . shewing that the Bishops are not to be Judges in Parliament in Cases capital.' Printed in 1679. 4to. In opposition to whom Dr Stillingfleet published, XXIX. 'The grand Question concerning the Bishops Right to vote in Parliament in Cases capital, stated and argued from the Parliament-Rolls and the History of former Times; with an Enquiry into their Peerage, and the Three Estates in Parliament.' 8vo. (25). . . Bishop Burnet rightly observes, that 'Dr Stillingfleet gave upon this occasion a great proof of his being able to make himself the master of any argument which he undertook: For after the lawyers, and others conversant in parliament-records, in particular the Lord Hollis, who undertook the argument with great vehemence, had writ many Books about it, he published a treatise that discovered more skill and exactness in judging those matters than all that had gone before him. And indeed he put an end to the controversy in the opinion of all impartial men. He proved the right that the Bishops had to vote in those preliminaries beyond contradiction in my opinion, both from our records, and from our constitution (26).'. . . The writer of our Author's Life also observes, that this 'Anonymous Answer much surprized the world upon a double account. For first, it was not expected that a Divine, and one who, besides the business of a great parish, had been long engaged in Controversies of Divinity, and had his time thereby taken up in writing many excellent Books in his own profession, should have been so perfectly well versed in the ancient Constitution and Usages of Parliament, as well as the common and statute Laws of the land, as he here shewed himself to be. As neither in the second place, was it to be thought, he could have so dextrously changed his style, which

(22) On account of the discovery of the Popish Plot.

(23) J. Troughton wrote also against him. See Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 687. and 952.

(24) See History of England by Echard, Kennet, Oldmixon &c. particularly Burnet's History of his own Time, ed. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 90. &c.

(25) It is inserted in the Second Part of his Ecclesiastical Cases, ed. 1704. 8vo. p. 225, &c.

(26) Burnet's History of his own Time, ed. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 93.

(20) See his Life, p. 143.

(21) Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation &c. p. 36. &c.

Origines Britannicæ, or, The Antiquities of the British Churches [2]; a book full of his usual great Learning, and very extensive reading. Having been summoned to appear before King James's Ecclesiastical Commission, he drew up a Discourse concerning the Illegality of that Commission [R]; which however he did not publish till 1689 (s). Besides his other preferments, he was Canon of the twelfth stall in the church of Canterbury (t); and Prolocutor of the lower House of Convocation, for a long time together, in the reigns of King Charles and King James the Second (u). At the Revolution, due regard was paid to his merit: For he was advanced to the Bishopric of Worcester, vacant by the death of Dr William Thomas; to which he was consecrated October 13, 1689 (w). In this eminent station he behaved in the most worthy and exemplary manner; and endeavoured to reform and instruct his whole Diocese by his learned Charges [S], and to correct all Abuses in his Courts, wherein he often presided (x). As a member of the Upper House of Parliament, he appeared to great advantage in several Debates there [T]. Soon after his promotion to his Bishopric, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for reviewing the Liturgy; and he examined every word in the new Collects, then composed with the exactest judgment (y). In 1694, there was an intention of advancing him to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Archbishop Tillotson [V]. His old adversaries the Socinians spreading about their pernicious pamphlets [W], he thought it his duty

(s) It is printed in the Second Part of his Ecclesiastical Cases, p. 61, &c.

(t) N. Battely's Edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, or Cantuarua Sacra, Part II. p. 128. edit. 1703. fol.

(u) Life, p. 76. and Kennet's Compl. Hist. of England, Vol. III. edit. 1719. p. 348.

(w) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis Esq; Vol. I. p. 654.

(x) Life, p. 108, 111; &c. 129.

(y) See Kennet's Compl. History, as above, p. 590. and Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II.

' is naturally much larger and more copious, into one ' so concise, and yet withal so substantial and argumentative as this was written in (27).'

[2] *Origines Britannicæ &c.*] The whole title is, XXX. '*Origines Britannicæ, or, The Antiquities of the British Churches.* With a Preface concerning some pretended Antiquities relating to Britain, in vindication of the Bishop of St Asaph.' Lond. 1685. fol. The design of that book is to give as clear and distinct a view of the state and condition of the British churches, from their first plantation to the conversion of the Saxons, as could be had at so great a distance, and by such a degree of light as is left us concerning them (28). He hath divided the whole into Five Chapters. And in the first he treats of the first planting a Christian Church in Britain by St Paul. Wherein he observes, that there was no Christian Church planted in Britain during the reign of Tiberius; and that Gildas's words, which have been brought to prove it, are misunderstood. Next he examines and confutes the Tradition, concerning Joseph of Arimathea and his brethren coming to Glastonbury, to plant Christianity. And, after having proved, that there was a Christian Church planted here in the Apostles time; he shews the great probability of St Paul's having been its founder. At the same time, he intermixes a great many curious observations, about the Antiquity of Seals in England; the Saxon Charters, which he affirms to be all suspicious till the end of the seventh century, &c. In Chap. II. he treats of the succession of the British Churches to the first Council of Nice. And, among other things, proves that the national conversion of the Scots under King Donald is fabulous, and that Prosper speaks not of the Scots in Britain, but in Ireland. That Lucius was King of the Regni, part of Surrey and Suffex. Of Dioeclesian's persecution in Britain; the stopping of it by means of Constantius; and the flourishing of the British Churches under Constantine. The reason of three Bishops of Britain only being present at the Council of Arles; and of the great Antiquity of episcopal government here. Chap. III. is of the succession of the British Churches, from the Council of Nice to the Council of Ariminum. Wherein he clears, the testimonies of Constantine's being born in Britain; and also the just Rights of the British Churches: There being no evidence that they were under the Roman Patriarchate. In Chap. IV. he enquires into the Faith of the British Churches; and clears them from the charge of Arianism and Pelagianism: Giving at the same time some account of Pelagius, Faustus, Germanus and Lupus, Banchor-monastery, the Liturgy of the British Churches &c. Chap. V. treats of the Declension of the British Churches; of the Picts and Scots; of the fabulous Antiquities of these; of the Roman Walls, King Arthur &c. . . . To the whole is prefixed a long and learned Preface, wherein he rebukes the confidence of Sir George Mackenzie; for charging Bishop Lloyd, with 'a degree of Lese Majesty, in injuring and shortening the Royal Line of the Scottish Kings:' because his Lordship had rejected the long fabulous bead-roll, or succession of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. till the fourth century (29).

[R] He drew up a Discourse concerning the Illegality of that Commission.] The whole title of it was, XXXI. 'A Discourse concerning the Illegality of the Ecclesiastical Commission, in Answer to the Vindication

and Defence of it: wherein the true notion of the ' Supremacy is cleared; and an Account is given of ' the Nature, Original and Mischief of the Dispensing ' Power.' In an advertisement prefixed to it, he says, that ' this Discourse concerning the Illegality of the ' late Ecclesiastical Commission, was written when the ' Author of it was summoned to appear before it; and ' was in continual expectation of undergoing its censure, for not complying with the orders of it.'

[S] By his learned Charges.] They are printed in the First Part of his Ecclesiastical Cases, and divided into XXXII.—Five Discourses; wherein he treats of the duties and Rights of the Parochial Clergy; of the nature of the Trust committed to them; of their particular duties; of their maintenance by Law; and of the Obligation to observe the Ecclesiastical Canons and Constitutions. To them is annexed, in the same volume, XXXIII. 'A Discourse concerning Bonds of Resignation of Benefices, in point of Law and Conscience.' The Preface to which is dated Westminster, July 10, 1695. This last Discourse was for the most part the substance of his Charges at his Triennial Visitation in the year 1693 (30).

[T] He appeared to great advantage in several Debates there.] But there are in print, only two of his speeches made in the House of Lords: namely, XXXIV. 'The Case of Visitation of Colleges:' occasioned by the proceeding of Dr Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Exeter, as Visitor of Exeter college; in the affair of Dr Arthur Bury Rector of that college, which by Appeal, or writ of Error was brought from the King's Bench before the House of Peers. The other is, XXXV. 'The Case of Com-mendams, A. D. 1694-5.' relating to a Grant *ad retinendum*, made to Dr Thomas Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, for holding the Vicarage of St Martin's in the fields together with his Bishopric, only for a certain term. Upon the expiration of which, it was debated, whether the right of presentation was in the Crown, or in the proper patron the Bishop of London. These two are printed in the Second Part of his Ecclesiastical Cases (31): And in the same Volume are inserted also XXXVI. 'A Discourse of the Nature of our Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and the Law on which it stands.' And XXXVII. 'A Discourse of the true Antiquity of London, and its State in the Roman Times.'

[V] In 1694 there was an intention of advancing him to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.] 'Many, says Bishop Burnet (32), wished that Stillingfleet might have succeeded, he being not only so eminently learned, but judged a man in all respects fit for the post. The Queen was inclined to him; she spoke with some earnestness, oftener than once, to the Duke of Shrewsbury on that subject: She thought he would fill that post with great dignity: She also pressed the King earnestly for him: But as his ill health made him not capable of the fatigue that belonged to the Province; so the Whigs did generally apprehend, that both his notions and his temper were too high.'

[W] The Socinians spreading about their pernicious Pamphlets.] They were commonly printed in Quarto, upon indifferent paper, and with a small and close letter; and were published from the year 1691 to 1696, or later. The first of them are some tracts of John Bidle. Usually they are bound in three small quarto volumes. . . . What made the Socinians renew their attacks against

(27) Life, p. 48, 49.

(28) See the beginning of the Preface.

(30) See his Life, p. 95.

(31) P. 411. 437.

(32) History of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. III. p. 187. 188.

(29) See Bishop Lloyd's History of Church-government in Britain; and the article LLOYD (WILLIAM) above.

duty to caution the world against the dangerous tendency of their doctrine (z): But having, in one of his Discourses against them, reflected upon some passages in Mr Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, it occasioned a Controversy between him and that great man, of which some Account is given below [X]. Besides his Works already mentioned, he published a great many occasional Sermons, preached before the King, the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor, &c. [Y]. And likewise other small pieces [Z]; some without his name [AA]. He was naturally of a strong constitution, and in all probability might have enjoyed his health much longer, had he not impaired it by constant hard study; which at length brought the gout upon him, the common disease of a studious sedentary course of life; and, after above twenty years struggle, fixing in his stomach, it proved fatal. He died at his house in Park-Street, Westminster, March the 27th 1699, and his body being carried to Worcester, was interred among his predecessors behind the Choir in that Cathedral: where a handsome monument is erected to his memory (aa) [BB].

Of

against our learned Prelate, was his reprinting, in 1696, his *Discourse concerning the true Reason of the Sufferings of Christ*; with a Sermon on 1 Tim. i. 15. Whereupon they published, *Considerations and Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c.* in which they assert, That the Bishop was utterly mistaken, in thinking, that they deny the Articles of the new Creed, or Athanasian Religion, because they are Mysteries, or 'because (say they) we do not comprehend them: We deny them, because we do comprehend them. We have a clear and distinct perception that they are not Mysteries, but Contradictions, Impossibilities, and pure Nonsense.' . . . They attacked afterwards his *Vindication of the Trinity*, in a Tract of theirs, intitled, 'The Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholick Church.' Wherein, they say, that 'He has heartily chode with the Socinians, for the Terms: and has entirely yielded the things, in question to the Unitarians (33).'

[X] But having, in one of his Discourses against them, reflected upon some passages in Mr Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding, it occasioned a Controversy between him and that great man &c.] The Discourse wherein Bishop Stillingfleet attacked Mr Locke, was that in *Vindication of the Trinity*. And the faults he found in his Essay, were, his definition of Substance, and his notion of Ideas; thinking that they were prejudicial to the doctrine of the Trinity. Whereupon Mr Locke, who was impatient of opposition, and uneasy at having his favourite Essay censured, published, in a sort of heat, *A Letter to the right Reverend Edward Lord Bishop of Worcester, concerning some Passages relating to Mr Locke's Essay of Human Understanding: in a late Discourse of his Lordship's, in Vindication of the Trinity*. Soon after, our Prelate published, XXXVIII. 'The Bishop of Worcester's Answer to Mr Locke's Letter, concerning some Passages relating to his Essay of Human Understanding, mentioned in a late Discourse in Vindication of the Trinity. . . . With a Postscript in answer to some Reflections made on that Treatise in a late Socinian Pamphlet.' The Letter is dated, at the end, Worcester, March 27, 1697, and the Postscript, April 27, 1697.—Next Mr Locke came out with a *Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Letter, concerning some Passages relating to Mr Locke's Essay of Human Understanding: in a late Discourse of his Lordship's, in Vindication of the Trinity*. Dated at the end, June 29, 1697. His Lordship rejoined, in XXXIX. 'The Bishop of Worcester's Answer to Mr Locke's Second Letter; wherein his Notion of Ideas is proved to be inconsistent with itself, and with the Articles of the Christian Faith.' This is dated at the end, Sept. 22, 1697. Mr Locke had the last word, in his long *Reply to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Second Letter: Wherein, besides other incident matters, what his Lordship has said concerning Certainty by Reason, Certainty by Ideas, and Certainty of Faith; the Resurrection of the same Body; the Immateriality of the soul; the Inconsistency of Mr Locke's Notions with the Articles of the Christian Faith, and their Tendency to Scepticism; is examined*.

[Y] He published a great many occasional Sermons &c.] XL. One of the first he published, was a most excellent and eloquent Sermon, preached before the House of Commons, at St Margaret's Westminster, Oct. 10, 1666, being the Fast-day appointed for the late dreadful Fire in the city of London; upon Amos iv. 11. . . . In 1673, what he had published to that time, were collected into one Volume folio. After that, he printed about Twenty more, which were also collected into volumes; so that they made four volumes 8vo in 1696. An edition of Fifty of his Sermons came out in 1707, fol.

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[Z] And likewise other small pieces.] Among these we must reckon, XLI. A Preface to a Sermon of Dr Ford, Rector of Old Swinford, intitled, 'The Restoring of Fallen Brethren &c.' preached on Mid-lent-Sunday, 1695, at the publick Censure of some Offenders (34).

[AA] Some without his name.] Namely, XLII. 'A Discourse concerning the Unreasonableness of a new Separation on account of the Oaths.' With an Answer to the *History of Passive Obedience* so far as relates to them. Lond. 1689. 4to. XLIII. 'An Answer to a Paper delivered by Mr Ashton, at his Execution to Sir F. Child, Sheriff of London.' Lond. 1690. 4to. XLIV. 'A Letter to Dr. B. [everidge] on refusing the Bishoprick of B. and W.' [Bath and Wells] Lond. 1691. 4to. (35).

In 1735, his son Dr James Stillingfleet published XLV. 'Miscellaneous Discourses on several occasions.' Written by his father the Bishop.—Whose Works, before that had been collected into Six Volumes fol. Lond. 1710, with his Life prefixed. The contents of the Miscellaneous Discourses, are, 1. Letter of Dr [Barlow] Bishop of [Lincoln] concerning a vow of resignation of his Bishoprick in 1676. 2. Bishop Stillingfleet's Answer to him, on that subject. 3. Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in answer to the Bishop of S. . . . about Bonds of Resignation. 4. About the power of dissolving a contract *de presenti*, made without consent of Parents, Dec. 7, 1677. 5. Speeches—at Serjeants-inn, in the great cause of Emerton and Hyde, July 12, 1682.—6. At the same place, about the Bishop of Waterford's will, February 26, 1692-3.—7. In the House of Lords, in the great cause of the Earls of Montague and Bath, February 17, 1693-4.—8. At the opening a Commission of charitable uses, at the Town-hall in Worcester, August 14, 1694.—9. At the opening a second commission there, Sept. 26, 1695.—10. Answer to Sir F. W's Objections at the Town-hall there, October 17, 1695.—11. Reasons for the Decree, June 25, 1696. 12. Letter to Dr Barlow Bishop of Lincoln, about the ancient Codex Canonum Ecclesie Romanæ, November 14, 1674. 13. Letter to the Bishop of London, concerning the Right of Jurisdiction during the Suspension of the Archbishop of Canterbury, August 19, 1680. 14. Of the Antiquity and Legality of Archdeacons Visitations. 15. Discourse at the Visitation of the Cathedral at Worcester, Nov. 26, 1695. 16. Letter to the Archbishop about the Power of the Universities to judge of Heresy, Dec. 28, 1695. 17. Letter to John Evelyn Esq; about the Invocation of Saints, 1668. 18. Letter to a Lady concerning Vows of Virginity, May 8, 1670 (36). 19. Answer to a Letter about Merit, Veneration of Images &c. Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Christ in the Eucharist, 1687. 20. To his brother G. in answer to a Nonconformist's Paper proving Kneeling at the Sacrament to be Idolatry. 21. Dr Burthogge's Letter to him. 22. His Answer to Dr Burthogge about Original Sin, and the Covenant with Adam, and the meaning of Genesis iii. 23. Dr Whitby's Letter to him. 24. His Letter to Dr. Whitby at Sarum, of the Doctrine of the Millennium as held by the Fathers. 25. Case of reading King James's Declaration in 1688. 26. Letter to the Archbishop about the King's Injunctions, 1694. 27. Notes on the small Tithe bill, 1694. 28. A Sermon designed for the Thanksgiving-day A. D. 1694, but not preached by reason of his falling ill. 29. Epistola de Prophetia Danielis, ad J. Marsham Eq. 1681.

[BB] Where a handsome monument is erected to his memory.] The inscription upon it was composed by his chaplain, the learned Dr R. Bentley, and is as follows:

(m) See above, note [K].

(aa) Life, p. 147, 148.

(33) P. 49.

(34) See his Life, p. 104.

(35) Life, p. 92.

(36) This is also printed in the Universal Magazine for November 1748.

Of his great and extensive Learning he hath left such evident and lasting Proofs, that it need not be further mentioned. And as to his other qualifications, he was tall, graceful, and well-proportioned; his countenance comely, fresh, and awful; in his conversation chearful and discreet, obliging and very instructive, always procuring esteem and respect from those who conversed with him. His Apprehension was quick and sagacious; his Judgment exact and profound; his Memory very tenacious; no man sooner discerning the strength of a cause, or determining truer as to the merits of it: Nor was his insight into persons less quick and just, he soon perceiving their capacities and abilities, as well as their designs and interests *(bb)* [CC]. He had a noble Library, collected at a vast expence of time, pains and money: After his decease, it was purchased by Dr Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, to make a public Library in Dublin; and he built a handsome Edifice for that purpose. But a considerable number of MSS. relating chiefly to our own Nation and Constitution, in the Bishop's possession, were bought by the late Earl of Oxford, and are now part of the most valuable Harleian Collection *(cc)*. Whilst our Prelate was Rector of Sutton he married Andrea, eldest daughter of William Dobyns of Wormington in Gloucestershire Esq; by whom he had two daughters, which both dyed in their infancy, and a son named Edward [DD]. After her decease, (for she lived but a little while) he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Nicholas Pedley of Huntington, Serjeant at law, by whom he had seven children, of which two only survived him, namely James Rector of Hartlebury and Canon of Worcester, and Anne married afterwards to Humphrey Tyshé of Gray's Inn Esq; *(dd)*.

(bb) Life, p. 133.

(cc) Ibid. p. 135, 136.

(dd) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

H. S. E.
 Edvardus Stillingfleet S. T. P.
 Ex Decano Ecclesiæ Paulinæ Episcopus Vigornienfis,
 Jam tibi quicumque hæc legis
 Nisi et Europæ et literati Orbis hospes es
 Ipse per se notus
 Dum rebus mortalibus interfuit
 Et sanctitate morum et oris staturæque dignitate
 Et consummatæ eruditionis laude
 Undique venerandus
 Cui in humanioribus literis Critici in divinis Theologi
 In recondita Historia Antiquarii in Scientiis Philosophi
 In Legum peritia Jurisconsulti in civili prudentia Politici
 In Eloquentia universi
 Fasces ultro submiserunt
 Major unus in his omnibus quam alii in singulis
 Ut Bibliothecam suam cui parem Orbis vix habuit
 Intra pectus omnis doctrinæ capax
 Gestasse integram visus sit
 Quæ tamen nullos Libros noverat meliores
 Quam quos ipse multos et immortales edidit
 Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Defensor semper invictus
 Natus est Cranborniæ in agro Dorcestrensi
 XVII Aprilis MDCXXXV patre Samuele Generoso
 In matrimonio habuit Andream Gulielmi Dobbyns Gen. Filium
 Atque ea defuncta
 Elizabetham Nicolai Pedley equitis
 Eodem hic secum sepulchro conditam
 Foeminas quod unum dixisse satis est
 Tanto marito dignissimas
 Obiit Westmonasterii XXVIII Martii MDCXCIX
 Vixit annos LXIII. menses undecim
 Tres liberos reliquit sibi superstites
 Ex priori conjugio Edvardvm ex secundo Jacobum et Annam
 Quorum Jacobus Collegii hujus Cathedralis Canonicus
 Patri optimo bene merenti
 Monumentum hoc poni curavit.

[CC] *As well as their designs and interests*] To which may be added these further particulars of his character from Bishop Burnet (37) . . . 'Stillingfleet was a man of much more learning [than Tillotson] but of a more reserved, and a haughtier temper. . . . He was a great man in many respects. He knew the world well, and was esteemed a very wise man. . . . He applied himself much to the study of the law and records, and the original of our constitution, and was a very extraordinary man.' . . . And Archbishop Tillotson, in a Letter to Frederick Spanheim, calls him the Glory of our Church . . . *De quo Ecclesia nostra merito gloriatur* . . . (38).

[DD] *Edward*] He was born at Sutton in 1660, and educated at St Paul's school in London. From thence he was sent to St John's college in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow. Nov. 30, 1688, he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and on the 21st of June, 1692, he was created Doctor of Physic at Cambridge, and practised for some time at King's Lynne. But marrying in 1692, he lost both Fellowship and Professorship; and, what was worse, his Father's favour. However, going into orders, he obtained from him the Rectory of Newington-Butts, which he exchanged for the Rectories of Wood-Norton and Swanton in Norfolk, in 1698. He dyed in 1708, leaving a son named Benjamin, who was afterwards of Trinity college in Cambridge; and three daughters, of whom the eldest is married to John Locker, Esq; Barrister at law. In his person he was crooked, but had a lively and ingenious countenance, and an easy temper, free from ambition: though he wanted not abilities either of parts, or of learning, to have made a more conspicuous figure. But the misfortune of losing his father's favour, hindered his advancement (39).

(37) History of his own Time, Vol. 1. 8vo. P. 264, 265.

(38) Life of Abp Tillotson, by Dr Birch, p. 256.

(39) Lives of the Professors of Gresham-College by J. Ward, LL. D. edit. 1740. fol. p. 282, 283.

STOW [JOHN], this industrious man, who hath preserved so many things from oblivion, must not be forgotten in a work of such a nature as this. He was the son of Thomas Stow, of St Michael's Cornhill in London [A], merchant-taylor, and born there about the year 1525 *(a)*. We have no account of the place of his education, nor of the manner in which he spent the younger part of his life; only find that he was brought up to his father's business of a taylor *(b)*. In 1544, he came into great danger, from an unjust accusation given against him by a priest: but the falsehood of it was happily discovered, and the accuser deservedly punished. He probably lived at first in Cornhill: but in 1549, we find him dwelling within Aldgate, where now stands a pump, between Leadenhall-Street and Fanchurch-Street *(c)* [B]. He afterwards removed into the parish of St Andrew's Undershaft, in

(a) The Life of John Stow, prefixed to his Survey of London by J. Strype. Lond. 1720.

(b) Ibid. p. 2.

(c) Ibid. p. 3.

[A] *He was the son of Thomas Stow of St Michael's Cornhill, &c.*] This Thomas Stow was buried at St Michael's in Cornhill, in 1559. His wife Margaret dyed about October 1568, and was buried in the cloister of the said church by her husband. They had four sons, our John the eldest, another John, Thomas, and William; and three daughters, Johan, Margaret, and Alice (1).—Our Author's grandfather, named also Thomas, was a citizen and tallow-chandler of London; who dying about 1526, was buried in the little green Churchyard of St Michael aforesaid, by his

father and mother, sisters and brothers, and also his own children; as mentioned in his will (2). By that will it appears, that he was a person of good substance and credit; as was also his Son, our John's Father.

[B] *Between Leadenhall-Street and Fanchurch-Street.*] This we learn from the following story, which he pleased to take in his own words. . . . In the reign of King Edward VI, there was a Commotion of the Commons in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and other shires. By means whereof streight orders being taken for the suppression of rumours, divers persons were apprehended

(2) See our Author's Survey of London, edit. 1720. Book 1h p. 145. where this will is inserted.

(1) Life, p. 2.

in Lime-Street Ward: and, by his knowledge in the history and antiquities of that city, was very serviceable to his own Ward, in settling the bounds of it, when they had been incroached upon by that of Bishops-Gate (*d*) [*C*]. Very early he applied himself to his most beloved study of the History of England; and so wholly devoted himself to it, neglecting his business and the care of his family, that at last he brought himself into some straits.

About the year 1560, he formed the design of composing his Annals (*e*) [*D*]; and forsaking his trade (*f*), employed himself intirely in collecting materials for that work. He therefore diligently perused all writers fit for his purpose, whether printed or manuscript;

and became an unwearied searcher into records, registers, charters, and other original instruments: travelling on foot to several cathedral churches, and other chief places in the kingdom, to search and examine records (*g*). Not contented with having the perusal of such things, he was greedy of making himself possessor of them, as of a great treasure. So that, by the year 1568, he had amassed together a great quantity of old Books, and Manuscripts, of all sorts; especially Chronicles, and Histories, both on parchment and paper (*h*).

And, what added much to the value of his library, it was not only stored with antient Authors, but original charters, registers, and chronicles of particular places (*i*) [*E*]. Such books as were necessary for his purpose, and that he could not purchase, or otherwise obtain, he took the pains of transcribing himself; particularly Leland's Collections, whose Description of Britain, or Itinerary, he appears also to have been possessed of (*k*).

He lived indeed in a season, when he had the best opportunity of making such collections; namely, upon the dispersion of the Libraries of Religious Houses, when valuable Books could be plentifully picked up, and at a cheap rate. But after he had eagerly prosecuted for some time the study of our English History and Antiquities; finding, how little present advantage it was like to bring him, and urged by the necessity of procuring a maintenance and provision for his family, he began to return to his trade, and laid aside his books. He had now much lessened his paternal estate, neglected his business; and, instead of meeting with applause and rewards, found himself only exposed to the censures of critics, and other evil-disposed persons (*l*).

His case being made known to Dr. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was not only a great lover and judge, but also a generous patron, of all Antiquarian studies, he persuaded our Author to continue them, and encouraged him by several benefactions [*F*]. In the unsettled times he lived in, when great dangers were perpetually apprehended from Papists; he, being looked upon as no great friend to the Reformation, but an admirer of Antiquity in Religion as well as in History, came into some trouble, in 1568. For, an information being given against him to the Council, as if he was a suspicious person, and had many dangerous Books of Superstition in his custody; Dr Grindal, Bishop of London, his diocesan, was ordered to cause his study to be searched. There were found in it, great collections of his own for the English

hended and executed by marshal law; amongst the which the Bayliff of Rumsford in Essex was one, a man very well beloved: He was early in the morning of Mary Magdalen's day (then kept holiday) brought by the Sheriffs of London and the Knight-Marshall, to the Well within Ealdgate: there to be executed on a gibbet set up that morning, where being on the ladder, he had words to this effect; 'Good people, I am come hither to die, but know not for what offence, except for words by me spoken yesternight to Sir Stephen, Curate and Preacher of this parish [St Katharine Cree-church] which were these: He asked me, What news in the country? I answered, Heavy news. Why, quoth he? It is said, quoth I, that many men be up in Essex, but, thanks be to God, all is in good quiet about us: And this was all, as God be my judge &c.' Upon these words of the prisoner, Sir Stephen, to avoid reproach of the people, left the city, and was never heard of since amongst them to my knowledge. I heard the words of the prisoner, for he was executed upon the pavement of my door, where I then kept house (3).

[*C*] Was very serviceable to his own Ward, in settling the bounds of it, &c. Bishops-gate-ward had encroached upon it, by taking in three houses, and some land near London-wall, that lay west of the chapel of St Augustine Papey. But Mr Stow proved, that they were neither in the Ward of Bishops-gate, nor Aldgate, but in that of Limestreet: And that he did, by old Leases, and Grants; and especially by the Register-book of the Fraternity of St Augustine de Papey (4), from whence it appeared, That the Maior and Aldermen of London, 6 Ed. VI. had granted to that Fraternity, 'certain grounds, both East and West, of a brick wall that the Master and Wardens of the same had made, to close in the chapel of St Augustines, called Papey Chapel, situate in the parish of All-saints in the Wall, in the Ward of Limestreet; for which they were to yield to the city 4d. sterling every Michaelmas.'—And again, when once Aldgate-ward had claimed this plot of ground, Mr Stow shewed them a fair Ledger-book, some time belonging to the Priory of the Holy Trinity

within Aldgate, wherein that ground was not set down as belonging to Aldgate, but to Limestreet ward (5).

[*D*] He formed the design of composing his Annals.] The reason he assigns, for falling upon the study and pains of examining and collecting of his English History, was the confusedness of our late English Chronicles (6), and the ignorant handling of antient Affairs; which made him leave his own peculiar gaines, and consecrate himself to the search of our famous English Antiquities (7).

[*E*] It was not only stored with antient Authors, but original Charters, Registers, and Chronicles &c.] He was possessed of the Registers of Bermondsey, St Edmundsbury, of the New Abbey near the Tower, of St Bartholomew Smithfield, of the Friars Minors of London; in Latin. And he had, in English, a Register of the Knights of the Garter, a Register of the Maiors of London. He had also old Records of London, Records of St Asaph, Chronicles of St Albans, Arnold's Chronicles, Annals of the Monastery of Hyde. . . . Besides the following Chronicles, and old English Historians, Gildas, Nennius, Henry of Huntindon, William of Malmesbury, Marianus Scotus, Ralph of Coggeshall, John Everden, Nicolas Trivet, Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, Roger de Houeden, and others; which all then remained in manuscript (8).

[*F*] And encouraged him by several benefactions.] This he acknowledges, in the following passage of the dedication of his Annales, to Archbishop Whitgift. . . . 'Neither doe I doubt but they may have free passage in the world, if they be countenanced under your honourable name and protection. Unto whom I offer, and with all dutifull affection I dedicate both myselfe and them: being hereunto induced, both for that your worthy predecessor, and my especial benefactor Archbishop PARKER animated me in the course of these studies, which otherwise I had long since discontinued; and also that your great love and entire affection to all good letters in generall, and to the Antiquities in particular hath been so singular, that all which like and love good studies, doe justly esteem you their principall and gracious patrone.'

Chronicles;

Life, p. 3.

Ibid. p. 3. 9.

Ibid. p. 14.

See his Annals, edit. 1632. p. 1. It seems, could never

See Life,

Ibid. p. 14.

Ibid. p. 15.

Ibid. p. 4.

(5) Life, p. 3. and Survey of Lond. Book II. p. 88.

(6) Especially R. Grafton's.

(7) Preface to his Summary; and Annales.

(8) Life, p. 14, 19.

(3) Survey of London, ed. 1720. Vol. I. book. 2. p. 66.

(4) See his Survey of London, Book II. p. 73, 87. and Cotton. Libr. Vitellius, F. 16.

Chronicles; 'wherein he seemed to have bestowed much travel.' There were also found in it, many MS. Chronicles; a great quantity of curious Miscellaneous Tracts; old printed Popish Books; and others more modern (*m*). What was done to him, we do not find. But, being looked upon with a jealous eye, he was very near being entirely ruined, in 1570. For his younger brother Thomas, who had been his servant; and, after having defrauded him of his goods, sought also to deprive him of his life, preferred above a hundred and forty articles against him, before the Ecclesiastical Commission. A far less number would have served to have dispatched a man out of the world, if they could have been proved. But the witnesses against him could not prove any of them; and, withal, they were persons of a most infamous character, some having been detected of perjury, others burnt in the hand for felony, and the like: so that he was acquitted (*n*) [G]. His troubles did not abate his ardor for his beloved studies; wherein he was assisted and encouraged not only by the Archbishop abovementioned, but also by the greatest men of his time in that way: Particularly William Lambarde Esq; Robert Bowyer Esq; Keeper of the Records in the Tower, and the first digester of them into some order; the learned Camden, who allowed him an annuity of 8 l. a year during life, for a copy of Leland's Collections; and others, the most eminent persons in his time (*o*). In 1565, he first put out his 'Summary of the Chronicles of England [H], from the coming in of Brute unto his own time;' which, with additions and improvements, was reprinted several times since [I]. In 1575, he lost his best patron Archbishop Parker; notwithstanding which he prosecuted his studies; and among other things, assisted Dr David Powell in his History of Wales, published in 1584, as the learned Doctor acknowledges in his preface. About the same time he was engaged in another laborious work, his Survey of London, of which we shall give an account below. He was, in 1585, one of the two collectors for a great muster in Lime-Street Ward; which, as our Author observes (*p*), shews him to have been a man of good esteem in the place. But he was then beginning to be poor: For, we find him the same year presenting a petition to the Mayor and Court of Aldermen, wherein he set forth, 'That he had for the space of twenty-five years past (besides his Chronicle, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester,) set forth divers Summaries, dedicated to the Lord Maior, Aldermen and Commoners of that city: In all which he had especially noted the memorable acts of famous citizens, by them done, to the great benefit of the commonwealth, and honour of the same city. . . . That he minded shortly to set forth a far larger Summary, or Chronicle of that city and citizens thereof, than before had been published. And forasmuch as the search of Records could not but be chargeable to him; as heretofore for many years it had been altogether of his own charges; besides his other travails and study; he now humbly craved their aid, in consideration of the premises, to bestow on him the benefit of two Freemen, such as they should like, to be admitted into the Freedom of the city. Whereby he might be helped somewhat towards his charges.' Undoubtedly, this request of his was complied with. Such another petition he presented to them, in 1589, wherein he said, that he was of the age of threescore years and four; and had for the space of almost thirty years last past, besides his Chronicles, set forth divers Summaries, dedicated to them &c. He therefore petitioned them to bestow on him some yearly Pension, or otherwise; whereby he might reap somewhat towards his great charges (*q*). Whether he had a pension granted him, we do not find; unless it was in consideration of his being *the City's Chronicler*, a place which he appears to have enjoyed (*r*). But to proceed to the rest of his learned labours: He had a great hand in the improvements made to the second edition of the large Chronicles, published by Raphael Holinshed in 1587 [K]. Our most famous poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, was also

(*m*) Life, p. 4.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 5,
6, — 11.

(*p*) Strype, Life,
p. 3.

(*q*) Life, p. 7.

(*r*) Ibid. p. 12.

[G] *So that he was acquitted.* At this juncture, malecontents, persons disaffected to the Protestant religion, and great numbers of Popish emissaries, swarmed in this kingdom; being sent over from Rome, to cause disturbances here; and had actually raised a dangerous rebellion in the north. This is the reason, why so many innocent persons, suspected to be of the Romish religion, were brought into trouble; and among the rest Mr Stow: it behoving the government to stand upon their guard, and to take all proper measures to secure themselves.

[H] *He put out his Summary of the Chronicles of England.* The title of it was, 'Summarie of Englishe Chronicles, conteyning the true Accompt of Years, wherein every Kyng of this Realme of England began their Reigne, how long they reigned, and what notable Thynges hath been doone duryng their Reynes, wyth also the Names and Yeares of all the Baylyffes, Custos, Maiors, and Sheriffes of the Citie of London sens the Conqueste,' 8vo. He undertook it, at the instance of Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester; and how he came to be first known to him, he informs us in the following words. . . . 'Edmond Dudley, in the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, compiled one notable booke, which he intituled *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, dedicated unto King Henry VIII. but never came to his hand. A copie whereof faire written (reserving the original to my selfe) I gave unto the honourable Lord Robert Earle of Leicester, about the year 1562. At whose request and earnest

perswasion I then first collected my Summary of the Chronicles of England, and dedicated the same, with the continuation and encrease thereof, from time to time, to my great charges to his honor, in reward whereof I alwaies received his hartly thanks, with commendations (*g*).' His inducement for dedicating it to that Earl, was, as he tells him in the Dedication, 'because of his usual generous acceptance of many Works presented unto him by others as well as himself; and because of his Lordship's goodly Inclination to all sorts of Knowledge, and especially the great Love he bore to old Records of Deeds done by famous and noble Worthies.'

[I] *Which, with additions and improvements, was reprinted several times since.* Namely, in the years 1570, 1575, 1590. Continued by Edmond Howes, and reprinted in 1607, 1610, 1611, and continued with matters foreigne and domestical unto 1618.—There was also his Summarie of Chronicles *abridged*, printed in 1566. Continued to, and reprinted in 1567, 1573, 1579, 1584, 1587, 1598, 1604. These several editions were in the late Earl of Oxford's noble collection.

[K] *He had a great hand in the improvements made to the second edition of Holinshed's Chronicles.* This is fully manifest from the margin of those Chronicles, where the name of John Stow so frequently appears. But from page 1268 to the end, was chiefly continued by him and Abraham Fleming &c.—He acquaints us particularly (*10*), that he had caused several curious Pieces to be inserted therein. Namely, 'A Declaration

(*g*) *The Annals of England*, ed. 4to. 1605. p. 818.

(*10*) See his *Annals of England*, ed. 1605. 4to. p. 1177, 1180, 1184, 1186.

of

also 'corrected, and twice increased, through Mr Stow's painful labours, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: first in the year 1561; and again beautified with notes by him, collected out of divers records and monuments, which he delivered to his friend Thomas Speight (s), the editor of that ancient bard, in 1597 (t). His curious and valuable Survey of London, after having cost him many years of close application, was first published in 1598, and reprinted in his life-time in 1603 [L]. He had much set his heart on the publication of his large Chronicle or History of England, which he had been above forty years collecting out of some hundreds of ancient Authors, Registers, Chronicles, Lives, and Accounts of particular Cities and Towns. But he lived only to publish an Abstract of it (u), under the title of *Flores Historiarum*, or *Annales of England* [M], besides his Summaries above-mentioned. From his papers, Edmond Howes published afterwards that folio Volume, which goes under the name of Stow's Chronicle [N]. But, even this doth

not

'of the favourable dealing of her Majesty's commissioners appointed for the examination of certaine traitors, and of tortures unjustlie reported to be done upon them for matters of religion (11). A true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by Francis Throckemorton (12). A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by William Parie (13). A true and summarie report of the declaration of some of the Earle of Northumberland's treasons (14). The Dutch Embassador's speech to Queen Elizabeth (15). A declaration of the causes mooving the Queene of England to give aid to the defense of the people afflicted and oppressed in the Low Countries (16).'

[L] *His Survey of London . . . was first published in 1598, and reprinted in 1603*] He intituled it, 'A Survey of London, contayning the originall, antiquity, increase, moderne estate, and description of that citie, written in the yeare 1598 by John Stow citizen of London. Also an Apologie (or Defence) against the opinion of some men concerning that citie, the greatnesse thereof. With an Appendix containing in Latine *Libellum de situ & nobilitate Londini*, written by William Fitz-Stephen in the raigne of Henry II.' 4to. He says, in the Dedication, that He' had attempted the Discovery of London, his native Soil and Country, at the desire and persuasion of some of his good Friends; as well because he had seen sundry Antiquities himself touching that place, as also for that, through search of Records to other purposes, divers written helps were come to his hands, which few others had fortun'd to meet withal (17). —The second edition, also in quarto, came out in 1603. In the dedication to which, he confesses, that, in the former edition, he 'lacked his desire to the Accomplishment of some special parts, which some others of better ability promised to perform:' [viz. James Dalton Esq;] but he dying before he could accomplish his promise, our Author 'out of his own old Storehouse added to this work many rare notes of Antiquity;' chiefly about the Politick government of the city. He intended to have made greater improvements, but complains of his being then visited with much sickness; so that his feet, which had been wont to bear him many a mile, refused once in four or five months to convey him from his bed to his study.

—After his decease, one A. M. i. e. Antony Monday, some time the Pope's scholar at Rome, but who had turned Protestant; undertook to make additions to the Survey, from Mr Stow's papers and best Collections, which he pretended He had delivered to him in his life-time; and used importunate persuasions with him to correct what he found amiss, and to proceed in perfecting so worthy a work. Having been twelve years about it, he put out a new edition in 1618, 4to. But his additions were chiefly of some epitaphs, a continuation of the lists, and little more, except transcripts out of our Author's Summary and Annals. —In 1633, a fourth edition came out, in folio, 'completely finished by the study and labour of A. M. H. D. (18) and others. Whereunto, besides many additions, were annexed divers alphabeticall tables.' —This was much outdone by the Edition published by the most industrious Mr Strype, in 1720, in two very large volumes folio; and reprinted in 1756, with very great improvements. —On this Survey were founded the subsequent Accounts of London, by Edward Hatton, R. Seymour, and W. Maitland.

[M] *He lived only to publish an Abstract of it, under the title of Flores Historiarum, or Annales of England.*] It was first published in 1600, in a thick quarto in black letter (*), being nothing else but his Summary greatly enlarged: and dedicated to Archbishop Whitgift.

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The dedication is dated the 24th of November, 1600; and remains in the subsequent edition of 1605, though the Archbishop was then dead.—His earnest Desire of seeing his large Chronicle in print, before his death, he could not forbear expressing, at the conclusion of the last mentioned edition, in these words (19) . . . 'I desire thee to take these and other my labours past in good part, like as I have painfully (to my great costs and charges) out of old hidden histories, and records of Antiquitie, brought the same to light, and for thy great commoditie bestowed them upon thee: so shalt thou encourage me (if God permit me life) to publish or leave to posteritie, a farre larger Volume, long since by me laboured, at the request and commandment of the reverend Father Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury; but he then deceasing, my worke was prevented, by printing and reprinting (without warrant, or well-liking) of Raigne Wolfes collection, and other late commers, by the name of *Raphael Hollingshead* his Chronicles.' By which it appears, that he was forestalled by Holinshed's Chronicles, and did not a little resent it.—Mr Strype informs us (20), that if Mr Stow "had lived but one year longer, he intended to have published his long labours: But after his death, there was not a man to be found, to take the small pains to review his papers, and fit them for the press: Many indeed were talked of to do it, both persons of Quality among the laity and clergy, (for the world had great and earnest expectation to see Stow in print) but when they were spoke to, to take the good work in hand, some of them said, That they thought the giving out of their Names was rather done by secret enemies, on purpose to draw them into capital displeasure, and to bring their names and lives into a general question. Others said, That they who did such a work, must flatter, which they could not, neither wilfully would they leave a scandal unto their posterity. Another said, he could not see, how in any civil action a man should spend his travel, time, and money worse, than in that which acquires no regard or reward, except backbiting and detraction. And one amongst the rest swore an oath, and said, He thanked God that he was not yet mad, to waste his time, spend two hundred pounds a year, (which it seems Stow had done) trouble himself and all his friends, only to gain assurance of endless reproach, loss of liberty, and bring all his days in question. Yet at last one Edward (21) Howes undertook it, and effected it: But it happened just so to him, having been intolerably abused and scandalized for his labour."

[N] *From his papers, Edmond Howes published afterwards that folio Volume, which goes under the name of Stow's Chronicle.*] He published it first in 1615; and put out another edition in 1631; both in black letter, and the latter especially upon very bad paper. Who first set him about it he thus mentions in his Dedication of the last edition to King Charles I. . . 'May it therefore please your Majesty to pardon my defect, and graciously accept into your most royall Patronage, these my thirty years labours of impartiall Truth, which with all faithfulness I have composed, according to my oath and promise made to the late most reverend Prelate, Dr *Whitgift*, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; by whose especial instruction and encouragement I undertooke this general Worke, in honor of my Prince and Country.' —In his Preface, he hath one particular relating to the dissolution of the Abbeyes, which we shall lay here before the Reader, because it is very little known.—'The generall plausible project, (says he) which caused the Parliament consent unto the Reformation or alteration of the Monasteries, was that the King's Exchequer should for ever be enriched, the kingdome and Nobility strengthened and increased,

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(1) So Mr Stow himself informs us, in his Survey of London, edit. 1720. Vol. II. Book VI. p. 15.

(2) See above, the article CHAUCER.

(3) The Printer was unwilling to publish the whole Work. See Dedication of this Abstract.

(11) Holinshed's Chronicles, p. 1357, &c.

(12) Ib. p. 1370.

(13) p. 1382.

(14) p. 1404.

(15) p. 1411.

(16) p. 1414.

(17) He spent eight years in searching out of ancient Records concerning Antiquities both for London and Southwark. Life, p. 13.

(18) Antony Monday, Henry Dyson.

(*) There was an edition of the Summary, under the title of *Annales*, &c. 1552. 4to.

(19) p. 1438.

(20) Preface to his Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. XI. See Ed. Howes's Epistle to the Lord-Maior and Aldermen of London, before the Index to Stow's *Annales*, ed. 1631.

(21) His name was Edmond.

(w) Epistle Dedicatorie, and Preface, to his Annales, edit. 1600.

(x) See Stow's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 811. b.

(y) Life, p. 8. 15. 20.

(z) Life, p. 12, 13.

(aa) See a print of it in his Life.

(bb) See Stow's Annales, edit. 1631. p. 811.

(cc) Life, p. 16.

(dd) Ibid. p. 23.

(ee) Life, p. 27, 22.

not contain all that 'farre larger work' which Mr Stow mentions (*w*), and intended to have published; leaving it in his study, orderly written, ready for the press (*x*). It came into the hands of Sir Symonds Dewes (*y*), and afterwards (as one might suppose) into the possession of the late Earl of Oxford; but it is not in the British Musæum, with others of our Author's manuscripts [O]. Having spent his patrimony, and the best part of his estate in these studies and labours; he was forced, in the latter part of his life, to have a collection made for his relief. And, for that purpose, King James I. granted him a license, or brief, dated the 8th of May 1603, which was renewed the 26th of November 1604, authorising him, or his deputy, to repair to churches, or other places, to receive the gratuities and charitable benevolence of well-disposed people [*P*]; in recompence of his painful labours, and for encouragement to the like (*z*). Together with his poverty, he was very much afflicted with pain in his feet, probably the gout, and also the stone. At length having arrived to eighty years of age, he departed this life April 5, 1605, and was buried the 8th in his parish church of St Andrew's-Undershaft, where his widow erected a decent monument to his memory (*aa*). Mr Stow's Person and Temper are thus described by Mr Edmond Howes (*bb*), who perfectly knew him. 'He was tall of stature, leane of body and face, his eyes small and cristalline, of a pleasant and cheerefull countenance, his sight very good, his memory excellent; very sober, mild, and courteous to any that required his instructions; and retained the true use of all his senses unto the day of his death. He always protested, never to have written any thing, either for malice, feare, or favor, nor to seek his own particular gaine, or vaine glory, and that his only pains and care was to write Truth.' As he was a great Lover of Truth, so he was very inquisitive to find it out: And his good Judgment, Learning, and Skill in History and Antiquities, qualified and enabled him not to be put off with Frauds and superstitious Fables, commonly believed and related by men of less accuracy; as is plain from many instances in his writings (*cc*). On all occasions he expressed a great dislike for immorality of every kind, injustice, wrongs, frauds, unfaithfulness, falshood, and treachery; which shewed an honest and good mind. And he spared not to expose the more scandalous sorts of men that fell in his way; as lewd and unclean Priests, unfaithful Executors, abusers of charitable Donations, false Jurymen, counterfeit Physicians, and other Cheats, and Impostors, Extortioners and cruel Oppressors, violators of the Monuments of the dead, and exalters of themselves above their neighbours (*dd*). As to his Religion, he was undoubtedly at first, a favorer, as well as a professor of Popery: but these words of his, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 'That Doctrine is more pure, now, than it was in the Monkish world,' imply that he had then altered his mind. Perhaps being a lover of Antiquity, and an admirer of the old Religious buildings and monuments, he was prejudiced against the Reformed Religion, because of the horrible havock and destruction those that pretended to it, made of them in his days. And indeed it might render him the less affected to the Religion in his time reformed, while he took notice how ignorantly, nay ridiculously, some that professed and preached it, shewed their zeal (*ee*) [2]. Upon the whole, he appears throughout to have been an honest and well meaning man; and his Chronicle, or Annales, as far as they go, are still the best and exactest we have extant.

'and the common subjects acquitted and freed from all former Services and Taxes; to wit, that the Abbots, Monks, Fryers and Nunnes, being suppressed, that then in their places, should be created forty Earles, threescore Barons, and three thousand Knights, and forty thousand Souldiours, with skilful Captaines, and competent maintenance for them all, ever out of the ancient Churches revenues, so as in so doing, the King and successors should never want of Treasure of their owne, nor have cause to be beholding to the common Subjects, neither should the people be any more charged with Loanes, Subsidies, and Fifteenes. Since which time, there have been more statute Lawes, Subsidies, and Fifteenes, than five hundred yeeres before. And not long after that, the King had Subsidies granted, and borrowed great sums of money, and dyed in debt, and the forenamed religious houses were utterly ruined (22).'

[O] With others of our Author's manuscripts. He translated Giraldus's Itinerary of Wales, Florent. Wigorn. After Meneven, with continuation, Alured Rievall. Nic. Trevet, &c. which were all in Sir Symonds Dewes's library, in Mr Stow's own hand-writing (23).

[P] To receive the gratuities and charitable benevolence of people.] But even upon this there was but little gathered, if we may judge by the collection made in the one parish of St Mary Woolnoth, which amounted only to 7s. 6d. Besides, that he hardly lived long enough to have the collection compleated. It is strange, as Mr Strype observes (24), that the city of London, to which he had done such service and honour, in writing such an elaborate and accurate Survey thereof; nor the wealthy Company of Merchant-Taylors, of which he was a worthy and creditable member; nor lastly the State, in grateful remembrance of his diligent and faithful pains, in composing an excellent History of the

Kingdom; neither of them had allotted him some honorary pension during his life.

[2] How ignorantly, nay ridiculously, some that professed and preached it, shewed their zeal] He gives us some instances of it, in Sir Stephen, already mentioned (25), Curate of St Katharine Cree-church parish, where Mr Stow then lived. That Curate, in a Sermon at St Paul's, inveighed severely against a long Maypole, called a *Shaft*, in the next parish to his, named thence St Andrew *Undershaft*, calling it an *Idol*. Which so inflamed the zeal of many of the hearers, because all Idols were ordered by publick authority to be taken away; that a great number of the neighbours went, the same afternoon, and violently pulled it down from the place where it hung upon hooks, and then sawed it into divers pieces, each housekeeper taking a piece, as much as hung over his door or stall, and afterwards casting the pieces into one common heap, burnt them. Mr Stow heard this Sermon, and saw the effect of it. —The same preacher, taking occasion from that Church's name, *Undershaft*, as superstitiously given to it, declared it as his judgment, that the names of Churches should be altered; nay and that the names of days in the week might be changed, the fifth-days to be kept on any days except Fridays and Saturdays. And further, that Lent should be observed at any other time, than between Shrovetide and Easter. —Another practice of this Sir Stephen was, oftentimes to forsake the pulpit, and getting up into a high elm that grew in the middle of the church-yard, to preach from thence to the people; and returning into the church, he would say or sing the English service, not at the altar as was usual, but upon a tomb on the north side of the church (26). Such were the irregular practices of the Methodists, or Zealots, of those times, which served only to expose the Reformation.

(25) Note [B]

(26) See his Survey of London, Book II p. 66. and I p. 22.

STRYPE [JOHN], Author of several Volumes relating chiefly to the Ecclesiastical History of England: a most faithful and industrious Writer; was of German extraction, but born in Stepney-parish near Spital-Fields in London (a) November 1, 1643 (b). After having had his Education in Grammar learning for near six years, in St Paul's School (c), he was admitted, in 1661, in Jesus-college, but removed soon after to Catharine-hall, in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1665, and that of Master in 1669 (d). His first preferment, was the Donative, or perpetual Curacy, of Theydon-Boys in the county of Essex; conferred upon him the 14th of July 1669: But he quitted it a few months after, upon his being appointed Minister of Low-Leyton in the same county, where he made several improvements [A], and which he kept as long as he lived (e) By his being seated here, he came to have an opportunity of procuring the valuable Manuscripts of Sir Michael Hickes Knight, once of Rokholt's in this parish, and Secretary to William Lord Burleigh; which were afterwards the foundation of most of his Books (f). They are very numerous; he having published no less than *Thirteen* Volumes in folio; full of deep and laborious researches: besides *three* Volumes in octavo &c. And as he rendered himself chiefly considerable as a Writer, therefore we shall view him almost entirely in that light. His works relate more especially to the History of the Reformation of the Church of England; as will appear by the following particular account of them, in which we shall have more regard to the order of time they belong to, than the order in which they were published. The first, in that respect, were his 'Ecclesiastical Memorials; relating chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of the Church of England, under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary the First [B].' The next Books

[A] Upon his being appointed Minister of Low-Leyton, . . . where he made several Improvements.] There was something very singular in this case, which we shall present the Reader with, from original Papers, that have been kindly communicated to us by a friend. Though he enjoyed this preferment above sixty-eight years; and, what is very remarkable, administered the sacrament in this church sixty-six Christmases-days successively; yet he was never instituted nor inducted thereto. For the living being very small, the three patrons complimented the Parish with the choice of a Minister. Accordingly, by the direction of the Inhabitants, Mr Strype preached to them, in order for their approbation to be chosen their Lecturer, Preacher, or Curate; and being approved of by the majority of the Parishioners, was, in 1669, elected to be their Lecturer or Curate: as his predecessors from time immemorial had been: so it is expressed in those Papers. Soon after Mr Strype's election, the Parishioners entered into a subscription for his maintenance, which was found among his books, and began thus. 'Dec. 9, 1669. We the Inhabitants of the Parrish of Lowe-Leyton, having made Choice of Mr John Strype to be our Minister to succeed Mr Cox, doe hereby promise to pay him yearely and every yeare (dureing our tyme heere as parishioners belonging to the said parrish) the following somes subscribed to our names to be paid him quarterly, or other wayes as he shall thinke more convenient to demand it, provided he continues the usual Custom of his Prediccessor in preaching twisse every Sunday. I William Hickes doe promise to pay eight pounds.' Then follow sixty-one others, who promised to pay, some 3l. some 2l. some 1l. and others lesser sums; to the amount in all of 69l. 0s. 10d.—The 11th of November, 1674, he was licensed by Dr Henchman, bishop of London, to preach and expound the word of God in the parish church of Low-Layton, and to perform the full office of Priest and Curate there, during the Vacancy of the Vicarage: which License, and no other Instrument, was exhibited at the Episcopal Visitations, Sept. 11, 1674, Oct. 12, 1715, and Aug. 11, 1720.—It is somewhat unaccountable, that Mr Strype could escape the Sagacity of the Officers, and enjoy a Living so many years as he did, so near London, without disturbance or molestation; especially at a time when a Compliance with the Rules, Orders, and Discipline of the Church was so strictly enjoined, and so carefully enquired into, as it was during the reign of King Charles II. Indeed, in his latter days, his uncommon Merit might be his Protection with the Bishops of London, if he could remain unnoticed by the Lord Chancellor's officers, or some hungry Clergyman; which he luckily did to the last.

As to the great Repairs and Improvements made by him. The House belonging to this Living was in the most ruinous condition, and inhabited only by the meanest of people. Wherefore, at Easter 1677, Mr Strype applied to the general Vestry of the Parish, and acquainted them with a Promise they had made him at

his first coming among them, which was, to rebuild the Preacher's house at the Charge of the Inhabitants: Whereupon the Vestry appointed Matthias Goodfellow and Thomas Harvey, Gentlemen, to take a view of the old House, and to consider the charge of rebuilding it; which being done, the view was at the next vestry presented to them, with a plan for erecting the intended new house. Upon which a voluntary subscription was agreed on, and made by several of the Inhabitants towards the rebuilding of the House, which amounted to the sum of 79l. 19s. besides the timber and utensils that belonged to the old House, and new materials presented and sent in by the Inhabitants, and a license granted from the Crown for cutting Timber in Walwood in the same parish for the use of the house and buildings, obtained at the request of the Inhabitants. Thus furnished with materials, Mr Strype undertook to rebuild the House; the charges of which, with the out-houses and fencing the ground belonging to the same, amounted in the whole to 216l. 9s. 3d. That is, he expended, out of his own pocket, 140l. 10s. 3d. besides the contributions aforesaid; as appears by an account entered by himself in one of this Parish's Registers. The House is of Brick, containing thirty feet in front, and twenty-four in depth; with an additional building on the East side for Offices, being twenty feet in front, and twelve in depth. And in the yard a stable and straw-house, containing sixteen feet in front, and twelve in depth; with a wood-house and loft over it, seventeen feet in length, and thirteen feet, and a half in depth. —Also in 1679, Mr Strype, by a collection in the parish, and his own expence, did repair the roof of the upper Chancel of the Church, which was ready to fall down, the two arches that then were there being very defective: They being taken down, the raising piece was also found to be rotten; whereupon two new pillars were erected, on which rested a new raising piece. For these pillars and raising piece, were obtained three strong oaks out of Walwood, in this parish. The charge of these repairs, besides the timber, amounted to about 70l. In consideration of which, he was allowed what advantage could be made by the Pews and Burials in the Chancel; and enjoyed the same till some dispute arose between him and the lord of the manor, touching the nominating a Parish-Clerk. Mr Strype also repaired the Chancel-porch at his own charge (1). . . . Notwithstanding which, his Executors were sued by his Successor for Dilapidations: But very little or nothing could be recovered, the Plea being, That he had never been Instituted, nor Inducted; and that the House was built, and ought to be repaired by the Parish.

[B] Ecclesiastical Memorials, &c.] The rest of the title of Vol. I. is as follows. . . . 'All which being new, and such as have hitherto escaped our Writers and Historians, will communicate much more light to those great Transactions in this Kingdom: And more over discover further the Inclinations and Influences of the respective Princes: The Embassies and Correspondencies with foreign Potentates and States, chiefly with respect to Religion: The Oppositions made

(f) See N. Salmon's History and Antiquities of Essex, p. 5. and Mr Strype's numerous References in the margins of his Books; with his Preface to the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 7.

(1) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 331.

(a) From a MS. Letter of his.

(b) Wood Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 187. and Mr Strype's Picture, prefixed to Vol. I. of his Ecclesiastical Memor.; and Letter from Dr H. Newcome.

(c) See his edition of J. Stow's Survey of London, Book I. p. 164. col. 2.

(d) From the University Registers.

(e) Newcourt, Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 583, 555, 582.

Books of his we shall mention, according to our method, are the Lives of the four first Protestant Archbishops; Archbishop Cranmer [C]; Archbishop Parker [D]; Archbishop Grindal [E]; and Archbishop Whitgift [F]. We have placed these four Lives together, as

made to it: The Troubles and Persecutions of the Professors of it: The Tempers, Practices, and Events of the Two Cardinals, Wolfey and Pole, and other Prelates and Great Men of both Parties, in the respective reigns: Besides, Accounts of Convocations, Royal and Episcopal Visitations, Ecclesiastical Constitutions, Books from time to time set forth; with various other Matters worthy of Note and Observation. In Three Volumes. With a large Appendix to each Volume, containing Original Papers, Records, &c.' The Title of Vol. II. is, 'Historical Memorials, chiefly Ecclesiastical, and such as concern Religion and the Reformation of it, and the Progress made therein, under the Reign and Influence of King Edward VI. containing also many new Discoveries of the Life, Acts, and Government of that Prince.' With a Repository of Originals. And the Title of Vol. III. is, 'Historical Memorials, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of Events under the reign of Queen Mary I. Wherein are brought to light various Things concerning the management of Affairs, during the Five Years of her Government. And, more particularly, The Restoring of the Pope's Authority, and the Popish Religion in this Kingdom: And the rigorous Methods of Burning, and other Severities, for the Replanting of it, used towards such as adhered to the Religion Reformed under King Edward VI.' With a Catalogue of Originals. Lond. 1721. fol.—Mr Strype informs us, in his Preface, that 'These Memorials, respecting chiefly Religion, and the Reformation of it in this kingdom, had been composed by him and fitted for the press divers years before. But he thought fit to lay them aside for a time; and to begin rather with what he had writ of the Lives and Acts of the Four First Protestant Archbishops of Canterbury; as shewing therein, the beginning, progress, opposition, and establishment of the said happy Reformation in a continued History, under the influence of those most worthy Prelates. Nor did he think it convenient to burden those Books, which were large enough of themselves, by inserting those Memorials into them, which would have rendered them too bulky: But rather to compile them into other Volumes by themselves, in due time to follow the rest. This gave occasion to their being suppressed till then. But they being a faithful Collection of many important matters which went before, accompanied, or immediately related to, that great work, [the Reformation] and well worthy to be known, He was willing and desirous, that they might now be recommended to the world; and that they might be the more correctly set forth by himself, and have his review, before his death, which his great Age suggested could not be far off. . . . He did not intend, when he took this work in hand, to write a compleat Ecclesiastical History under those Three of our Kings, and of all the occurrences and events of Religion and the Church in their reigns. For that had been done, or endeavoured, by some Historiographers already. His were only Ecclesiastical Memorials; and intended but to supply what had been omitted by them, or to rectify some Mistakes, or Misrepresentations of Persons and Things: Or to fill up and enlarge matters, more briefly or imperfectly related in our published histories. His design was only to communicate to the world what he had of this sort of History, out of his store, and to digest these notices in their proper places chronologically from year to year, as they occurred. And chiefly to bring to light such further particulars, as he had found in State-papers, and Letters, and Records, and many original MSS of the best sort, after long and diligent converse with them.' They were compiled from Transcripts by him taken, out of the Cotton, Bennet-college, and Bishop More's Libraries; out of the Paper-house at Westminster; out of the Earl of Oxford's Library, and that of the Inner-Temple; the Herald's Office; numerous MSS of Ecclesiastical Affairs, some time belonging to the famous Martyrologist, John Fox; divers notable State-letters; or of more private correspondence between persons of the highest rank and quality in Church and Court, preserved in the house of Sir William Hickes, Bart. . . . Our Author gives the following Account of his Exactness and Industry (2). . . 'My Diligence will in part appear, in that I have

made no use of Transcribers and Amanuenses: or, that I saw not the Originals myself, but left it to the Care of others to take-out thence: who oftentimes make Mistakes, Omissions, and false Writing of Letters and Words, to the spoiling and corrupting of the true Sense, sometimes by Negligence or too much Haste, and sometimes for want of skill, and not knowing well the Manner of old Writing in the Shape of the Letters, or the Abbreviations commonly used in times past. For the prevention of which Inconveniences, I writ all from the MSS with mine own pen, and with as much care as I could; that whatsoever I transcribed might be exactly taken, both as to the Letter and Spelling.' He also declares, that he had avoided partiality and prejudice, and set down things as he found them.

[C] *The Life of Archbishop Cranmer.*] This was published at London, in 1694. fol. with this title, 'Memorials of the most Renowned Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, some time Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Wherein the History of the Church, and the Reformation of it, during the Primacy of the said Archbishop, are greatly illustrated; and many singular Matters relating thereunto, now first published. In three Books. Collected chiefly from Records, Registers, authentick Letters, and other Original Manuscripts.' At the end, is an Appendix of original Papers; and Observations of Mr Henry Wharton on the Memorials.

[D] *The Life of Archbishop Parker.*] This came out in 1711. fol. and was intituled, 'The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, the first Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Under whose primacy and influence the Reformation of Religion was happily effected; and the Church of England restored, and established upon the Principles whereon it stands to this day. Wherein are related the said Archbishop's Actions in ecclesiastical Commissions and Synods: His Visitations of the Dioceses, Colleges, and Hospitals within his Province, with his Injunctions and Regulations: Characters and Accounts of Bishops by him consecrated: His Endeavours for Uniformity: His diligence in retrieving and publishing many Saxon, and other ancient historical MSS of this Nation: His procuring a more correct Translation of the holy Bible: His Government of his own Diocess of Canterbury: His sober thoughts, counsels and cares for Religion and this Church: And many particulars of the Ecclesiastical History of those Times, hitherto unknown, or very obscure, are discovered and brought to light. Compiled faithfully from Records, Registers, State-papers, Orders of Council, Authentic Letters, and sundry other original MSS. In four Books. To which is added, An Appendix, containing various Transcripts of Records, Letters, Instruments, Ordinances, Commissions, Discourses, Relations, Intelligences, and other secret Papers, above an hundred in number; for the asserting or illustrating the foregoing History. Among which will be found the Latin Life of this Archbishop, entitled *Matthæus*, so much and so long wanted in the Editions of the British Antiquities.'

[E] *Archbishop Grindal.*] The title of this Archbishop's Life, is, 'The History of the Life and Acts of the most Reverend Father in God Edmund Grindal, the first Bishop of London, and the second Archbishop of York and Canterbury successively, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Wherein is shewed, that most Reverend Prelate's pious and useful Labours, both in the Reformation and Government of the Church of England, while he presided over it, and how well he merited of it &c. To which is added an Appendix of original MSS.' Lond. 1710. fol.

[F] *The Life of Archbishop Whitgift.*] This was published in 1718. fol. and bears this title. 'The Life and Acts of the most Reverend Father in God, John Whitgift D. D. the third and last Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; who, under her Majesty, in that Station, governed the Church of England for the space of twenty years. Wherein is interwoven much of the History of the Affairs of this Church; viz. Nominations and Consecrations of Bishops; Bills and Petitions in Parliament about Religion, and for Reformation of corruptions and abuses in the Church; Transactions in Convoca-

as naturally following one another. But, to return to some other works of our Author, which are partly anterior in point of time to the two last mentioned Primates: His ‘Annals of the Reformation of the Church of England,’ are in four Volumes folio: The first of which was published in 1709, and reprinted in 1725, with large Additions both in the History and Appendix [G]. The second came out in 1725 [H], the third in 1728 [I], and the fourth in 1731 [K]. Another very large and laborious work of our most industrious Author, was a new edition of J. Stow’s Survey of London, in two Volumes in folio [L]. The three Volumes in octavo published by him, as abovementioned, were, The Lives of Sir John Cheke [M], Sir Thomas Smith [N], and Dr John Ælmer, Bishop of London [O]. He also published, A Sermon preached at the Assizes at Hertford, July 8,

1689,

‘Convocations, and ecclesiastical Commissions; the Diligence of Popish Priests and Jesuits; Methods for the restraint of them; the endeavours of those they called *Puritans*, to set up a new Church-discipline; and the prosecution of some of them; Notices of the first Separatists; Visitations of Dioceses, and the state of them; Matters of the civil and ecclesiastical Courts; Occurrences in the Universities, and observations upon divers Heads and Members thereof; Accounts of Prelates, and other learned Clergymen and Writers in those times; Books and Writings of note; some further discovery and account (besides what hath been printed) of that memorable Conference at Hampton-Court before King James the First, with the issue thereof, and the effects it produced. The whole digested, compiled, and attested from Records, Registers, original Letters, and other authentick MSS, taken from the choicest Libraries and Collections of the kingdom. In four Books. Together with a large Appendix of the said Papers, to the number of cxxix.’

[G] *His Annals of the Reformation of the Church of England are in four Volumes folio: The first of which was published in 1709, and reprinted in 1725.* The title will inform the Reader of the contents of this Volume; being as follows. ‘Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and other various Occurrences in the Church of England; during the first twelve years of Queen Elizabeth’s happy reign. Wherein account is given of the restoring of Religion from its Corruptions introduced under Queen Mary; of filling the Sees with Protestant Bishops; of the famous Synod assembled in the year MDLXII; of the workings and endeavours of the Papists; and of the first appearances of the Dissension from the Church established. Compiled faithfully out of Papers of State, authentick Records, publick Registers, private Letters, and other original Manuscripts. Together with an Appendix or Repository, containing the most important of them.’

[H] *The Second came out in 1725.* This Volume commences at the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth’s reign: And endeth at the conclusion of the year of our Lord MDLXXX. Besides an account of the Reformation, it comprehends other matters, relating to the state of Learning, and civil Affairs of remark, happening in this kingdom within that period: Tending to the rectifying Mistakes, and supplying Defects in our History of those times. All taken from original Letters and Papers of State &c. With an Appendix of original Papers &c.’

[I] *The third in 1728.* It reaches from the year 1581 to 1588, and contains Accounts of the Government and Inspection of the Bishops in their respective Diocesses; as matters requiring their care, fell out each year: Ecclesiastical Commissions: The busy actions of Papists and Puritans: The Difficulties and Dangers the State as well as the Church met with from time to time: occasioned chiefly from the endeavours to overthrow both, by the power and practices of such as favoured *Mary Queen of Scots*: Of whom many special transactions; and chiefly of her sentence and death; and the consequences thereof, are shewn: And the *Spanish Invasion* in 1588. Both serving to enlighten those two great Crises of Queen Elizabeth’s reign. Together with divers other political Affairs of note interspersed. The History is also improved by notices given concerning the state and events of the Church of *Ireland*; Occurrences and Differences that fell out in our Universities; Remarks of many persons of rank and quality in Church and State: Books of learning and note, Libels, Pamphlets &c. published yearly. Collected diligently and faithfully from Records, Papers of State, Original Letters of Privy Counsellors, Ambassadors, Bishops, learned men in the Universities, as elsewhere:

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‘And from other choice MSS. reserved in our publick Libraries, or more private Archives. Together with an Appendix: Containing many choice Records, and Papers of value; transcribed from originals: Referred to in the work; in order to the vindication, proof, and illustration of the History.’

[K] *And the fourth in 1731.* At the conclusion of the Preface to his Third Volume, he had said, that he must call that Volume his last (though indeed it reached not by divers years to the end of Queen Elizabeth’s reign) because it was the last Conclusion of his Labour therein; his great Age and frequent Infirmities disabling him from going further in that work. . . . However, he lived to publish the Fourth Volume, in 1731; but being then arrived to the Eighty-eighth year of his age, his Weakness and Infirmities hindered him from digesting it even in the same manner as the former Volumes. So that it is only a Collection of Original Papers.

[L] *A new Edition of J. Stow’s Survey of London, in two Volumes in folio.* It was published in 1720, and what improvements our Author made in it, we may learn from the Title, which is as follows. ‘A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster: Containing the Original, Antiquity, Increase, modern Estate and Government of those Cities. Written at first in the year MDXCVIII. By *John Stow*, citizen and native of London. Since reprinted and augmented by the Author; and afterwards by A. M. H. D. and others. Now lastly, corrected, improved, and very much enlarged: And the Survey and History brought down from the year 1633, (being near Four-score years since it was last printed) to the present time; by *John Strype*, M. A. a native also of the said City. Illustrated with exact Maps of the City and Suburbs, and of all the Wards; and likewise of the Out-parishes of London and Westminster: Together with many other fair Draughts of the more eminent and publick Edifices and Monuments. In Six Books. To which is prefixed, the Life of the Author, writ by the Editor. At the end is added, An Appendix of certain Tracts, Discourses and Remarks concerning the State of the City of London. Together with a Perambulation, or Circuit-walk four or five miles round about London, to the Parish Churches: Describing the Monuments of the Dead there interred: With other Antiquities observable in those places. And concluding with a Second Appendix, as a supply and review.’

[M] *The Life of Sir John Cheke.* It has this title, ‘The Life of the learned Sir John Cheke, Knight, first Instructor, afterwards Secretary of State to King Edward VI, one of the great Restorers of good Learning and true Religion in this Kingdom. A Work wherein many remarkable points of History, relating to the State of Learning and Religion in the times of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and *Q. Mary I*, are brought to light. To which is added, A Treatise of Superstition writ by the said learned Knight, and now first published.’ Lond. 1705. 8vo.

[N] *Sir Thomas Smith.* And this has the following title. ‘The Life of the learned Sir Thomas Smith Knight, Doctor of the Civil Law; Principal Secretary of State to King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth. Wherein are discovered many singular Matters relating to the State of Learning, the Reformation of Religion, and the Transactions of the Kingdom, during his time. In all which he had a great and happy Influence. With an Appendix, wherein are contained some Works of his, never before published.’ Lond. 1698. 8vo.

[O] *And Dr John Ælmer, bishop of London.* This he intitled, ‘Historical Collections, relating to the Life and Acts of Bishop Aylmer.’ Lond. 1701. 8vo. It contains a particular account, of the Puritans book,

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Of

(g) Wood Fasti, ut supra, col. 187. He also published his Genuine Remains, and Opera posthuma.

1689, on 1 Sam. xii. 7. Lond, 1689. 4to. and two other Sermons [P]: and collected together the Second Volume of Dr Lightfoot's Works, translating several pieces therein from the original Latin, and making large Additions to the Doctor's Life, written by the publisher of the first Volume, Dr George Bright (g). Besides his preferments already mentioned, he had the Sine-Cure of Terring in Suffex, given him by Archbishop Tennison; and was Lecturer of Hackney till about the year 1724, when he resigned that Lecture. In the latter and infirm part of his life, he lived with Mr Harris an Apothecary at Hackney, who had married his grand-daughter; where he died December 13, 1737, at the uncommon age of ninety-four. So that his intense application to his studies did not shorten his days! His Faithfulness was equal to his industry [Q], and the world is greatly indebted to him for preserving several valuable Materials, which would otherwise have been lost. He kept a literary correspondence with the most learned and eminent persons in his time; particularly with Archbishops Tennison, and Wake; the Bishops Atterbury, Burnet, Nicolson &c. as appeared by an exact Diary he had made of his own life, and which was in the hands of Mr Harris. But that Gentleman being dead, and the family dispersed, This, with many other curious Papers, is either lost or mislaid.

(3) See Preface to his Life of Archbp Parker.

Of Discipline; of Thomas Cartwright, the first broacher and head of Puritanism; of Campion the Jesuit, and other civil and ecclesiastical Affairs, which were more slightly treated of in other works of our Author (3), and by the rest of our Historians.

[P] And two other Sermons.] The one intituled, 'Lessons proper for fallible men, in a Sermon preached at the Lecture of St Augustin's Hackney, Sept. 21, 1707, on Prov. xiv. 12.' Published at request, Lond. 1708, 8vo.—The other, 'Short Rules for Christian Practice, delivered at Hackney-Church on Sunday May 31, 1724, on Phil. iv. 8. The Farewell Sermon of the Lecturer there.' Lond. 1724, 8vo. Published at the desire of the Parishioners.

[Q] His Faithfulness was equal to his Industry.] We may judge of his Faithfulness, by the following Account he gives (in the Preface to Vol. I. of his Annals) of the Method he had pursued in that work.—'I have chosen, says he, commonly to set down Things in the very words of the Records and Originals, and of the Authors themselves, rather than in my own, without framing and dressing them into more modern language. Whereby the Sense is sure to remain entire as the Writers meant it. Whereas, by affecting too curiously to change and model Words and Sentences, the Sense itself, I have observed, often to be marred and disguised.' And he further declares, That 'in this Work he had pursued Truth with all Faithfulness and Sincerity (4).—Thus also, in the Preface to Vol. II. he says, . . . 'In this whole Undertaking I have used all Faithfulness and Impartiality: and set down things according as I found them in the Originals, whether Letters, Records, Registers, Papers of

(4) Preface to Vol. 1. p. 2 and 3.

(a) Which bears for Arms; Or, on a Cheveron between three annulets, Gules, as many crescents, Or. Camden's funeral certificates in the Heralds office.

(b) By the advice and direction of Dr Cox, Preceptor to King Edward VI, and not long before Chief School-master of that school.

(1) In a Commemoration sermon preached that year, entitled The English Centurion, &c. a copy of which, and perhaps the only one remaining, is in the Bodleian Library.

(2) Then Preacher at Charter-house.

SUTTON [THOMAS], Esq; Founder of Charter-house Hospital near London, was descended of an ancient and genteel family (a) of his name in Lincolnshire; in which County he was born at a place called Knaith, in the year 1532. He received the first part of his education at Eton School (b), whence he was probably sent to Cambridge, and matriculated as a member of St John's College on the 27th of November 1551 [A]. However, without taking any degree (c), he removed thence to Lincoln's-Inn with a view, as it should seem, of studying the law (d). But finding a sedentary way of life not agreeable to his active genius, he resolved to form the compleat gentleman, by travelling abroad. In the execution of this design, he spent the whole time of Queen Mary's reign in foreign parts, and making the tour of Holland, France, Spain, and Italy, he became a master of the languages of those several countries. Returning home in 1562, he entered into the possession of a handsome fortune, which had been left to him by his Father [B], who died during his absence.

[A] He was matriculated of St John's college, Cambridge.] That he was some time at one of the Universities appears from the testimony of Percival Burrel, Preacher at Charter-house in 1629 (1). Mr Wood's silence upon the Article is a strong presumptive proof Mr Sutton was not of Oxford; and that worthy Antiquarian, the late Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's college in Cambridge, being applied to by Dr Philip Bearcroft (2), returned the following answer, 'I have turned our matriculation book very carefully from the year 1544, where it first begins, to the year 1551, and cannot meet with your Founder, Thomas Sutton, either at Magdalene or Jesus college, or indeed at any college except St John's, where I find Thomas Sutton matriculated, Nov. 27, 1551, thus; Thomas Sutton coll. Job. Quadrantarius (census) Nov. 27, 1551. The time agrees pretty nearly with his age, for he might have been admitted a year or two-sooner;

State, or other MSS, being the imports of them, and often the same words. So that the Reader may the readier depend upon the Truth of what I offer (5).—And to the same purpose in the Preface to Vol. III. . . . 'What I have entred in my Copies, and prepared Writings for the press, were always reviewed by me, and carefully compared with the Records and Originals by me transcribed. And moreover I have ever been very careful and punctual in all my Collections thence. Whereof I have many Volumes (now bound up) taken by my own pen, and with mine own eyes, and made use of no other Transcribers or Amanuenses. Unless what some learned Friends abroad, and in the Universities, had communicated to me.' . . . He adds, 'I have for many long years together, conversed with Historical MSS (falling within the *Sæculum Reformatum*) whether Records, Registers, Instruments, Letters of Statesmen, as well as other private Letters of the Court and Nobility, together with very many antient printed Books of those Times (having met with some special Advantages that way) more than many men alive have done. And when afterwards I was proposed, for the publick Good, to digest and publish some of these Pains of mine, I ever made it my Resolution to be just, faithful and impartial in what I should deliver, and recommend unto the World from thence.'—See also the Prefaces to his Lives of the four first Protestant Archbishops.—Upon the whole, as Dr Birch rightly observes (6), 'His Fidelity and Industry will always give a value to his numerous Writings, however destitute of the graces, and even uniformity of style, and the art of connecting facts.'

(5) Preface to Vol. II, p. 3.

(6) Life of Abp Tillotson p. 329.

(c) He probably quitted the University on the accession of Q. Mary in 1553.

(d) Stow's Survey by How, p. 10.

(3) Historical Account of Thomas Sutton, Esq; and of the foundation Charter-house in the preface p. 11, 12, Edit. 1737.

(4) And therefore probably of the profession of the common law.

they are not always matriculated the first year. But Quadrantarius is a greater objection, which suits not well with his birth and quality; and yet we have had Gentlemen admitted Sizar.' After these objections, Mr Baker proceeds to shew, that, if he were not of this college, he was not of that University, being neither of Magdalene nor Jesus, notwithstanding he was a benefactor to both. This being confirmed by express informations from those colleges, induced Dr Bearcroft (3) to assign him to St John's college, wherein we have followed him.

[B] He became possessed of a handsome fortune left him by his Father.] His Father's name was Richard; he died at his house in the parish of St Swithin in Lincoln, having been steward of the courts to that city (4). Though his death happened July 27, 1558, yet his will, wherein he left his wife and son joint executors, was not proved till the 22d of February, 1562. The will

absence. He was now about thirty years of age, and being in all respects an accomplished gentleman, he was first retained by the Duke of Norfolk [C], and after some time became Secretary to the Earl of Warwick [D], and occasionally also to his brother the Earl of Leicester. In 1569, the former of these Noblemen being Master-General of the Ordnance, appointed his Secretary Master of the Ordnance at Berwick [E], in which post he distinguished himself greatly upon the breaking out of the Rebellion in the North by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, so that by the recommendation of his two just-mentioned noble Patrons, he obtained a Patent the same year for the office of *Master-General of the Ordnance in the North* for life; and in 1573 he commanded one of the five Batteries, which obliged the strong castle of Edinburgh to surrender to the English [F]. While he was thus acquiring that glory which is the peculiar purchase of military exploits, he grew not less distinguished by an extraordinary access of wealth: soon after his arrival in the North, he had purchased of the Bishop of Durham the manors of Gateshead and Wickham, famous for coal-mines in that bishopric; and in 1570 obtaining a lease from the Crown for the term of seventy-nine years, these prospered so fast, that on his coming up to London in 1580, he brought with him the quantity of two horse-loads of money, and was reputed to be worth fifty-thousand pounds (e). About the middle of the year 1582 he married Elizabeth daughter of John Gardiner Esq; of Grove-place in the parish of Chalfont-St Gyles in Buckinghamshire, and widow of John Dudley of Stoke-Newington in Middlesex Esq; a near relation of the Earl of Warwick; this Lady brought him a very considerable estate, and among the rest a moiety of the manor of Stoke-Newington (f), which being near London, he made that house his country seat, and purchasing in the city a large house near Broken Wharf, in the parish of St Mary Somerset [G], he took up the business of a merchant, which his ready cash enabled him to follow with such great credit, and so much to his advantage, that he soon became one of the chief merchants of London, and is said to have had no less than thirty agents abroad, and his riches flowing in with every tide (g). Mr Sutton was likewise one of the chief victuallers of the Navy (h), and seems to have been master of the Barque called *Sutton*, of seventy tons and thirty men, in the list of volunteers attending the English fleet against the Spanish Armada (i) in 1588 [H]. He is likewise said

will was nuncupative, and thus reduced for the probate to writing: 'Be it known to all men by these presents, that Richard Sutton, of the parish of St Swithin within the city of Lincoln, gentleman, the 27th day of July in the year of our Lord God 1558, being of perfect remembrance, made his last will and testament nuncupative, in manner and form following: First he bequeathed his soul to Almighty God his Maker and Redeemer, and willed his body to be buried in the parish-church of St Swithin aforesaid. Item, he bequeathed to Thomas Sutton, his son, his lease of Cockrington, and all the years which were then to come and undetermined in the same. Item, the residue of his goods, not bequeathed, he gave to Elizabeth Sutton, his wife, and Thomas Sutton, his said son, whom he made his executors, these being witnesses, John Hall, William Wilson, Joan Cook, and Joan Ryall, with others. *Probatum fuit apud Lincoln* (5). By the probate it appears, that the execution was granted to Mr Sutton alone, the whole being trusted to his management by his good mother. She was a daughter of the honourable family of the Stapletons in Yorkshire, whose lineal Ancestor was Sir *Bryan Stapleton of Carleton*, Knight of the Garter in the time of King Richard II. Also Sir Miles Stapleton, created at the foundation of that order, was of this family (6). The lease of Cockrington, which was held of the bishopric of Lincoln, was of very considerable value, and besides this, Mr Sutton, we see, had a moiety of the personal estate.

[C] *Retained in the service of the Duke of Norfolk.* Mr Sutton makes a grateful acknowledgment of the favours he received from this Patron in his last will, wherein he leaves him a legacy of 400l. Besides which, he bequeathed his manors of Littlebury and Hadstock in Essex to his Grace's son, the Earl of Suffolk, on the payment of 10000l. (7). These manors lie contiguous to that of the Lord Audley, whose daughter and heir the Earl of Suffolk married, and built that remarkably magnificent house, called Audley Inn (8).

[D] *He was secretary to the Earl of Warwick.* Among the papers in the Charter-house evidence-house, there appears a grant, on the 12th of November, 1569, of an annuity of 3l. 6s. 8d. out of the manor of Walkington in Yorkshire, from Ambrose Earl of Warwick, and dame Anne, his wife, to their well-beloved servant, Thomas Sutton, for life; and they afterwards leased the whole manor to him for twenty-one years, at the rent of 26l. per annum.

[E] *Master of the ordnance at Berwick.* This was a post of particularly great trust at this time, Berwick being a frontier-garrison to Scotland, then in confusion

through intestine broils, on account of Mary Queen of Scots and the Romish religion (9). How well Mr Sutton filled his post Mr Camden will inform us; whose account of Berwick from his own survey, during Mr Sutton's master-generalship of the ordnance in the North, is this; 'The Kings of England, says he, have several times fortified it with new works; but especially Queen Elizabeth, who lately, to the terror of the enemy, and the security of the burghers, hath drawn it into a less compass than before, and surrounded it with a firm wall of Asler work; which is again strengthened with a deep ditch, bastions, and counterescarp; so that its fortifications are so strong and regular, that no besiegers can hope to carry it hereafter, not to mention the valour of the inhabitants, and the surprising plenty of all warlike stores (10).' Wherever Mr Sutton's eye and purse were concerned, there was plenty; and they were of service to his Sovereign, in furnishing the Northern garrisons; and to himself, in the conclusion, by an ample recompence from the Crown (11).

[F] *Edinburgh castle surrenders to the English.* It is probable, that, as Master-General of the Ordnance, he attended the Earl of Suffex, President of the North, into Scotland, with an army in 1570, though he is not expressly named in Camden's Annals for that year. But in the year 1573 he is named (12) as one of the chief of those fifteen hundred men, who marched into Scotland to the assistance of the Regent, the Earl of Morton, by order of Queen Elizabeth, and laid siege to Edinburgh castle.

[G] *His house near Broken Wharf.* It is thus described by Mr Stow (13): 'By this Broken Wharf remaineth one large building of stone, with arched gates, which messuage I find in the forty-third Year of Henry III. pertaining to Hugh Bygot, and in the eleventh of Edward II. to Thomas de Brotherton, the King's brother, Earl of Norfolk, &c.'

[H] *He attended the English fleet against the Spanish Armada.* It is very probable that he was the principal instrument in the defeat of that Armada. For Sir Francis Walsingham having, by the help of a Popish Priest, his spy, procured a copy of the King of Spain's letter, giving an account of his mighty preparations to the Pope; the Invasion was hindered for a whole year by our merchants, who, at the instance of Sir Francis, gathered up the chief bills of the Bank of Genoa, and drawing their money out of it just as King Philip had ordered bills upon that bank to set his fleet out to sea; those bills were through necessity protested, so that patience became the only remedy; his Majesty was obliged to wait the arrival of his Plate-Fleet from the Indies for the necessary supplies; and

England

(e) The deposition in Chancery, after his decease, of his servant John Thompson. *Causa Franciscæ Popham et Execut. Thomæ Sutton.*

(f) Mr Dudley had left her Executrix and co-partner in his fortunes with their sole child, a daughter. Charter-house, evidence-house.

(g) Dom. Carthuf. p. 50. by Sam. Herne. edit. 1677. Svo.

(h) This was by private contract, no public office nor commissioner for this purpose being at that time established.

(i) Cotton Library, Julius, F.VI. 107.

(9) Gen. Hist. of England.

(10) Camden's Britannia, in Northumberland.

(11) Bearcroft's Hist. Account, &c. p. 3.

(12) Camden and Stow's Annals for 1573, and Churchyard's Poems.

(13) In his Survey of London, edit. by Strype, Vol. 1. p. 3. and 17.

(5) Register of the bishopric of Lincoln.

(6) Mr Sutton's legacy, in his will, of a hundred marks to his cousin William, son of Sir Richard Stapleton, and letters of the widow of this Sir Richard, dated from Carleton. Charter-house evidence-house.

(7) Historical Account, p. 106.

(8) Gen. Hist. of England.

(*) Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, Mr Sutton's first master.

(1) Mr Herne in *Domus Carthusiana*, p. 52. makes Mr Sutton to have married the Lady Popham, (and so to have enjoyed the wealth of the great rich Popham,) which mistake was apparently occasioned by this marriage of his wife's daughter to Lord Chief Justice Popham's son.

(14) Welwood's *Memoirs*, p. 9, 10. and Burnet's *Hist.* of his own times, Vol. I. p. 313.

(15) In this *Work*, under Sir Tho. Gresham's article, Vol. IV. p. 2385, in remark [G].

(16) *Historical Account*, p. 12.

(17) *Stow's Survey*, Vol. I. B. p. 217.

(18) *Historical Account*, &c. p. 14, 15.

(19) *Camden's Britannia*, in *Cambridgeshire*.

said to have been a Commissioner for Prizes under Lord Charles Howard (*k*), High Admiral of England, and going to sea with Letters of Marque, he took a Spanish ship worth twenty thousand pounds. In 1590 having married his wife's daughter, by Mr Dudley, to Francis Popham Esq; son and heir to the Lord Chief Justice of that name (*l*), being himself without issue, and past all hopes of children by Mrs Sutton, he contracted his great dealings into so narrow a compass as permitted him to quit London [*I*], and to reside at one or other of his country seats, for he had purchased several good estates. On the 27th of May, 1594, he surrendered his Patent of *Master of the Ordnance in the North* (*m*), and on the 20th of June following he conveyed in trust all his estates in Essex to found an Hospital at *Hallingbury-Bouchers* in that county, but with a power of revocation during his life. On the 17th of December the same year he also made his Will [*K*], wherein, among other dispositions, he bequeathed to Queen Elizabeth two thousand pounds, 'in recompence of his oversights, careless dealings, and forgetfulness in her Majesty's service;' and there is a remarkable instance of his charity to his poor neighbours the following year [*L*]. On the 17th of June, 1602, he buried his Lady, who died at Balsam in Cambridgeshire [*M*]. Hitherto he had lived in a munificent open hospitality [*N*], but this loss depriving him of

England had thence time to prepare for the reception of the Invincible Armada (*14*). Mr Sutton was at this time the chief and richest merchant in London, and, considering his obligations to the Crown, together with his known loyalty, no doubt can be made but he was also the chief of those merchants who drained the bank of Genoa, according to a strong tradition which prevails at Charter-house. The truth of this story has indeed been called in question (*15*), as being inconsistent with the account that the storeships provided for this expedition by the Spaniards were burnt on their coasts by a fleet sent for that purpose under the command of Sir Francis Drake. But this is far from being irreconcilable to the former account; and it is hoped the Reader will excuse a censure, which he must needs see has been too hastily passed, though certainly not with any thought of heightening the just renown of the Founder of the Royal Exchange, by an insinuation that he had not a rival in the Founder of the Charter-house, in making his wealth serviceable to the Crown and Kingdom by draining the foreign banks.

[*I* *He quitted London*] Though the lease of his large house at Broken Wharf did not expire till 1599 (*16*), yet it is certain he had quitted it in 1594. For Stow thus continues the description of it; 'Within the gate of this house (now belonging to the city of London) lately, to wit in the years 1594 and 1595, is builded one large house, of great height, called an engine, made by Bevis Bullmar, gentleman, for the conveying and forcing of Thames-water, to serve in the middle and west parts of the city (*17*).'

[*K* *He made his will.*] In this will he gave 3000 l. to build his intended hospital and free-school, as also twenty scholarships to *Peter-house*, and twenty scholarships to *Jesus-college* in Cambridge, of 50 s. per annum each, and ten fellowships to each of them, of 5 l. per annum each, and as to the rest, much the same legacies as in his last will. The reason of Mr Sutton's favour to Peter-house in this will was his friendship with Dr Perne, Master of that college, who was also Rector of *Balsam*, the manor of which Mr Sutton at that time held by a lease from his friend, Bishop Cox. And though this benefaction never took place, yet from these words of Dr Perne's Will, dated Feb. 25, 1588, 'Item, I give 20 l. towards building the East end of Peter-house, with a fair gate in the middle, like unto St John's gate-house, with the help of my Lord of Canterbury (Dr Whitgift), Mr Smith, Mr Sutton of Asheton, Sir Walter Dixie, and Sir Thomas Ramfaye.' Mr Sutton, I say, by this passage, appears to have been a benefactor to Peterhouse, since we find him in deeds about this time styling himself of Asheton, as he did afterwards of Balsam, and lastly of Castle-camps, after the purchase of that noble manor (*18*), which was the ancient seat of the Veres, Earls of Oxford, held by Hugh Vere (says the old Inquisition record) that he might be Chamberlain to the King. However it is most certain, that Henry I. granted this office to Aubrey de Vere in these words, 'Chief Chamberlain of England in fee, and hereditary, with all the powers, privileges, and honours belonging thereto, with as much freedom and worship as Robert Mallet had it (*19*).'

[*L* *A remarkable instance of his charity.*] This year, 1595, our Historians observe, that grain was sold at such an excessively dear rate, as occasioned several commotions among the people. In this exigency, Mr Sutton took order to have such of his poor neighbours as were industrious supplied with corn for their families,

very much under the market price. As a proof of this, his historian has given us the following note of his own hand-writing to his steward.

Corn to be sold to the labouring poor of Balsam, now barley is at 2 s. 8 d. per bushel, for thirty weeks.

John Symonds, by the Week, half a bushel, 6 d.

And thus did he proceed through all his poor neighbours, to the number of forty-nine, allotting to each their portion according to their family wants (*20*).

[*M* *He lost his lady.*] In a letter to Mr Sutton from Balsam, May 30, this year, she complained of a violent cold, and that she was never worse in her life (*21*). Her bowels were buried at Balsam, and the corpse, embalmed, brought to their house at Stoke-Newington, and thence carried in a handsome funeral procession to the parish-church, attended by her relations, and forty poor women, housekeepers in Newington and Hackney, and sixteen servants, all in mourning (*22*). It was deposited with her first husband, Mr Dudley, in a vault near which, against the South wall of the church, she had raised a noble marble monument, with the figure of Mr Dudley in armour, and of herself, and, behind her, of her daughter, all on their knees, with Latin epitaphs, to be seen in Stow (*23*). As there are several evidences in Charter-house of her good-nature, charity, and discretion, so Mr Sutton appears to have had a great value for her. In his first will, executed in her lifetime, he made a very large and ample provision for her, and addresses himself to Queen Elizabeth, 'humbly beseeching her to stand a good and gracious Lady to his poor wife.' She had the honour, in the time of Mr Dudley, to be well known to, and even to have received visits from the Queen: in one of which her Majesty, taking a jewel of great value from her hair, made a present of it to their daughter, Miss Anne Dudley (*24*). Mr Sutton also, in his last will, bequeathed to this daughter's husband, Sir Francis Popham, Knt. the sum of two thousand marks. As also to Frances, Mary, Elizabeth, Jane, and Anne, daughters of the Lady Anne Popham, 100 l. a-piece, to be paid at the day of their marriage, or when they should accomplish the age of eighteen years. He also left to the wife and children of John Gardiner, his late wife's nephew, 100 marks, to be equally divided amongst them.

[*N*] Mr Burrel observes, that Mr Sutton's house was an open hospital while his wife lived; and, as an instance of it, Dr Bearcroft has given us a transcript of the following letter from her to Mr Sutton.

' Good Mr Sutton,
' I send you here inclosed a letter from *John Hutton*, which came by the Carrier; and all is well at Balsam,
' I thank God: and here is another letter, which I opened before I looked on the superscription, which came by another; it toucheth a widow, wherefore I need not to write to you in her behalf, for I know you have great care of the poor for God's cause, though she were a meer stranger. I send here a Note for Lenten stores; if you intend to stay here this Lent, you must increase it for *Haberdeen* and *Lynge*; and so praying God blefs us both, I commit you to his keeping.

' Your Loving

' Obedient Wife,

' Elizabeth Sutton.'

Newington,
Jan. 27,
1600.

*Twenty great Eeles.
Four Salmons, good and great.*

A barrel

(m) The resignation was made in the Court of Chancery. *Sexta pars Patentium*, &c. in the Appendix to the *Hist. Account*, &c. p. 214.

(20) *Historical Account*, p. 16.

(21) *Charter-house evidence-house*.

(22) *Historical Account*, p. 17.

(23) *Stow's Survey*, by Strype, Vol. II. *Circuit walk*, p. 131.

(24) Mr Dudley was apparently a relation to the Earl of Leicester, for whom Queen Elizabeth is said to have had a particular affection. *Gen. Hist. of England*.

(a) Mr Burrel calls it the loss of his most valuable Jewel in the world. Commemoration Sermon, P. 23.

that which gave every thing else its chief relish (*n*), he retired more from the world, and lessening his family by the dismissal of several of his servants (*o*), he lived in a private frugal manner, being resolved to dispose of his great estate in some important Charity [*O*]. But before he had fixed upon any particular plan for carrying that design into execution, he was greatly alarmed in the year 1608 with the news of a design to raise him to the Peerage, in the view of laying him thereby under an obligation to make King Charles I, then Duke of York, his Heir. Upon the first notice that came to his ears of this project, he immediately put a stop to it [*P*]; and having received a letter from Mr Joseph Hall (afterwards Bishop of Norwich) exciting him to come to some determination in his intended Charity [*Q*],

(o) No less than sixteen attended the Funeral of his Wife in mourning. Hist. Account, p. 154.

*A barrel of Lowborne Herrings, of the bigger boyle.
Forty Stockfish, good, and ready beaten.
A cade of Sprats and a cade of red Herrings, them that
be good.*

Six pounds of Figs, and three pounds of Jordan almonds (25).

[*O*] He resolved upon some important charity.] To this purpose it is attested by Dr Fuller, as what he could confidently affirm from the mouth of one that heard it of a credible witness, who heard it himself, and told it the Doctor; 'That Mr Sutton used often to repair into a private garden, where he poured forth his prayers to God, and was frequently overheard to use this expression; *Lord, thou hast given me a large and liberal estate, give me also a heart to make use thereof* (26).'

We have already mentioned his resolution to be bountiful before the death of his wife: and from the year 1594 to the act of parliament for an hospital in 1610, there was a deed of gift always subsisting for one, but with a power of revocation: and his constant reply to them that asked him, how he would dispose of his great estate, was, that his *bread must be cast upon the waters* (27), but he could not easily determine when or how; he had various projects of his own and of his friends to ruminate on (28).

[*P*] He immediately put a stop to it.] The project was laid before King James by Sir John Harrison, who had proposed it to Mr Sutton; but as soon as he heard what was doing at court, he dispatched the following letter to the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, both feoffees for his intended hospital.

' May it please your Lordships,

' I understand that his Majesty is possessed by Sir John Harrington, or by some other by his means, that I intend to make his Highness's son, the Duke of Yorke, my heir; whereupon, as it is reported, his Highness proposeth to bestow the honour of a Baron on me; whereof as I am most unworthy, so I vow to God and your Lordships, I never harboured the least thought or proud desire of any such matter. My mynde, in my younger times, hath been ever free from ambition; and, now I am going to my Grave, to gape for such a thing were meer dotage in me, so unworthie also, as I confesse unto your Lordships. That this Knight hath been often tampering with me to that purpose, to entertayne honour, and to make the noble Duke my heire, is true; to whom I made that answer, as, had he either wit or honestie, (with reverence to your Lordships be it spoken) he never would have engaged himself in this business, so egregiously to delude his Majesty, and wrong me. My humble suite unto your Lordships is, that, considering this occasion hath brought me into question, and in hazard of his Highness's displeasure, having never given Sir John Harrington, or any man lyvinge, either promise or semblance to do any such act, but upon his motions grew into utter dislike with him for such idle speeches, your Lordships will vouchsafe me this favour, to informe his Highness aright, how things have proceeded directly without my privitie; and withall, that my trust is in his gracious disposition, not to conceit the worfe of me for other men's follies; but that I may have free liberty, with his Princely leave, wherein I rest most assured, to dispose of my own, as other his Majesty's loyal subjects. And so, most humbly recommending my duty and service to your Lordships, for the increase of whose honours and happiness I shall ever pray, I rest,

' Your Lordship's
' Poor Beadesman,
' Thomas Sutton.'

Dr Bearcroft has likewise given a transcript of the following letter to Mr Sutton from Sir John Harrington, VOL. VI. No. CCCXXII.

which both fixes the time of the affair, and throws full light into it. It is dated June 13, 1608, and runs thus:

' Sir,

' Your strange message, first by my Man, after by my Son, now seconded with your speech to myself, did greatly trouble me, That I have undone you, overthrow your estate, disturbed your designs; that no man dare buy any land of you, be your Feoffee, nor take any trust from you, so as that which you had ordained to good uses, and to redeem your sins, was now so incombered, as you were skant master of your own; and all by means of a bruit among your friends, raised, as you suppose, by me, that you have made Duke Charles your Heir, and the King your Executor.

' Far be it from me to abuse or misreport either so princelie and pious an intention, as I know his Majestie hath to further all good works, or so godlie a purpose, as you pretend to do some; but God cannot be mocked, though we may dissemble with men.

' The letter is still extant, which was my warrant. I have spoken nothing but within compass of that, and that very sparinglie to your private friends. In which letter, seeing you yourself would needs in your sense read a Caveat, to refuse honour because of age, which, in my construction, was an encouragement to take the honour due to your abilities and years; I have been since, and will be silent about it. For the suite you would make to his Majestie, which I shall not so much as guess at, I will say what I thinke: you will make no suite but such as will find favour and expedition; and, seeing you suppose I wronged you before, I would be glad to make you any amends now, by any endeavour of mine. Onlie my old suite you may not forget, to be a Benefactor to *Bath* (*) Church in your life time; for Almes in one's life time is like a light borne before one, whereas Almes after death is like a candle carried behind one. Do somewhat for this church; you promised to have seen it e're this: Whensoever you will go to bathe, my lodgings shall be at your commandment. The Baths would strengthen your sinews; the Alms would comfort your soule.

' The Tower, the Quayre, and two Isles are already finisht by Mr *Billet*, Executor to the worthie Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*. The walls are up ready for covering.

' The leade is promised by our bountiful Bishop, Dr Montagu. Timber is promised by the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Hartford, the Lord Say, Mr Robert Hopton, and others.

' There lacks but monie for workmanship, which if you would give, you should have many good prayers in the Church now in your life time, when they may indeed do you good, and when the time is to make friends of the mammon of iniquity, as Christ told us, that we may be received into everlasting tabernacles, to which God send us; to whose protection I leave you, &c.

' From Greenwich this
' 15th day of June,
' 1608.'

' John Harrington (29).'

(29) Charter-house evidence-house.

I don't find that Mr Sutton complied with this last request; which indeed could not be expected by Sir John Harrington, who had given him so much offence by his impertinently forward application to the King.

[*Q*] *A Letter from Bishop Hall, &c.*] This letter is penned with such admirable force, and masterly spirit, as will amply reward the Reader's patience for the length of it, as follows:

' Sir,

' I trouble you not with reasons of my writing, or with excuses; if I do ill, no plea can warrant me; if
42 X
' well,

(p) Historical Account &c. p. 34, in the Appendix to which the Act is inserted, p. 215 to 228.

he soon after, on the 10th of March 1609, petitioned the King in Parliament for an Act to empower him to erect an Hospital at the aforementioned *Hallingbury-Bouchers* (p) in *Essex*.

well, I cannot be discouraged with any censures. I crave not your pardon, but your acceptation: it is no presumption to give good counsel, and presents of love fear not to be ill taken of strangers: my pen and your substance are both given us for one end, to do good: these are our talents, how happy are we if we can improve them well! suffer me to do you good with the one, with the other you may do good to many, and most to yourself. You cannot but know, that your full hand, and worthy purposes, have filled the world with much expectation: what speak I of the world, whose honest and reasonable claims yet cannot be contemned with honour, nor disappointed without dishonour! The God of Heaven, who hath lent you this abundance, and given you these gracious thoughts of charity, of piety, looks for the issue of both; and will easily complain of too little, or too late. Your wealth and your will are both good; but the first is only made good by the second; for if your hand were full and your heart empty, we who now applaud you, should justly pity you; you might have riches, not goods, not blessings; your burthen should be greater than your estate, and you should be richer in sorrow, than in metals. For (if we look to no other world) what gain is it to be keeper of the best earth? that which is the common Coffer of all the rich Mines, we do but tread upon, and account it vile, because it doth but hold and hide those treasures; whereas the skilfullest metallist, that findeth and refineth those precious veins for public use, is rewarded: the very basest element yields gold. The savage Indian gets it; the servile Apprentice works it; the very Midianitish Camel may wear it; the miserable Worldling admires it; the covetous Jew swallows it; the unthrifty Russian spends it; what are all these the better for it? Only good use gives praise to earthly possessions: herein therefore you owe more to God, that He hath given you a heart to do good; a will to be as rich in good works as great in riches; to be a friend to this mammon is to be an enemy to God; but to make friends with it is Royal and Christian: His enemies may be wealthy, none but his friends can either be good, or do good: *Do et Accipe*, saith the Wise Man.

The Christian, who must imitate that high pattern of his Creator, knows his best riches to be bounty. God who hath all, gives all; and reserves nothing: and for himself, he well considers, that God hath not made him an Owner, but a Servant; and a Servant of Servants, not of his Goods, but of the Giver: not a Treasurer, but a Steward, whose praise is more to have laid out well, than to have received much. The greatest gain therefore that he affects, is an even reckoning, a clear discharge: which since it is obtained by disposing, not by keeping, he counts reservation loss, and just expence his trade and joy. He knows that *Well done faithful servant* is a thousand times more sweet a note, than *Soul take thine ease*; for that is the voice of the Master recompensing, this of the Servant presuming; and what follows to the one but his Master's joy? and what to the other but the loss of his soul? Blessed be that God who hath given you a heart to forethink this, and in this dry and dead age, a will to honour him with his own, and to credit his Gospel with your beneficence. Lo! we are upbraided with bareness: your name hath been publickly opposed to these challenges, as in whom it shall be seen, that the truth hath friends that can give. I neither distrust nor persuade you, whose resolutions are happily fixed on purposes of good; only give me leave to hasten your pace a little, and to excite your Christian forwardness to begin speedily, what you have long and constantly vowed. You would not but do good, why not now? I speak boldly, the more speed the more comfort; neither are the times in our disposal, nor our selves.

If God had fet us a day, and made our wealth inseparable, there were no danger in delaying; now our uncertainty either must quicken us, or may deceive us. How many have meant well, and done nothing, and lost the Crown with lingering? whose destinies have prevented their desires, and have made their good motions the Wards of their Executors, not without miserable success: to whom that they would have done good is not so great a praise, as it is

dishonour, that they might have done it: their wrecks are our warnings; we are equally mortal, equally fickle. Why have you this respite of living, but to prevent the imperious necessity of death? It is a woful and remediless complaint, the end of our days hath overrun the beginning of our good works. Early beneficence hath no danger; many joys: for the conscience of good done, the prayers and blessings of the relieved, and the gratulations of saints, are so many perpetual Comforters, which can make our life pleasant, and our death happy; our evil days good, or good better: all these are but loss with delay; few and cold are the prayers for him that may give, and in lieu our good purposes forefolded, are become our Tormentors. Upon our death-bed, little difference is betwixt good deferred, and evil done: good was meant, who hindered it? will our conscience say; there was time enough, means enough, need enough, what hindered? Did fear of envy, distrust of want? alas! what bugs are these to frighten men from heaven; as if the envy of keeping were less than bestowing; as if God were not as good a Debtor, as a Giver. *He that gives to the Poor lends to the Lord*, says Solomon. If he freely gives us what we may lend, and grace to give, will he not much more pay us what we have lent? and give us because we have given? That is his bounty, this is his justice. O! happy is the man that may be a Creditor to his Master! Heaven and Earth shall empty, before he want a royal payment. If we dare not trust God while we live, how dare we trust men when we are dead? Men that are still deceitful, light upon the balance, light of truth, and heavy of self-love: how many Executors have proved the Executioners of honest Wills? how many have our eyes seen, that after most careful choice of trusty Guardians, have had their children and goods so disposed, as if the parent's soul could return to see it, I doubt whether it would be happy? how rare is that man, who prefers not himself to his dead friend, profit to truth? who will take no advantage of the impossibility of the account? Whatever therefore men either shew, or promise, happy is that man, that may be his own Auditor, Supervisor, Executor: as you love God and yourself, be not afraid of being happy too soon.

I am not worthy to give so bold advice, let the Wise Man of Sirach speak for me; do good before thou die, and according to thine ability stretch out thine hand, and give: defraud not thyself of thy good day; and let not the portion of thy good desires pass over thee. Shalt thou not leave thy travels to another, and thy labours to them that will divide thy heritage? Or let a Wiser than he speak, viz. Solomon: *Say not to morrow I will give, if thou now have it: for thou knowest not what a day will bring forth*. It hath been an old rule of liberality, he gives twice, who gives quickly; whereas slow benefits argue uncheerfulness, and lose their worth, who lingers his receipts, is condemned as unthrifty; he who knoweth both saith, *It is better to give than to receive*. If we are of the same spirit, why are we hasty in the worst, and slack in the better? Suffer yourself, good Sir, for God's sake, for the Gospel's sake, for the Church's sake, for your Soul's sake, to be stirred up by these poor lines to a resolute and speedy performing of your worthy intentions: and take this as a loving invitation sent from Heaven by an unworthy messenger. You cannot deliberate long of fit objects for your beneficence, except it be more for multitude than want: the streets, yea the world is full. How doth Lazarus lie at every door? How many sons of the Prophets in their meanly provided colleges, may say not *mors in olla*, but *fames*? How many Churches may justly plead that which our Saviour bad his disciples, *The Lord hath need*? And if this infinite store hath made your choice doubtful, how easy were it to shew you, wherein you might oblige the whole Church of God to you, and make your memorial both eternal and blessed, or if you had rather, the whole commonwealth.

But now I find myself too bold, and too busy, in thus looking to particularities. God shall direct you, and if you follow him, shall crown you. Howsoever, if good be done, and that betimes, he hath what he desired, and your soul shall have more than you can desire. The success of my weak, yet hearty counsel,

Essex [R]. The Petition was accordingly granted, but in a little time changing his mind as to the situation, he purchased of the *Earl of Suffolk Howard-house, or the late dissolved Charter-house near Smithfield* [S], for the sum of thirteen thousand pounds, where he founded the present Hospital of Charter-house in 1611 (q). He designed to be himself the first Master of it; but soon after the grant, being seized with a slow fever, and perceiving his end to approach, he hastened, and by a deed, dated on the 30th of October that year, nominated the Reverend *John Hutton*, Master of Arts, and Vicar of Littlebury in Essex, to

‘ counsel, shall make me as rich, as God hath made
‘ you with all your abundance.

‘ God bless it to you, and make both our reckonings clear-
‘ ful in the day of our common Audit.’

Dr Bearcroft observes (30) that Mr Sutton received this truly Christian letter most kindly, and when he had well considered it, thinking he perceived the finger of Heaven in it, he blessed God for the return of his prayer, in the garden, and determined to quicken his pace; and soon after, viz. on the 10th day of March, 1609, petitioned the King, as is mentioned above, which date is certainly right; but the Doctor did not sufficiently advert, that Mr Hall's letter, which preceded it, could not therefore be written, as he had said before, when that worthy Divine was of *Waltham* in Essex, who was not presented to that living till the year 1612 (31).

[R] *Hallingbury-Bouckers, in Essex.*] It is sometimes called *Little Hallingbury*, and is now part of Charter-house possessions. It is twenty-five miles from London, and three from Bishop-Stortford, on the borders of Hertfordshire, from which it is divided by the Lesser Stower, a very pleasant and healthy situation. Dr *Fisb*, who was presented by Mr Sutton to the Rectory in 1610 (32), lived to have it put under sequestration for malignancy, by the House of Commons, in 1644, and to enjoy it again on the Restoration, and died possessed of it, in 1669, in a good old age.

[S] *The late dissolved Charter-house near Smithfield.*] The first foundation of this house may be said to have had its rise from Dr Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, who, upon the breaking out of the plague in the year 1347, purchased three acres of land, lying without the walls of London on the North part, between the lands of the Abbot of Westminster and of the Prior of St John of Jerusalem, and inclosed them with a brick wall, and consecrated the ground for a burial-place for the poor and needy. Whereupon, as the plague raged with greater violence in 1349, Sir *Walter de Manny*, in imitation of the Bishop's pious example, purchased, of the Master and Brethren of St Bartholomew Spittle, a piece of ground called *Spittle-croft*, containing thirteen acres and a rod, contiguous to those three acres lately dedicated for a burial-ground by the Bishop of London, and caused it to be consecrated by that Prelate to the same use; and there were buried in that year more than fifty thousand corpses in these thirteen acres and a rod of ground (33). Sir Walter built a chapel soon after, called *New Church Haw*, for masses for their souls, intending to add a college, with a Superior and twelve Chaplains, and obtained a bull of Pope Clement VI. for the uniting of three ecclesiastical benefices, not exceeding the value of 100l. sterling in the book of tenths, for the more ample endowment thereof. But, going abroad soon after to the wars, these thirteen acres and a rod, together with the chapel, were purchased of him by Dr Stratford's successor in the see of London, Michael de Northburgh, who also at his death bequeathed 2000l. for the founding, building, and finishing a convent of Carthusians there, and all his leases whatsoever, for the space of four years, and all his rents and tenements within the city of London, some few excepted, and all his reversions there whatsoever for ever, for the better endowment thereof; and to the Convent, when finished, his two best silver basons for the service of the altar, and a silver pyx enamelled for the host, as also a silver vessel for holy water, and a silver bell, together with his two best vestments to officiate in, and all his divinity books. In the mean time Sir Walter de Manny advancing in years, the hero reassumed the saint, and, with the consent of the Bishop of London, to whom Michael de Northburgh bequeathed the patronage and care of his foundation, took on him the care of erecting and endowing a double monastery of Carthusians in *New Church Haw* in 1371, to be called *The House of the salutation of the mother of God* (34). He likewise gives the three acres adjoining, consecrated by Bishop Stratford, for the burial-ground, of which it seems he had obtained a grant. The donation was confirmed by a bull of Pope Urban VI. on the 12th of December,

1378 (35). The words of the bull are, *Bonæ memoriæ Michael Episcopus Londinensis & idem miles [Walter de Manny] conventum duplicem monachorum ordinis Carthusiensis fundaverunt.* The Reader may see an account in *Frofsard* of Sir Walter de Manny, who was a native and Lord of the town of Manny in the province of Hainault, and attended Philippa of Hainault into England, on her marriage with King Edward III; who in the fifth year of his reign knighted him, granting him robes out of the great wardrobe as a Banneret, and afterwards made him a Peer of the realm, and a Privy Counsellor, and Knight of the Garter (36). He died in the latter end of the year 1371: King Edward and his royal family of heroes, with the nobility, honoured the funeral with their presence, attending the corpse to the chapel of the new erected Carthusian monastery (37), where it was solemnly interred in the midst of the choir, and an alabaster tomb, like that of Sir John Beauchamp's at St Paul's, by his own appointment erected for him: by his will, bearing date Nov. 30, 1371, he bequeathed an old debt of 1000l. due to him from the King, and the moiety of 100l. per annum, due to him for many years past from the Prince of Wales, as Governor of Hardelagh-castle, for the better endowment of the monastery. The co-founder of which, Michael de Northburgh, was originally a Dominican Fryar, and became Chaplain and Confessor to King Edward III, as also one of his Council, and attended on his Majesty at the taking of the city of Caen, the famous battle of Cressy, and the taking of Calais (38). On the death of Dr Stratford in 1354, he was advanced to the see of London, which he enjoyed till the ninth of September, 1361, when he died of the plague at Coptford in Essex (39); and in his will, bearing date May 23d preceding, besides his legacy already mentioned for the foundation of the monastery, he bequeathed a thousand marks, to be put into a chest standing in the Treasury of St Paul's, London, out of which any poor man might, for a sufficient pledge, borrow 10l. the Dean and principal Canons 20l. or as far as forty marks, the Bishop of London 40l. a nobleman or citizen 20l. for one year: but if the money was not then returned, the preacher at St Paul's cross was to give notice, that the pledge for it would be sold within fourteen days, if not redeemed in the mean time, and the surplusage, if any, to be returned to the owner (40). Mr Sutton's gift of 1000l. to the chamber of London (41) seems to be done in imitation of this bequest of his predecessor in the first foundation of Charter-house; which being dissolved by Henry VIII, the site was granted on the 12th of June, 1542, unto *John Bridges* and *Thomas Hall* for their joint lives, in consideration of the safe keeping of the King's tents and pavilions, &c. which had been then for some time there; but on the 4th of April, 1545, it was given to Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the court of Augmentations in perpetuity, and valued in the grant at 50l. per annum (42). Sir Edward was made a Baron by Queen Mary in the first year of her reign, and Queen Elizabeth, on her accession to the throne, did his Lordship the honour to reside for some days at Charter-house, where his Lordship died Dec. 31, 1564; whereupon his son Roger, Lord North, sold Charter-house to the Duke of Norfolk for 2500l. on the 31st of May following, except that part on the East side of the chapel, which was then the mansion-house of Lord North, and is now Rutland-court, and the houses adjoining on to Goswel-street. The Duke of Norfolk made Charter-house his residence in town, till his commitment to the Tower in 1569 (43), whence being enlarged in 1570, he was remitted to Charter-house, but under custody; and being sent again to the Tower in 1571, was tried, condemned, and beheaded in 1572, for high-treason (44); but, his family being restored in blood and to the estate, Charter-house came again to the share of Lord Thomas Howard, the Duke's second son, but eldest by his second Dutches, Margaret, daughter of Lord Audley. On the accession of King James II, this Lord Thomas Howard was created Earl of Suffolk; and of him Mr Sutton bought Charter-house.

(35) Mr Herne, in *Domus Carthusiana*, Mr Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, and Mr Stevens in *Continuation of the Monasticon*, mistaking the author of this bull to be Pope Urban V, ascribe the foundation entirely to Walter de Manny, without mentioning Bishop Michael.

(36) Dugdale's *Baron*. Vol. II. p. 149.

(37) Weaver's *Funeral Monuments*.

(38) Robert de Avesbury, who recites letters of Michael, giving an account of these three actions, p. 136, et seqq. the last letter bears date Sept. 14, 1346.

(39) Godwin de Presul, p. 244.

(40) Dugdale's *Hist. of St Paul's*, p. 34.

(41) See remark [U]

(42) The annual revenues at the dissolution amounted to 642l. 4s. 6d. 13 Ma. pars patentium 36 Henry VIII. m. 29.

(43) Camden's *Annals*, Eliz. 1569.

(44) State Trials, Duke of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 104.

(1) The Letters Patents with licence of mortmain bear date June 22 that year. It is inserted in *Hist. Account*, p. 37 to 72.

(30) *Hist. Account*, p. 34.

(31) See Bishop Hall's article.

(32) With these memorable words: What I desire in return is your prayers, and the due performance of your office. *Hist. Account &c.* p. 35.

(33) This appeared from a Stone Cross, some time standing in Charter-house yard, with this inscription, A. D. MCCCXLIX. Regnante magna pestilentia consecratum fuit hoc Cæmeterium in quo & infra septa præsentis Monasterii sepulta fuerunt mortuorum corpora plusquam quinquaginta millia; præter alia multa abhinc usque ad præsens, Quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.

(34) His charter bears date March 28, anno regni Edwardi Tertii 45. It is preserved in Charter-house evidence-house, from which a copy is printed in the *Hist. Account*, p. 167, et seqq.

that Post. On the first of November he signed an irrevocable deed of gift of the Estates specified in the Letters Patents to the Governors in trust for the Hospital [T]. On the second of that month he made his last Will, wherein he bequeathed several other considerable benefactions [U]; after which, his fever still encreasing, put a period to his life on the 12th of December following, in the seventy-ninth year of his age (r). He expired at his house in Hackney near London, and his bowels were buried in that parish church; but his body was embalmed and kept in his house till the 28th of May, 1612, when it was conveyed with the most solemn procession to Christ-Church in London [W], and deposited there, whence it was brought, on the shoulders of the poor brethren of his foundation, to Charter-house chapel, the building and all other things being ready for the complete establishment of the Hospital (s), on the 12th of December, 1614, the Anniversary of Mr Sutton's birth, and

(s) Which consisted of a Master, a Preacher, a Schoolmaster and Usher, forty Scholars, eighty Pensioners, with a Steward, Receiver, Register, Porter, Gardiner, and other necessary inferior servants. Hist. Account, p. 155 to 160.

(r) The Inscription on his monument in Remark [X].

[T] *The Estates settled upon the Hospital, &c.* We shall give a list of them as follows. In Cambridgeshire, the manors of Balsam and Castle-Camps. In Essex, the manors of Southminster, Hallingbury-Bouchers, Cold-Norton, and Much-Stumbridge. In Lincolnshire, the manors of Dunsby and Buslingthorp. In Wiltshire, the manors of Salthrop, Blackgrove, Chilton, Elcombe, Watlescote and Uffcot. In Middlesex, a messuage and lands in Hackney and Tottenham. No exact rental of these lands of that time, is now to be found; but if we will take the word of Lord Chief Justice Coke (45), a Feoffee, and a chief Director of the foundation of the Hospital, these lands, now part of its possessions, produced then per ann. 3500 l.; to which, if we add, in Essex, the manors of Littlebury and Hadstock bequeathed to the Earl of Suffolk, on the payment of 10000 l. In Lancashire, the manor of Tarbocke, and the impropriate Rectory of Huyton, left by Mr Sutton to descend to his Heir at Law, and which cost 9300 l. In Lincolnshire, the impropriate Rectory of Glentham, a Lease bequeathed to the Poor of the City of Lincoln. In Yorkshire, Lands in Cottingham, a Lease bequeathed to the Poor of the town of Beverly. Which computed together, at 1500 l. per ann. make Mr Sutton's Estate in land at his death to amount to 5000 l. per ann. To which add, paid for Charter-house, 13000 l. Received from the personal estate, 47410 l. 9 s. 9 d. We have a view of Mr Sutton's whole fortune. In land, per ann. 5000 l. Total in money, 60410 l. 9 s. 9 d. The greatest Estate in the possession of any private Gentleman, till these present times, when the Indian wealth dispersed through Europe, the public funds, Paper credit, and other modern methods, have given some persons opportunities of amassing prodigious riches.

[U] *His last Will.* It is very long, occasioned by the prodigious number of legacies bequeathed in it. The first of which is 10 l. to each of Bishop Cox's children, then living, manifestly in gratitude for the kindness of that Bishop, who, as is observed above, was the worthy Patron of his youth. And this was apparently the true reason of another, of 500 marks to Jesus College in Cambridge, which bears a particular relation to the Bishopric of Ely. Besides that, Dr Dupont, son-in-law to Bishop Cox, was then Master thereof. The College purchased with this legacy the impropriate Rectory, with the perpetual advowson of the Vicarage of Elmstead (46) near Colchester in Essex. Mr Sutton left another legacy of 500 l. for the promotion of learning, to Magdalen-College, in the same University. This being a Lincolnshire College, the county in which he was born, the benefaction is thus entered in the College-register, "A. D. 1615. Thomas Sutton Esquire, Founder of Sutton's Hospital in London, gave the College 500 l. towards the purchasing an Inn in Cambridge, which, with the addition of 160 l. from the College, was laid out in the purchase of the White Bull Inn, then valued at 40 l. per ann." He likewise bequeathed 1000 l. to the Treasury, or chamber of the City of London, to be lent yearly to ten young merchant men, not having any great stock of their own; that is, to each 100 l. without paying any thing for the same, to be chosen by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the Dean of St Paul's, for the time being; so that none have, or continue the said 100 l. above one year. There is another legacy of 100 l. to the poor Fishermen of Ostend. The motive to which would have been very puzzling, had not Dr Bearcroft cleared it up from a passage in Mr Sutton's former Will, made in 1695, in which are these words: Also I give to the Fishermen of the town of Ostend in the Low Countries, in recompence of two prizes, viz. fly-boats laden with barrelled cod, salt, and other things, which I bought at Newcastle upon Tyne about the sixteenth year of the Queen's Majesty's (Elizabeth's) reign, of the Prince of Orange's

Captains, two hundred pounds. I desire the same men, or their children, to have the same, if the true Owners may be found out, if not, then I will the same two hundred pounds to be given among the poorest Fishermen of that town. Mr Sutton, it is plain from this account, came fairly by these prizes, having bought them of the men that had taken them in open war; but however, he was now willing the poor sufferers, if it might be, should taste of his bounty, and have some amends for their loss: The Doctor also observes, that the sum is lessened to 100 l. in his last Will, by reason that Ostend had then been lately reduced to almost an heap of rubbish and sand in the famous three years siege thereof, and so many of the inhabitants destroyed, that Mr Sutton doubted, that there were but a very few of the poor Fishermen left, and therefore ordered, that if there should not be found a competent number of them to receive the 100 l. some other of the poorer sort of inhabitants should come in for shares. We must not omit another legacy of 20000 l. which was bequeathed to his Trustees to be disposed of according to their discretion. Whereupon these Trustees (Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, and Andrews Bishop of Ely) by a letter (47) dated at Lambeth, June 26, 1613 (48), directed his Executors (Richard Sutton of London Esq; and John Law a Proctor in the Arches) to pay 10000 l. into the receipt of the King's Exchequer, towards repairing Berwick bridge, by the help of which, that bridge, then intirely decayed, was rebuilt. Mr Sutton also bequeathed 100 marks to the town of Berwick, to be distributed among the poor there, by the discretion of the chief Governor and Preacher for the time being, to be paid within one year after his decease. These, with the rest of the legacies to the number of upwards of threescore, amount at least to the sum of forty thousand pounds.

[W] *A solemn procession, &c.* The ceremonial was as follows. The Governors of the hospital; the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot; the Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor; the Bishop of London, Dr John King; Bishop of Ely, Dr Launcelot Andrews; the Lord Chief Justice Coke; Sir Henry Hobart, Attorney-General; Dr John Overall, Dean of St Paul's; Dr George Montaigne, Dean of Westminster; Henry Thoresby, Jeffery Nightingale, Richard Sutton, Esqrs; John Law, Thomas Browne, Gent. the Rev. Mr John Hutton, Master of the hospital; being met at the house in Hackney, where the corpse lay, elected Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, and Sir George Altham, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Governors of the hospital, in the place of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Treasurer, and Sir Thomas Forster, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, deceased; and Mr Thomas Heyward, a gentleman much employed by Mr Sutton in law matters, and whose wife is a legatee in his will, the Register of the hospital; and then, joining the Earl of Northampton, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir James Altham, Sir John Croke, Sir Francis Popham, and many other knights and gentlemen assembled there, after a handsome collation, they honoured the funeral with their presence. The procession was under the direction of Mr Camden, Clarencieux King at Arms (49). A hundred old men in black cloaks preceded the corpse; Mr Simon Baxter, Mr Sutton's only sister's eldest son, was chief Mourner; and then followed the Lords and Gentlemen, with their Attendance, all in mourning, through a vast croud of spectators, to Christ-Church, adjoining to Christ's hospital, in London, where the corpse was deposited, with the funeral service, to be removed to Charter-house when the chapel should be finished, and a vault and tomb prepared for it. The whole funeral expences, as appears from the executors accounts, amounted to 2228 l. 10 s. 3 d. of which the mourning cloth cost 1355 l. 2 s. 4 d. and the tomb 514 l. 19 s. 10 d. and 30 l. was given at the burial to the poor (50).

(47) The letter is in Charter-house Assembly-book, A. p. 347.

(48) That is, two years after his decease, he having desired in his Will, that every thing in it should be performed within that time.

(49) Who attended thereat with John Raven, Richmond Herald. Fun. Cert.

(50) Charter-house evidence-house.

there

(45) In the Preface to the Tenth Volume of his Reports.

(46) It is recorded by Dr Sherman thus: Thomas Sutton (Crassus ille Ar-miger) Fundator Domus Hospitalis vocate, The Charter-house, London, Rectoriam improprietam de Elmstead (Olim Portionem Monasterii S. Osi-thæ) juxta Colchesteriam Collegio dono dedit una cum perpetua advocacione Vicarii. Latin History of Jesus College, MS.

there interred in a vault on the north side, under a magnificent tomb, with an inscription [X], which is inserted below. In regard to his character: as to his person, he was strong-built and compact, of a middle stature, with a good complexion and agreeable mien; neither nice nor negligent in his apparel, but modest and clean, enjoying a good state of health till the decays of old age broke in upon it. His public character is seen in the course of this memoir. In his private character he was a very affectionate tender husband, an exact but kind master, a good natured honest man, sober and religious both at home and abroad, very compassionate and very grateful (t).

(t) *Histor. Account*, p. 207.

After his death his heir at law, Simon Baxter, Esq; [Y], attempted, by a forcible entry, to take possession of Charter-house, and laying claim to the whole Estate settled upon the Hospital, endeavoured to set aside the Donation: but after many proceedings at law, it was at length, by the verdict of the Grand Jury of the Judges of England, in 1613, found that the Foundation, Incorporation, and Endowment of the Hospital, was sufficient, good and effectual in law (u). The odium of this suit fell heavily upon Sir Francis, afterwards Lord Bacon [Z], who was then Solicitor-General, and the chief promoter of it (w): notwithstanding which, he was elected a Governor not many years afterwards (x).

(u) The case is in the tenth Vol. of Reports by Lord Coke.

(w) Perhaps in opposition to his Rival Lord Coke, who excited himself greatly in favour of the Donation.

[X] *With an inscription.* In these terms:

Sacred to the glory of God,
In grateful memory of
THOMAS SUTTON, Esq;

Here lieth buried the body of Thomas Sutton, late of Castle-Camps in the county of Cambridge, Esq; at whose only costs and charges this hospital was founded, and endowed with large possessions, for the relief of poor men and children: he was a gentleman born at Knayth in the county of Lincoln, of worthy and honest parentage; he lived to the age of seventy-nine years, and deceased the 12th of December, 1611.

The 12th of December is now, by order of the Governors, the commemoration-day, when, after morning service and a sermon in the chapel, there is a Latin oration in the hall, by one of the scholars, in praise of the founder.

[Y] *Simon Baxter, Esq;* He was Mr Sutton's nephew, being the eldest son of his only sister Dorothy, and therefore attended his funeral as chief Mourner. Mr Sutton by his will had left him an estate in Lancashire, which cost him 9300l. (51), besides a legacy of 300l. in money: but being soon reduced, partly by the expences of the law-suit, he sold the land estate to Sir Richard Molyneux, Bart. (52) of Seston in Lancashire, for 15000l. on the 20th of July, 1615, having received his legacy of 300l. before, viz. on the 16th of February, 1614.

[Z] *Falls heavily upon my Lord Bacon.* Mr Baxter, in a petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to procure him the payment of his legacy, declares, That, being seduced by wicked counsel, he yielded his consent to have his name used to bring an action against the hospital; by means whereof he had spent a great part of his estate, and was likely to pay great sums of money, for his seducers, in a manner to his undoing. And that Sir Francis Bacon was chief counsellor of Mr Baxter, is gathered from his being a professed enemy to this design of Mr Sutton, as is evident from a letter of advice which that great Lawyer wrote to King James on the breaking out of the dispute in law, which is very artfully calculated to interest his Majesty on his client Mr Baxter's side, by insinuating, that if he succeeded in his suit, all would be referred to his Majesty's good pleasure in these words: *But if there be right and birthright planted in the heir, and not remediable by the courts of equity, and that right be submitted to your Majesty, whereby it is in your pleasure and grace what to do: then do I wish, that this rude mass, and chaos of a good seed, were directed rather*

to a solid merit and durable charity, than to a blaze of glory, that will but crack a little in talk, and quickly extinguish. Dr Tenison indeed remarks (53), that, as his Lordship did not manifest himself in this advice against the charity, but the manner of disposing it, so it was not well done of those who have publicly defamed him, by declaring their jealousies of bribery by the Heir. But, in answer to this, it is obvious, that in this address common prudence made such a conduct absolutely necessary, since otherwise it would have been too plain a discovery of his own mal-practice, and an exposing of himself to his Majesty. The Doctor observes, that the event shewed that his Lordship was mistaken, when he called it a sacrifice without fault: and it has been further vindicated against every particular article of the charge by Dr Bearcroft, who justly answers the conclusion of this advice, which is couched in these words: 'Thus have I briefly given my opinion touching the employment of this charity; whereby that mass of wealth, which was in the owner's hands little better than a stack or heap of muck (*), may be spread over your kingdom to many fruitful purposes, your Majesty planting and watering, and God giving the increase. If Mr Sutton's mass of wealth, says Dr Bearcroft, was a heap of muck (which by the way is but a coarse unfavourable expression to his Majesty, and very justly found fault with by an eminent critic) (54), how much more decent, and to what great advantage, does the thought appear in these beautiful lines of Mr Pope (55),

(53) Introduction to Bacon's Remains, p. 68.

(*) Dr Tenison seems, for the sake of his Hero, to have slipped into the like abusive language against this benefaction, calling it an heap of alms.

(54) La maniere de bien penser dans ouvrage d'esprit.

(55) In his Poem on Riches.

' In heaps, like ambergris, a stink it lies;
' But, well disposed, is incense to the skies.

' It produced very good corn in that most judicious charity of furnishing all his poor neighbours at less than half price (56).' However, no doubt Mr Sutton, as a man, had his failings, of which the insinuation, in the close of this advice, of his being somewhat of a miser, may perhaps be thought not altogether without grounds, from his great privacy of life after the death of his Lady; which is not sufficiently palliated by saying *he practised self-denial to give the more nobly away* (57); since it may as well be retorted, that the self-denial proceeded from no such principle; it being evident that he was always much disposed to a sparing frugality; appointing his ordinary expences at first to the half of his income, and when that was much increased, to a third, and giving about an eighth in charity (58).

(56) See remark [L].

(57) *Histor. Account*, p. 154.

(58) *Ibid.* p. 153.

SWIFT [Dr JONATHAN], a polite writer of exquisite humour, in the present century, was descended from a younger branch of an ancient family of the name in Yorkshire [A], the last heir of which, *Bernam Swift*, Esq; was created, by King Charles I, a Peer of Ireland, with the title of Viscount *Carlingford* (a), on the 20th of March 1627; but dying without male issue, the title became extinct, and the family inheritance descending to his daughters [B], was thereby divided from the name of Swift for ever. Some of the younger branches,

[A] *Descended from an ancient family in Yorkshire.* We have this account of the family in *Guillim* (1). 'Godwin Swift, of Goodridge in the county of Hereford, Esq; of the society of Gray's-Inn, descended of the family of the Swifts in Yorkshire. The arms are, Or, a chevron nebule, argent and azure, between three bucks in full course, vert.' This bearing puts me in mind of the history of the family of the *Greenbats*

in the *Tatler* (2), where the Dean's particular turn of wit and humour is so exactly hit off. One is the more apt to think that Mr Obadiah Greenhat had the *three bucks vert* in his eye, when Lord Orrery (3) is found observing, that our Dean had been himself the *herald to blazon the dignity of his coat.*

[B] *By his daughter.* There were two of these; one of whom married Robert Fielding, Esq; commonly

(2) Vol. II. No. 59.

(3) In his Remarks, p. 5. edit. 1752. 8vo.

(c) Lord Orrery's (now Earl of Cork) Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, p. 5. edit. 1753.

(d) Hawkesworth's Account, &c. p. 2.

(f) Her family was descended from Erick the Forester, who raised an army to oppose William the Conqueror, by whom he was vanquished, and afterwards made Commander of his Forces. Hawkesworth, p. 3.

(l) Hawkesworth, p. 3.

(4) Hawkesworth's account of the life of Jonathan Swift.

(5) Dr Swift's sketch of his own life.

(6) Hist. of the rebellion and civil wars, &c.

(*) He died in 1658.

(7) The grandmother of this gentleman, one of the wives of Godwin Swift, was heiress to Admiral Deane, whence Deane became a Christian name in the family. Hawkesworth, p. 2. in note *.

branches, from the same stem, distinguished themselves by their loyalty in the grand rebellion of 1641 (b), among whom was our Author's grandfather, the Reverend Mr Thomas Swift [C], who was possessed of a paternal estate near Ross at Goodrich in Herefordshire, of which place he was Vicar (c), and held also another Church-benefice (d). He married Mrs Elizabeth Dryden, aunt to John Dryden the Poet, and by her had ten sons and six daughters. Of the sons six survived him, Godwin, Thomas, Dryden, William, Jonathan, and Adam, who were all, except Thomas, bred to the law. Godwin, who was a Barrister of Gray's Inn, having married a relation of the old Marchioness of Ormond, was made Attorney-General to the old Duke in the Palatinate of Tiperary in Ireland. That kingdom was then nearly without Lawyers, by reason of the rebellion which had forced almost every man, of whatever condition, to take up arms, and made him a soldier. Godwin therefore resolved to attempt the acquisition of a fortune there, and the same motive induced his four brothers, who were Attorneys, to go with him. Godwin soon became wealthy, and the rest obtained somewhat more than a genteel competence, though Dryden and Jonathan (e), who died soon after their arrival, had little to bequeath. This last, at the age of about three and twenty, and before he went to Ireland, had married Mrs Abigail Erick of Leicestershire (f), who, about two years after, was left a widow, with one child, a daughter, and pregnant with another. She had brought her husband but a small fortune, and now her whole subsistence was an annuity of twenty pounds, which he had purchased for her in England, immediately after his marriage (g). In this distress, she was taken, with her daughter, into the family of Godwin, her husband's eldest brother; and on the 30th of November, 1667, about the seventh month of her widowhood, she was delivered at Dublin of a son (h), whom she called Jonathan, in memory of his Father (i); and who became afterwards the celebrated Dean of St Patrick's, the subject of the present memoir. It happened, by whatever accident, that he was not suckled by his mother, but put to a nurse, who took so strong an affection for him, that when he was about a year old, finding it necessary to visit a relation, from whom she expected a legacy, and who lay dangerously sick at Whitehaven in Cumberland, she crossed the sea to that place of her nativity; and having contrived a way of conveying the child on shipboard unknown to his mother and his uncle, she carried him with her. Here he continued three years (k): for when the matter was discovered, his mother sent orders not to hazard a second voyage till he should be better able to bear it (l). And the woman gave other testimonies of her affection to her nursing, having taught him to spell before her return [D], so that at five years of age he was able to read any chapter in the Bible (m). In the mean time, Mrs Swift, about two years after her husband's death, had quitted Ireland, and retired to Leicester, leaving her children to the care of their uncle aforementioned [E], who kindly undertook the charge, and sent his nephew,

ly called handsome Fielding, and the other the Earl of Eglington in Scotland. Fielding soon dissipated his wife's patrimony; and that of her sister being transferred to the family of Lord Eglington (4), the principal estate of the Swifts was finally separated from the name, as is mentioned above.

[C] His grandfather Mr Thomas Swift. This gentleman's father, William Swift, was rector of St. Andrews in Canterbury, and married the heiress of Philpot, who contrived to keep her estate, which was very considerable, in her own hands. She is said to be extremely capricious and ill-natured, and to have disinherited her son Thomas, an only child, merely for robbing an orchard when he was a boy. However this be, it is certain, that, except a church or chapter lease which was not renewed, Thomas never possessed more than a hundred pounds a year. This little estate, which lay at Goodrich, he mortgaged for three hundred broad pieces of gold, and, having quilted them into his waistcoat, he set out for Ragland Castle, whither his Majesty King Charles I. had retired after the fatal battle of Naseby. The governor, who knew him well, asked what was his errand: I am come, says Swift, to give his Majesty my coat, at the same time pulling it off and presenting it: The governor told him his coat was worth little; why then, said Swift, take my waistcoat (5); this was soon found to be an useful garment by its weight; and it is remarked by Lord Clarendon, that the King received no supply more seasonable or acceptable than these three hundred broad pieces during the whole war, his distress being then very great, and his resources cut off (6). The zeal and activity of this gentleman for the royal cause exposed him to much danger and many sufferings; he was plundered more than thirty times by the parliament's army, he was ejected from his church livings, his estate was sequestered, and himself thrown into prison (*). His estate however was afterwards recovered, and part of it sold to pay the money due upon the mortgage, and some other debts; the remainder, being about one half, descended to his heir, and is now possessed by his great grandson, Deane (7) Swift, Esq; eldest grandson of Godwin, eldest surviving son and heir of Thomas, whose second

son, named also Thomas, was bred at Oxford, and took orders. He married the eldest daughter of Sir William Davenant, but died young, and left only one son, whose name also was Thomas, and who died in 1752, rector of Puttenham in Surry, a benefice which he had possessed threescore years (8).

[D] Taught him to spell before her return. The incident of his being carried into England soon after his birth gave rise to a general opinion that he was born there, a mistake to which some other incidents have contributed. He had been frequently heard to say, when the people of Ireland displeased him, 'I am not of this vile country, I am an Englishman.' Mr Pope (*) also, in one of his letters to him, mentions England as his native country: but the account here given of his birth is taken from that which he left behind him in his own hand-writing; and, while he lived, he was so far from seriously denying or concealing his being a native of Ireland, that he often mentioned, and even pointed out the house in which he was born (9).

Another mistake too has been grafted upon this, that he was a natural son of Sir William Temple. In answer to which Lord Orrery observes (10), that such a relation appears to be impossible, since that statesman was resident abroad in a public character from the year 1665 to 1670, as may be proved by his letters to the Earl of Arlington and the rest of the ministry. The Dean was born in November, 1667, and his mother was never out of the British dominions. His Lordship is herein followed by Mr Hawkesworth (11); and the remark indeed is enough of it true for the purpose to which it is made, though it is not altogether true; for Sir William appears to have been five days in England in the year 1668 (12).

[E] To the care of their uncle Godwin. It is said, that, of all the brothers of Mrs Swift's husband, Godwin only had sons (13); which must be understood only of those brothers who went to Ireland; otherwise the remark will be but ill defended by using the word sons in the plural number, since, as has been shewn from the Dean's own account (14), his uncle Thomas had one son. However this slip ought not to impeach the truth of Mr Deane Swift's account (15), that our Author's mother

(b) One of these was Sir Edward Swift, from whom there is no descendant of the name. Hawkesworth's Account of the Life of Dr Swift, p. 1, 2, prefixed to an edition of his Works in 1755, in six volumes, 4^{to}.

(e) Jonathan was an agent at Dublin. Lord Orrery as before.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Lord Orrery p. 6.

(k) Ibid. p. 4.

(m) Idem, ib.

(8) Dr Swift's sketch and .

(*) Letter LXXXVII to Swift, date March 23, 1736-7.

(9) Lord Orrery and Hawkesworth.

(10) Rem. p. 5.

(11) Account of the Doctor's life, p. 4. ubi supra.

(12) See Article.

(13) Hawkesworth, p. 13.

(14) In manuscript [C].

(15) p. 1.

nephew, at six years of age, to school at *Kilkenny*. He must have been one of those geniuses which don't begin to flower early, since he passed eight years at this school without giving any proofs of extraordinary talents (*n*). However, he was thought fit for the University at the age of fourteen, and was accordingly removed to Trinity-college in Dublin, under the tuition of that learned and ingenious gentleman, Mr George St Ashe, in 1681 [*F*]. Here he behaved with strict regularity and order, but discovered the utmost dislike of the academical exercises, which were frequently made the subject of his ridicule. History and Poetry were the studies that suited his taste: to these he bent his whole application, and made great progress in them; but all other branches of science, especially Logic and Metaphysics, were so much disregarded by him, that when he stood a candidate for his first degree in arts, in 1685, he was set aside on account of insufficiency. At the same time, the austerity of his temper made him a disagreeable companion, so that he was little regarded, and less beloved (*o*). He did not obtain the favour of his degree till he had been at the college seven years, nor then neither without a special mark of disgrace, signified in the words *speciali gratia*. This seems the more extraordinary, as we are assured, that for three years past he had been so far from an idler, that he spent eight hours a day at study (*p*); but the wonder vanishes as soon as we know which way the bent of his application is turned. During this time he drew the first sketch of his *Tale of a Tub* (*q*). In 1688, his guardian uncle fell unhappily into a lethargic disorder, which totally depriving him of his speech and memory, unavoidably put a stop to the current of his kindness to his nephew, who, till this time, had been supported by him. In this exigence, Swift, who was now twenty-one years of age, took a journey to Leicester [*H*], to consult with his mother what course of life to pursue. At this time Sir *William Temple* was in high reputation, and honoured with the confidence and familiarity of King William. His Father, Sir *John Temple*, had been Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and contracted an intimate friendship with *Godwin Swift*, which continued till his death; and Sir William, who inherited his title and estate, having married a Lady, to whom Mrs Swift was related, she therefore advised her son to apply to him. This advice, which perhaps only confirmed a resolution that Swift had secretly taken before he left Ireland (*r*), he immediately resolved to pursue. Sir William received him with great kindness, and our genius had been perhaps lost to the world, had it not been for this lucky step. This great Statesman and Scholar was then at Moor-Park near Farnham in Surry, a seat which he had purchased a few years before, in the view of retiring from business, and living to himself and his studies (*s*). Swift, who had led a studious life for some years, and must have acquired a good stock of knowledge in history, was therefore a welcome guest to him, and accompanied him to Sheene, whither he returned upon the approach of the Revolution, Moor-Park lying in the way of both armies (*t*). Sir William had been well known, and treated with confidence by the Prince of Orange abroad, before his accession to the crown of England, who afterwards frequently visited him at Sheene, and took his advice in affairs of the utmost importance. In these visits, Sir William being lame with the gout, Swift used to attend his Majesty in his walks about the garden, who admitted him to such a familiarity, that he shewed him how to cut asparagus after the Dutch manner. Thus agreeably did he pass the time, not less to his improvement, than his satisfaction, in the company of a beneficent Patron, who was both an elegant author, and a polite gentleman, who likewise extended his friendship to the care of his fortune; and obtained for him an offer from the King to make him a Captain of Horse; and when this offer was declined by our Author, who appears to have fixed his mind very early upon the Church, the same Patron obtained a promise of preferment in that way of life (*u*). In the latter end of the year 1689, Sir William went back to Moor-Park (*w*), with his companion. Soon after this, a bill was brought into Parliament for triennial elections, against which the King was very averse, by the advice, as is said, of some people who had persuaded the Earl of Portland, that King Charles I. lost his Crown and Life by consenting to such a bill. Upon this occasion, the Earl was dispatched to Moor-Park by his Majesty, for Sir William's advice, who said

ther was subsisted by the sons of Godwin in her old age, as she had been before by their father and their uncles with such liberality, that she declared herself not only happy, but rich.

[*F*] *Mr George St Ashe*.] It happened a little unluckily for our young student, who had no turn to philosophical studies, that he was put under a tutor whose particular talents lay that way. Mr St Ashe, not unacquainted with polite letters, yet was particularly fond of the mathematics, and a great promoter of that science, the study of which he not only introduced and encouraged in the college or university, being professor of it there, but he had likewise a considerable share in erecting a philosophical society in the city whilst Swift was his pupil (16).

[*G*] *Logic and metaphysics were much disregarded by him*.] *Lord Orrery* (17) says, that he was little acquainted with the mathematics, and never considered the science but as an object of ridicule. But the Author of the Observations (18) affirms, that he had acquired considerable mathematical knowledge, and that he had seen him more than once undertake to solve an algebraic problem by arithmetic. It is very possible, that the same degree

of mathematical knowledge might be meant by the words little and considerable, according to the different conceptions of these two writers of that knowledge or science in general, of which neither of them perhaps knew more, if so much as the Dean himself did.

[*H*] *He took a journey to Leicester*.] He constantly made a visit to his mother almost every year as long as she lived. His manner of travelling was very singular. He always went on foot, except the weather was very bad, and then he would sometimes take shelter in a waggon; he chose to dine at obscure alehouses, among pedlars and ostlers, and to lie where he saw written over the door, lodgings for a penny; but he used to bribe the maid with a tiler for a single bed and clean sheets (19). The dialect he met with in low life was not only a fund of humour for him, but he seems to have considered himself now as serving his necessary apprenticeship to the obtaining an independent fortune (20). It appears, from all the accounts of his temper, that he was fearful of expences, and undeviatingly observed that rule himself which he prescribed for his friend *Gay*, to look upon a shilling as a serious thing (21).

much

(n) Lord Orrery, p. 6. And the Dean himself declares, that his parts did not burst out till he was middle aged. See note 27 below.

(o) Lord Orrery, p. 7.

(p) Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks ascribed to Dr Delany, written in the form of letters signed J. R. p. 50. Deane Swift extends it to nine years, and ten hours a day, p. 271.

(r) Hawkeforth, p. 4.

(s) See his Article.

(t) Ibid.

(u) See his Article.

(16) See the article of William Molyneux.

(17) Letter VII. p. 28.

(18) Letters, signed J. R. p. 101.

(q) Wessendra Warren, Esq; a gentleman of fortune near Belfast, in the North of Ireland, who was his chamber-fellow, declared, that he then saw a copy of the Tale of a Tub in Swift's own hand-writing. Deane Swift, p. 31.

(u) Our Author's letter to his uncle in Remark [K].

(19) Lord Orrery, p. 21. and Deane Swift, p. 99.

(20) Letter to Pope of Dec. 5, 1726.

(21) Letter to Gay, Nov. 23, 1727.

much to shew him his mistake, but without effect; and therefore he soon after dispatched Swift to Kensington with the whole account in writing, to convince the King and the Earl how ill they were informed. Swift, young as he was, yet was well acquainted with the English history, and gave the King a compendious account of the matter, which he amplified to the Earl, but the measure was at last rejected; and thus ended Swift's first embassy to court so much to his dissatisfaction, that he then declared it was the first incident that helped to cure him of his vanity (x). Soon after this, he was seized with the return of a disorder, which he had contracted in Ireland by a surfeit upon fruit. This drew him back thither, by the advice of his physicians, who hoped that his native air would contribute to the recovery of his health; but he received no benefit from the journey, and therefore in a short time returned to Sir William (y), being ever afterwards subject to that giddiness, which gradually increased, though with irregular intermissions, till it terminated in total debility of body and mind. But he was still indefatigable in his studies [I], and by way of exercise for his health's sake, it was his constant practice to run up a hill, that was near the house, and down again, every two hours (z). About a year after his return from Ireland, he thought it expedient to take his degree of Master of Arts at Oxford. With this view, he appears to have written to his uncle, *William Swift*, to procure and send him the *testimonium* of his Bachelor's Degree in the University of Dublin. With this *testimonium*, which is dated May 3, 1692, he went to Oxford, entered himself of Hart-hall, now Hertford-college, and having received many civilities, was admitted *ad Eandem* on the 14th of June, and took his Master's Degree on the 5th of July following [K]. From Oxford he returned again to Moor-Park, where he assisted Sir William Temple to revise his works, corrected and improved his *Tale of a Tub*, and added the digressions (aa). From the conversation of Sir William, who was minutely acquainted with all the intricacies of Party, and the secrets of State, during the reigns of King Charles and King James the Second, Swift greatly increased his political knowledge. But having long suspected his Patron of neglecting to provide for him, merely that he might keep him in his family, he at length resented it so warmly, that in the year 1694 a quarrel ensued, and they parted. Sir William having offered to make him his Deputy, as Master of the Rolls in Ireland, which he refused with this reply, that since he had now an opportunity of living without being driven into the Church for a support, a scruple which had hitherto kept him out of it, he was determined to go into Ireland and take orders (bb). Accordingly, upon Lord Capel's appointment to be Lord Deputy of that Kingdom, in 1695, Sir William gave him a recommendation to his Lordship (cc), who collated him to the Prebend of *Kilroot*, in the diocese of Conner, a northern district, worth about a hundred pounds a year. But Sir William, who had been used to the conversation of Swift, soon found that he could not be content to live without it, he therefore urged him to resign his Prebend in favour of a friend, and promised to obtain

(x) Swift's Sketch of his own Life, sect. XXIII. and XXIV.

(y) Ibid. sect. XXIII. Lord Orrery intimates that the surfeit was contracted by eating too much of Sir William Temple's fruit. Letter II.

(aa) Hawkefworth, p. 7.

(bb) Sketch, sect. XXV. and note.

(cc) Lord Orrery's Letters.

(z) Deane Swift, P. 272.

[I] *He was indefatigable in his studies.* By what books these studies were principally directed, is not certainly known; but several copious extracts from *Cyprian*, *Irenæus*, *Sleidan's commentaries*, and *Padre Paulo's history of the council of Trent*, were found among his papers, which appear by *memorandums* in his own hand writing to have been made while he lived with Sir William Temple (22).

[K] *He proceeded A. M. in 1692.* To prepare for this degree, he first wrote to his uncle, William Swift, then at Dublin, to procure and send him a *testimonium* of his bachelor's degree from that college (23). Nothing but the absolute necessity of it could have forced him to take this step. The disgrace couched in the words *speciali gratia* stuck still in his stomach, nor did he digest it well ever after. In a letter, dated November 26, 1725, he writes to Mr Pope: 'I desire you and all my friends would take especial care that my disaffection to the world may not be imputed to my age; for I have credible witnesses ready to depose, that it has never varied from the twenty-first to the forty-eighth year of my life (24). *Hercules* (says Lord Orrery upon the occasion) found himself set aside for want of strength; or, if admitted among the wrestlers, admitted only by favour and indulgence; yet still he must be conscious that he was *Hercules* (25).' Our Author was strongly affected with any disappointments, and retained a lasting sensibility of them. 'I remember, (says he to Lord Bolingbroke in the year 1729) when I was a little boy, I felt a great sigh at the end of my line, which I drew up almost on the ground, but it dropt in, and the disappointment vexes me to this very day; and I believe it was the type of all my future disappointments (26).' However, pungent and lasting as was his resentment of the rebukes he met with at Dublin, it seems to be suspended for a while by the contrary treatment he found at Oxford. In a letter to his uncle William, dated at Moor-Park, Nov. 29, 1692, he writes thus:

'Sir,
'My sister told me you was pleased, when she came here, to wonder I did so seldom write to you, I

(* been so kind to impute it neither to ill
'mann respect. I always
'thought that sufficient from me, who have al-
'ways been but too troublesome to you: besides your
'aversion to impertinence, and, God knows, so very
'private a life as mine, can furnish a letter with little
'else; for I often am two or three months without
'seeing any body besides the family, and now my sister
'is gone, I am likely to be more solitary than before.
'I am still to thank you for your care in my TESTIMO-
'NIUM, and it was to very good purpose, for I never
'was more satisfied than in the behaviour of the Univer-
'sity of Oxford to me. I had all the civilities I could
'wish for, and so many favours, that I am
'ashamed to have been more obliged in a few weeks
'to strangers, than ever I was in seven years to Dublin
'College. I am not to take orders till the King gives
'me a Prebendary: and Sir William Temple, though
'he promises me the certainty of it, yet is less for-
'ward than I could wish; because, I suppose, he be-
'lieves I shall leave him, and upon some accounts he
'thinks me a little necessary to him
'If I were entertainment, or of doing
'you any satisfaction by my letters, I should be very
'glad to perform it that way, as I am bound to do it
'by all others. I am sorry my fortune should sling me
'so far from the best of my Relations; but I hope I
'shall have the happiness to see you some time or other.
'Pray my humble service to my good Aunt, and the
'rest of my Relations, if you please (27).'

Both Lord Orrery and Mr Deane Swift are of opinion, that the civilities which he received at Oxford proceeded from a misunderstanding of the phrase *speciali gratia*, which was there supposed to be a compliment paid to uncommon merit (28); and the same is confirmed by our Author himself; yet all this evidence does not satisfy Mr Hawkefworth, who observes that these words are not inserted in the congregation-book at Oxford (29), and not to have inserted them there, when they were thought a compliment, would have been an affront: it is therefore probable, continues this writer, that by the influence of Swift's

(* The original was torn and imperfect in these places which are left blank.

(27) This letter is preserved by Lord Orrery, in Remarks, p. 12. who observes that there does not appear in it the least symptoms of that peculiar turn of phrase which afterwards we see in all his writings, and even in his most trifling letters. This however admits of some exceptions, though our Author himself intimates that his Genius did not ripen till he was middle aged. Compare letter 17 with 83 in Pope's Works, Vol. IX.

(28) Lord Orrery's Remarks, p. 8. and Deane Swift's Account of the Doctor's Life, p. 30 and 44.

(29) It is not usual to transcribe the whole form of such foreign testimoniums, but only to insert the substance of them.

(22) Deane Swift, p. 276.

(23) This appears from his letter of thanks for it to that uncle cited below.

(24) Pope's Works, Vol. IV. Part 3d, p. 45. edit. 1742. 8vo.

(25) His Lordship's Remarks, p. 7.

(26) Letter 37th in Pope's Works, as before.

14) Advertisement
entitled
The Bookeller
to the Reader,
referred to that
piece.

rain preferment for him in England, if he would return [L]. Swift, without any difficulty, consented; and Sir William was so much pleased with this act of kindness, that during the remainder of his life, which was about four years, his behaviour was such, as produced the utmost harmony between them: Swift, as a testimony of his friendship and esteem, wrote *The Battle of the Books*, of which Sir William is the Hero (*dd*); and Sir William, when he died, left him a pecuniary legacy, and his posthumous works [M].

Having

Swift's uncle, they were omitted in the copy, which he procured and sent, especially as some such favour seems to be intimated in the words put into Italics of Swift's letter to him, above cited (30). But these words will by no means warrant such a construction against the express testimony of Swift himself, which is but poorly evaded by saying, that though the civilities which he received at Oxford might indeed, according to the remark of Lord Orrery, proceed from his known connexion with Sir William Temple; yet Swift might reasonably impute them, also, to the suppression of a reproach, against which there was good reason to fear this connexion would not have supported him; that it is not strange that Swift, after his reputation was established, should, while he was sporting with this incident in the gaiety of his heart, pretend a mistake, which never happened; or that what he meant as a jest upon the University, should be seriously remembered as an event of his life. However, in justice to this Vindicator, let it be recorded, that he has pointed out a manifest slip in Lord Orrery (31), in saying, that Swift, upon his disgrace at Dublin, resolved to pursue his studies at Oxford, where he almost constantly resided during three years, and was avowedly supported by Sir William Temple; whereas, the contrary is incontestably true, since there are not quite two months between the date of his testimonium and his taking his Master's Degree, not to mention that passage in the letter to his uncle, where he says, *I am ashamed to be more obliged in a few weeks to strangers, than in seven years to Dublin College.* This remark is farther supported, by observing that Swift went to that College at the age of fourteen, in 1681; continued there seven years as appears by his letter, so that he did not leave Ireland till 1688: he was some months with his mother before he went to Sir William, and two years with him before he went to Ireland for his health, which must therefore be in 1691; he returned from Ireland, and continued sometime longer with Sir William before he went to Oxford, which must therefore be in 1692, and in that year he took his Degree. The fact therefore (continues this Vindicator) which, Lord Orrery says, was immediately construed, to favour an opinion that Swift was Sir William's natural son, appears never to have happened (32).

10) Hawke-
worth's Ac-
count, p. 6.

31) Remarks,
p. 9.

12) Hawke-
worth, p. 6. and
p. 7.

13) Deane
Swift's Account,
p. 66.

[L] *If he would return to Ireland.*] This appears by a letter from Swift's sister, then in Ireland, to her cousin Deane in Portugal. 'Sir William Temple, says she, was so fond of him, that he made him give up his living in this country, and promised to get him one in England (33).'

[M] *He left a pecuniary legacy, and his posthumous works.*] One of the reasons produced in support of the opinion, that he was a natural son of Sir William, was, that this supposed Father had given him such marks of his bounty, as it is not likely he should bestow upon a person to whom he was not so related. How far this bounty extended, and what were the favours bestowed by Sir William, cannot certainly be known; that pretended one of his supporting Swift three years at Oxford, has been shewn to be a great mistake. And it is certain, Swift never acknowledged any besides those which have given occasion for the present remark; and we need not say, that the acknowledged relation between Swift's mother and Sir William's Lady, is sufficient to account for even much greater than those. In short, we have a letter from our Author to Lord Palmerston, nephew and heir to Sir William Temple's family and estate, which is decisive in the point. It is wrote with great spirit, and will well reward the reader's attention in perusing it; we shall therefore present him with a transcript.

The original is endorsed, '*An Answer to Lord Palmerston's civil polite letter,*' and runs thus:

'My Lord,
Jan. 31, 1735-6.
'I desire you will give yourself the last trouble I shall ever put you to. I do entirely acquit you of any injury or injustice done to Mr *Curtis* (34), and if you had read that passage in my letter a second time, you could not possibly have so ill understood me. The injury and injustice the young man received, were

14) A resident
teacher in Trin-
ity-college, Dub-
lin, whom the
Dean made one
of the four minor
sons of St Pa-
trick's Cathedral.

from those, who, claiming a title to his chambers, took away his key; and reviled and threatened to beat him, with a great deal of the like monstrous conduct: whereupon, at his request, I laid the case before you (35), as it appeared to me. And it would have been very strange, if on account of a trifle, and a person for whom I have no concern further than as he was once employed by me on the character he bears of piety and learning, I should charge you with injury and injustice to him, when I know from himself and Mr *Reading*, that you were not answerable for either.

'As you state the case of tenant at will, I fully agree, that no law can compel you; but law was not at all in my thoughts.

'Now, my Lord, if what I writ of injury and injustice were wholly applied, in plain terms, to one or two of the College here, whose names were below my remembrance, you will consider how I could deserve an answer in every line full of foul insinuations, open reproaches, jesting flirts, and contumelious terms; and what title you claim to give me such treatment. I own my obligations to Sir William Temple for recommending me to the late King, although without success; and for his choice of me to take care of his posthumous writings. But I hope you will not charge my being in his family as an obligation. For I was educated to little purpose, if I had chosen his house on any other motives, than the benefit of his conversation and advice, and the opportunity of pursuing my studies. For being born to no fortune, I was at his death as much to seek it as ever, and perhaps you will allow that I was of some use to him. This I will venture to say, that in the time when I had some little credit, I did fifty times more for fifty people, from whom I never received the least service or assistance; yet I should not be pleased to hear a relation of mine reproaching them with ingratitude, though many of them well deserve it. For, thanks to party, I have met in both Kingdoms with ingratitude enough.

'If I have been ill informed, you have not been much better, that I declared no great regard to your family; for so you express yourself: I never had occasion or opportunity to make use of any such words. The last time I saw you in London, was the last intercourse that I remember to have had with your family. But having always trusted to my own innocence, I was never inquisitive to know my accusers. When I mentioned my loss of interest with you, I did it with concern: and I had no resentment; because I supposed it only to arise from different sentiments in public matters.

'My Lord, if my letter were *polite*, it was against my intention, and I intreat your pardon for it. If I have *wit*, I will keep it to shew when I am angry; which at present I am not, because although nothing can excuse those intemperate words your pen hath let fall, yet I shall give allowance to a hasty person, hurried on by mistake beyond all rules of decency. If a first Minister of State had used me as you have done, he should have heard from me in another style; because, in that case, retaliating would be thought a mark of courage. But as your Lordship is not in a situation to do me good, nor, I am sure, of a disposition to do me mischief; so I should lose the merit of being bold, because I incurred no danger. In this point alone we are exactly equal, but in wit and politeness I am as ready to yield to you, as in titles and estate.

'I have found out one secret, that although you call me a great wit, you don't think me so, otherwise you would have been cautious to have writ me such a letter.

'You conclude with saying, you are ready to ask pardon, where you have offended. Of this I acquit you, because I have not taken the offence; but whether you will acquit yourself, must be left to your conscience and honour.

'I have formerly, upon occasions, been your humble servant in Ireland, and should not refuse to be so still; but you have so useful and excellent a friend in

(35) This Lord, who was nephew to Sir W. Temple, had a right to bestow two handsome chambers in the College of Dublin, upon such students as he and his heirs should think proper, on account of the benefactions of the family towards the College buildings.

Having paid the last duties to his Patron, he removed to London, where he took the first opportunity of presenting a petition to the King for the first vacant Prebend of Canterbury or Westminster, for which the Royal Promise had been obtained by his late Benefactor; and to facilitate the success of this application, he dedicated two Volumes of Sir William's letters to his Majesty, which were published by him not long after. But both these addresses were intirely neglected; nor did the King take any the least notice of him after Sir William Temple's death. Under this disappointment, he accepted of an invitation from the Earl of Berkley (appointed one of the Lord's Justices in Ireland) (*ee*) to attend him in the character of his Chaplain, to which his Lordship also added the post of his private Secretary; but he was divested of this last office soon after their arrival at Dublin, by the insinuations of one Bush (*ff*), another of his Lordship's attendants, who succeeded him. This disappointment was soon followed by another: It happened that the Deanery of Derry became vacant; it was the Earl of Berkley's turn to dispose of it, and he intended it for his Chaplain; but, upon an application from the Bishop of the Diocese, his Lordship was diverted from that design, and instead thereof, gave him the two Livings of *Laracor* and *Rathbeggin*, in the Diocese of Meath, which, though worth about two hundred and sixty pounds per ann. [*N*],

(*ee*) In August 1700. The Duke of Bolton and the Earl of Galway were the other two. Gen. Hist. of England.

(*ff*) He remarked, that this office was not consonant to the character of a Clergyman. Lord Orrery, Letter III.

• Mr Reading, that you need no other, and I hope
• my good opinion of him will not lessen yours.

• I am, my Lord,

• Your most humble servant,

• Jonathan Swift (36).²

(36) Swift's Works, Vol. VI. p. 111, 112, 113. edit. 1755. 4to.

[*N*] *The two Livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin, not half the value of the Deanery.*] As Swift had refused a commission under King William, and a secular employment under Sir William Temple (37), it appears that his attachment to an ecclesiastical life, however early, and however strong, was not the effect of temporary views, but of zeal for the success of the great work, in which he was about to engage; and a consciousness of his own ability to acquit himself with advantage. That religious purposes were at this time predominant in his mind, he used frequently to declare; he hoped, he said, that by diligent and constant application, he should so far excel, that the Sexton might sometimes be asked on a Sunday morning, 'Pray does the Doctor preach to day?' And when he went to reside at Laracor, he gave public notice that he would read prayers on Wednesdays, and Fridays; a labour which he would not have brought upon himself, if he had been principally concerned about the value of his dues, which had been long before customarily paid for much less service (38). The duties of the Church, which he thus rendered more frequent, he performed with the utmost punctuality, and the most rational devotion; he was indeed devout not only in his public and solemn addresses to God, but in that transient act of adoration, which is called *saying grace*, and which often consists only in a mutter and a bow, in which the speaker appears to compliment the company, and the company each other: Swift always used the fewest words that could be uttered on the occasion, but he pronounced them with an emphasis and fervour, which every one around him saw and felt, and with his hands clasped in each other and lifted to his breast (39). An example worthy to be followed by other wits, in this act of religious decorum.

(38) Delany's Observations, p. 40, 41.

(39) Hawkesworth, p. 8, 9.

(40) Lord Orrery's third letter.

Yet Swift, with all this piety in his heart, could not resist the temptations to indulge the peculiarity of his humour, when an opportunity offered, whatever might be the impropriety of time and place. On the first Wednesday after he had summoned his congregation at Laracor, he ascended his desk, and, having sat some time with no other auditor than his clerk Roger, he rose up, and, with a composure and gravity that upon this occasion was irresistibly ridiculous, he began with one of the introductory sentences from Scripture, and proceeded with the like composure, 'Dearly beloved Roger, The Scripture moveth you and me in sundry places,' and so went regularly through the whole service (40). This instance of his levity, it must be owned, is sufficient to clear Dr King, then Bishop of Derry, from any particular ill-will to him, in trying to prevent his promotion to that deanery. His Lordship indeed intreated the Lords Justices with great earnestness, that the deanery might be given to some grave elderly divine; rather than to so young a man; but it was because the situation of Derry being in the midst of Presbyterians; 'I should be glad, says the Bishop, of a clergyman who could be of assistance to me. I have no objection to Mr Swift: I know him to be a sprightly ingenious young man; but, instead of residing, I dare say he will

be eternally flying backwards and forwards to London; and therefore I intreat that he may be provided for in some other place.' Swift was accordingly set aside for youth: but, as if his stars had destined him to a parallel revenge, he lived to see the Bishop of Derry afterwards set aside on account of age. That prelate had been Archbishop of Dublin many years, and been long celebrated for his wit and learning, when Dr Lindfay, the primate of Ireland, died. Upon his death, Archbishop King immediately made claim to the primacy, as a preferment to which he had a right from his station in the see of Dublin, and from his acknowledged character in the church: neither of these pretensions were prevalent; he was looked upon as too far advanced in years to be removed: the reason alledged was as mortifying as the refusal itself: but the Archbishop had no opportunity of shewing his resentment, except to the new primate, Dr Bolton, whom he received at his own house, and in his dining parlour, without rising from his chair, and to whom he made an apology, by saying in his usual strain of wit, and his usual sneering countenance, 'My Lord, I am certain your Grace will forgive me, because you know I am too old to rise (41).' Our regard to impartiality will not suffer this remark to conclude, without taking notice of another mortification which our divine met with this year in the marriage of his sister. She happened to yoke herself with a man in trade, 'an unpardonable offence, says Lord Orrery (42), in his eye.' He saw in it a stumbling-block in the very way of his ambition: his own experience had already furnished some; and he must have observed more instances, where very fair promising hopes had been nipped in the bud by very weak pretences. All the faculties of his soul were extremely quick of apprehension: he therefore grew even outrageous at the thoughts of being brother-in-law to a tradesman. It availed nothing that his fortune, character, and situation, were esteemed by all her other friends suitable in every respect, and that the match was concluded with the consent and approbation of her uncles, and all the rest of her relations. It was done utterly against his will, and he refused all reconciliation with her. In these circumstances recourse was had to his mother, who, from a tender regard for the happiness of her children, came over to Ireland under the strongest hopes of pacifying his anger, having, in every other instance, found him a dutiful and an obedient son. But in this he was not to be conquered. He was deaf even to the intreaties of a parent whom he so much honoured; and he returned to Leicester, leaving him in this point absolutely inflexible. While this incident was fresh in my mind, I took up the second volume of the *Tatler*, and, turning over the history of Jenny Distaff, felt the delight those papers had formerly given me greatly heightened: I had considered them before as prodigious efforts of a most surprizing wit and humour, brats of a most uncommonly turned brain; but now they seemed to be the dictates of the author's heart (*). Mr Pope somewhere tells him (43), that he had a desperate hand at dashing out a character by great strokes. Here we discover the true source of that peculiar talent, *si vis me flere dolendum est primum tibi*. Swift's real *dolor* on this subject we see was as much stronger than that of ordinary men, as his descriptions are more striking than those of any other genius. He wrote many personal satires, which Lord Orrery thinks were drawn from him by particular provocations; and instances in Dryden, who, he imagines, had some way or other offended our Author; otherwise

(41) *Ibid.* p. 2. 23.

(42) p. 20, 2

(*) Swift is supposed to have written several letters which never owned (43) Letter V in his Works Vol. IV. par p. 103. edit. 1742.

did not amount to half the value of the Deanery. However, upon this preferment, he went to England and took his degree of Doctor of Divinity (gg). He also made use of this opportunity of shewing his talents to the public, by commencing Author in print [O]. The subject was political, and though his first production, was universally allowed to be a master-piece, and he laid thereby the first stone of his subsequent promotion. This done, resolving for the present to return to his Living at Laracor, he invited to Ireland a Lady, whom he has celebrated by the name of *Stella*. With this Lady he became acquainted while he lived with Sir William Temple; she was the daughter of his Steward, whose name was *Johnson*; and Sir William, by his Will, left her a thousand pounds, in consideration of her father's faithful services. At the death of Sir William, which happened in 1699, she was in the sixteenth year of her age, and it was about two years afterwards, that at Swift's invitation, she left England, accompanied by Mrs *Dingley*, a Lady who was fifteen years older, and whose whole fortune, though she was related to Sir William, was no more than an annuity of twenty seven pounds (*). Whether the Doctor at this time desired the company of *Stella* as a wife, or a friend, is not certain (†); but whatever was his attachment, every possible precaution was taken by him to prevent scandal; they never lived in the same house; when he was absent, Mrs *Johnson* and her friend resided at the parsonage; when he returned, they removed either to the house of Dr. *Raymond*, Vicar of *Trim*, a gentleman of great hospitality, and Swift's intimate friend, or to a lodging provided for them in the neighbourhood; nor were they ever known to meet but in the presence of a third person. However, this beloved companion, dear as she was to him, had not power to charm him into a constant residence upon his cures. He made frequent excursions both to Dublin and London, while Mrs *Johnson* was buried in solitude and obscurity. She was known only to a few of Swift's most intimate acquaintance, and had no female companion except Mrs *Dingley* (bb). In the mean time, these long absences from his cures, during which he seldom, if ever, appeared in the pulpit, were manifestly inconsistent with his former declared purpose to excel as a Preacher. But he could not bear the thoughts of being buried alive in the North of Ireland, and was solicitous to be near the Court (where he was well received by the principal persons of all parties) in the view of obtaining a more desirable situation in the Church of England, and had certainly succeeded to the height of his wishes, had not he unluckily barred himself out by publishing his *Tale of a Tub* in 1705 [P]. The drift of this

unparalleled

he would have escaped his lash in *The Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books* (44).

[O] He commenced Author.] The piece is intitled, *A discourse upon the contests and dissensions between the nobles and commons in Athens and Rome*. The *causa τεροκαλιεξινη*, as the schools term it, of Swift's becoming an author, he has himself given in the following words:

'I will tell you [Pope] that all my endeavours from a boy to distinguish myself were only for want of a great title and fortune, that I might be used like a Lord by those who have an opinion of my parts, whether right or wrong, it is no great matter; and so the reputation of great learning does the office of a blue ribbon, or of a coach and six horses (45).' The company and conversation of Sir William Temple turned his thoughts upon politics, and he was pleased with the subject. His reading had always lain that way, he had a capacity equal to any undertaking, and was determined in his choice by the particular juncture of affairs at that time, and would not slip the opportunity of pushing his fortune by an artful address to some of the most considerable personages then upon the stage of the public, who had been lately impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. Portland, Somers, Orford, and Halifax, were all great men, and the three last of remarkable abilities and experience; and we are assured by Lord Orrery, that Lord Somers was the particular friend of our Doctor (46); and he himself has informed us, that he used to meet Mr Addison at Lord Halifax's (47). The characters of these four great Lords are described under Athenian names: Phocion is Portland, Aristides Lord Somers, Themistocles the Earl of Orford, and Pericles Lord Halifax. Its general purport is to damp the warmth of the Commons, by shewing, that the measures they pursued had a direct tendency to bring on that tyranny which they professed to oppose. I believe Lord Orrery's remark will hardly be questioned, that, in parallels of this sort, it is not possible for every circumstance to tally with the utmost exactness; but the whole treatise is full of historical knowledge and excellent reflections. It is not mixed with any improper sallies of wit, or any light airs of humour; and, in point of style and learning, is equal, if not superior, to any of his political works. Thus he did not, as is the ordinary way, creep slowly into fame, but burst out at once into perfection; and from this time he continued, in various branches of writing, to surprize and ravish all hearts, from the prince to the beggar, with strokes of intimitable wit and humour, delivered in an unexampled perspicuity of style.

[P] *A Tale of a Tub* in 1704.] Scarce any book ever made so much noise in the world as this. It was never absolutely owned by the Dean; yet *aut Erasimus est aut Diaboli* (48). Thus writes Lord Orrery; who seems to have known nothing of that copy of the edition in 1710, which was revised by the Dean a short time before his understanding was impaired. This corrected copy was lately in the hands of Mr Deane Swift, and the corrections are inserted in the edition of his works in 1750 (49). His Lordship however very justly observes, that, though the *Tale of a Tub* be one of Swift's earliest performances, yet it has never been excelled in wit and spirit by his own or any other pen. Several censures were passed upon it; and he himself has told us, that he lost an English bishopric thereby; and relates the story of Archbishop Sharp and the Dutchess of Marlborough objecting his want of Christianity, as abovementioned. However that be, it is certain he had other powerful enemies on that account. In the debates in the House of Lords upon the schism bill in 1714, the Earl of Nottingham (†), speaking against that part of the bill which enacted that any person, who should keep any public or private school, or instruct any youth as Tutor, should have a licence of the respective Archbishop or Bishop of the place, &c. expressed himself in these terms: 'My Lords, I have many children; I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish they had; therefore, my Lords, I own I tremble when I think, that a certain Divine [meaning Dr Swift] is in a fair way of being a Bishop, and may one day give licenses to those who shall be intrusted with the education of youth (50).' Lord Orrery imputes this disappointment to his own untractable spirit, which made even his friends with him promoted at a distance: and though he allows the most material censures that passed upon his book, were those which reflected upon the Author in the character of a clergyman and a Christian, yet he is very hearty in his vindication, and imputes these aspersions to the melancholy temper of his accusers. 'Can we wonder then, says he, if a book, composed with all the force of wit and humour, in derision of sacerdotal tyranny, in ridicule of grave hypocrisy, and in contempt of phlegmatic stiffness, should be wilfully misconstrued by some persons, and ignorantly mistaken by others as a sarcasm and reflection upon the whole Christian church (51).' He allows that Swift's ungovernable spirit of irony has sometimes carried him into very unwarrantable flights of wit. 'I have, continues he, remarked such passages with a most unwilling eye; but, let my affections of friend-

(†) The reason given by the ladies for their removal, was the high rate of interest, and the cheapness of provisions in Ireland; but other reasons were suspected by Mr Thomas Swift, Rector of Puttenham, who, in a letter wrote a few years afterwards, enquires whether Jonathan was married, and whether he had been able to resist the charms of both those gentlewomen, who marched from Moor-Park to Dublin with a resolution to engage him. Deane Swift, p. 86, 87.

(48) In his Remarks, ubi supra.

(49) Preface to that edition.

(†) Upon his Lordship's deserting the Tories, Swift published an advertisement, signifying his person and dress, which were both very remarkable, and promising a reward of five shillings, if he would return to his friends. Boyer's Hist. of Q. Anne.

(50) Life of Lord Halifax, p. 235. 2d edition, 1716. 8vo.

(51) Letter IV. p. 29.

(gg) Lord Orrery, Letter III.

(*) The Doctor gave her fifty guineas a year, after her coming to Ireland, as long as he retained his senses, Hawkesworth, p. 14. and left her in his will an annuity of twenty pounds for her life.

(bb) Lord Orrery and Deane Swift.

(44) Remarks in Letter XXIII. 196, 197.

(45) Letter VII. Swift's works.

(46) Remarks, Letter VII. 59.

(47) Letter IV. Swift's letters, Dublin edition.

unparalleled piece of humour was mistaken, and when a Bishopric was intended for him by the Queen, her Majesty was prevailed upon to give it to another by the persuasions of the Dutchess of Marlborough, backed by Dr John Sharp, Archbishop of York, in whom the *Tale of a Tub* had caused a suspicion of the Author's Christianity. The Doctor had not yet engaged particularly with either party, Whig or Tory. He was equally acquainted, and indifferently conformed, with Pope and Addison, Somers and St John. But this incident determined the future colour of his politics. A persecution from the former, unavoidably threw him into the hands of the latter; and as he never did any thing by halves, the public was presently made sensible of his change by *The Sentiments of a Church of England Man, with respect to Religion and Government*, which came out upon the change of the Ministry in 1708, and some other pieces of the same spirit in defence of his religious principles [2]. All these were eagerly bought up, and much admired; and he became the Idol of the people in general, by his *Predictions for the Year 1708*, published under the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq; insomuch that Mr (afterwards Sir Richard) Steele assumed the same feigned name, and the real assistance of the same person, as the best expedient to recommend his *Tatlers* to the world (ii). But our Author had not been long engaged in the support of this universally admired Paper, before a new scene opened to him. In 1710, being then in England, he was empowered by his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland to solicit the Queen for an exoneration of the Clergy of Ireland from paying the twentieth parts, and first fruits [R]. Upon this occasion, his acquaintance commenced with Mr

Harley,

friendship be ever so great, my paternal affection is still greater; and I will pursue candor even with an aking heart, when the pursuit of it may tend to your advantage or instruction. In the stile of truth therefore, I must still look upon the *Tale of a Tub* as no intended insult against Christianity, but as a satire against the wild errors of the church of Rome, the slow and incomplete reformation of the Lutherans, and the absurd and affected zeal of the Presbyterians.' He then proceeds to give particular instances of this assertion; and, having blamed the keeness of his satire against Mr Dryden, whom he calls the greatest, though the least prosperous, of our English poets, he concludes thus. 'But although our satirical author now and then may have indulged himself in some personal animosities, or may have taken freedoms not so perfectly consistent with that solemn decency which is required from a clergyman; yet, throughout the whole piece, there is a vein of ridicule and good humour that laughs pedantry and affectation into the lowest degree of contempt, and exposes the characters of Peter and Jack in such a manner as never will be forgiven, and never can be answered.' The freedoms here mentioned allude to that Apology for the Author, which is the best, and was written by himself. It is dated Jan. 3, 1709, from which time it has been constantly prefixed to the work. In this apology the Doctor ingenuously acknowledges, that there are several youthful sallies in it, which from the grave and the wise may deserve a rebuke; but adds, that he will forfeit his life, if any one opinion can be fairly deduced from it, which is contrary to religion or morality.

[2] He published several other pieces in defence of his religious principles.] The titles of these are; (1.) *An Argument to prove that the abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce those many good effects proposed thereby, in 1708.* (2.) *A Project for the advancement of religion and the reformation of manners. By a person of quality.* Addressed to the Countess of Berkeley in 1709. This most excellent Lady was Elizabeth, the daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, and sister to Edward Earl of Gainsborough. (3.) *A Letter from a member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a member of the House of Commons in England concerning the sacramental test in 1708.* This was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the attempt to repeal the sacramental test was revived. There was an explanatory advertisement prefixed, which is said by Lord Orrery (52) to have been dictated or strictly revised by the Dean himself; but Mr Hawkesworth observes, there are in it some inaccuracies which may well be thought sufficient to destroy its authenticity: that which in the first paragraph is called the following treatise, is afterwards said to be an extract of a discourse; and it is immediately added, that this extract is the whole, except some passages of no consequence (53). Whether these instances are sufficient to prove his point against his Lordship's remark, will be easily determined by the reader.

[R] He was empowered to solicit a discharge, &c.] It would be an injury to Dr Swift's just fame to conceal from the reader the following letters, which passed between him and the Archbishop of Dublin on this occasion.

The first is from him to that Archbishop, dated at London, Oct. 10, 1710, and runs thus:

My Lord,
I had the honour of your Grace's letter of Sept. 16, but I was in no pain to acknowledge it, nor shall be at any other time, unless I have something that I think worth troubling you with; because I know how much an insignificant letter is worse than none at all. I had likewise your memorial (54), &c. in another packet. I should have been glad the Bishops had been here; although I take Bishops to be the worst sollicitors in the world, except for themselves. They cannot give themselves the little trouble of attendance that other men are content to swallow: else I am sure their two Lordships (55) might have succeeded easier than men of my level are likely to do.
As soon as I received the packets from your Grace, I went to wait upon Mr Harley. I had prepared him before by another hand, where he was very intimate; and got myself represented (which I might justly do) as one extremely ill used by the last Ministry after some obligations, because I refused to go certain lengths they would have me. This happened to be in some sort Mr Harley's own case. He had heard very often of me, and received me with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, as I was whispered he would; and the more, upon the ill usage I had met with. I sat with him two hours among company, and two hours we were alone; where I told him my business, and gave him the history of it: which he heard as I could wish, and declared he would do his utmost to effect it. I told him the difficulties we met with by Lord-Lieutenants and their Secretaries, who would not suffer others to solicit, and neglected it themselves. He fell in with me intirely, and said neither they nor himself should have the merit of it, but the Queen, to whom he would shew my memorial with the first opportunity, in order, if possible, to have it done in this interregnum (56). I said the honour and merit next to the Queen would be his; that it was a great encouragement to the Bishops that he was in the Treasury, whom they knew to be the chief adviser of the Queen to grant the same favour in England; that consequently the honour and merit were nothing to him who had done so much greater things: and that for my part I thought he was obliged to the clergy of Ireland for giving him an opportunity of gratifying the pleasure he took in doing good to the Church. He took my compliment extremely well, and renewed his promises. Your Grace will please to know, that, besides the first-fruits, I told him of the crown-rents, and shewed the nature and value of them; but said my opinion was, that the convocation had not mentioned them in their petition to the Queen delivered to the Lord Wharton (57), with the address, because they thought the times would not then bear it; but that I looked on myself to have a discretionary power to solicit it in so favourable a juncture.
I had two memorials ready, of my own drawing up, as short as possible, shewing the nature of the thing, and how long it had been depending, &c. One of these memorials had a paragraph at the end, relating

(ii) See Sir Richard's Article.

(54) Bishops and clergy of Ireland in convocation concerning the first-fruits and twentieth parts.

(55) The Bishop of Ossory and Killaloo. See the third letter.

(52) In Letter

(53) In a note to the title of this tract in Swift's works, Vol. 11. p. 120.

(56) This did not last long after the date of this letter; for the Duke of Ormond was a pointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the Lord Wharton on the 19th of October this year. Salmor Chron. Histoir

(57) Then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford. As soon as he had received the Bishop's letters, instructions, and authority, he resolved to apply to Mr *Harley*, not only because he was a principal person in the Queen's Ministry, but because by his interest the same favour had been granted to the Clergy of England. That he might not wait upon this Minister, to whom his name was well known, wholly without recommendation, he got himself represented as a person who had been extremely ill used by the last Ministry, because he would not go certain lengths, which they would have had him; this being in some sort Mr *Harley's* own case. And he received him with the utmost kindness and respect; he sat with him two

' relating to the crown-rents. I would have given him the last; but I gave him the other, which he immediately read, and promised to second both with his best offices to the Queen. As I have placed that paragraph in my memorial, it can do no harm, and may possibly do good. However, I beg your Grace to say nothing of it; but, if it dieth, let it die in silence: we must take up with what we can get.

' I forget to tell your Grace, that when I said I was empowered, &c. he desired to see my powers; and then I heartily wished them more ample than they were; and I have since wondered what scruple a number of Bishops could have to empower a clergyman to do the church and them a service, without any imagination of interest for himself.

' Mr *Harley* has invited me to dine with him to day; but I shall not put him upon this discourse so soon. If he begins it himself, I shall add it at the bottom of this. He says Mr Secretary *St John* desires to be acquainted with me, and that he will bring us together. That may be a further help, although I told him I had no thoughts of applying to any body but himself; wherein he differed from me, and desired I would speak to others, if it were but for form; and seemed to mean as if he would avoid the envy of being thought to do such a thing alone. But an old courtier (an intimate friend) advised me still to let him know I relied wholly upon his good inclinations and credit with the Queen, &c.

' I find I am forced to say all this very confusedly, just as it lieth in my memory; but perhaps it may give your Grace a truer idea how matters are, than if I had writ in more order.

' I am, &c.

' Jonathan Swift.'

The Archbishop's Answer is dated Dublin, Oct. 24, 1710, and is in these terms:

' Reverend Sir,

' I thank you for yours of the 10th instant, and send you inclosed a farther power by my Lord Primate (58) and me. My Lord is not able to come to town, which obliged me to wait on him at Johnston, and hindered the joining of two or three Bishops in it, who are yet in town; but I suppose our signing is sufficient. I went in the morning to wait on his Grace, and intended, when he had signed it, to have applied to other Bishops: but he was abroad taking the air, and I could not get it till it was late, and thought it better to sign and send it as it is, than wait for another post. You may expect, by the next, a letter to his Grace of Canterbury, and another to the Archbishop of York. I apprized them both of the business. The latter, if I remember right, spoke to her Majesty about it; I am not sure that her Majesty remembers what I said on that subject; but am sure that she was pleased to seem satisfied with it, and to scruple only the time; I suppose not thinking it fit to confer the favour she designed the Clergy of Ireland by the hands it must then have passed through, but said that in the interval of a change, or absence of a chief Governor, it should be done. I hope now is the proper time, and that her Majesty will rather follow the dictates of her own bountiful inclinations, than the intrigues of cunning covetous Counsellors.

' I thought to have troubled you with a great many things; but such a crowd of visitors have broken in upon me before I could lock my gates, that I am forced to break off abruptly, recommending you to God's care.

' I am, &c.

' William Dublin.'

The inclosed letter, here mentioned, was as follows:

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' Sir,

' We directed a letter to the Bishops of *Offery* and *Killaloo* last August, desiring and empowering them to solicit the affair of our first fruits and twentieth parts, with her Majesty; which has depended so long, notwithstanding her Majesty's good intentions, and several promises of our chief Governors here, to lay our addresses before her Majesty in the best manner. We were then apprehensive, that those Bishops might return from England before the business could be effected, and therefore we desired them to concern you in it; having so good assurance of your ability, prudence, and fitness to prosecute such a matter. We find the Bishops returned before you came to London, for which we are very much concerned; and judging this the most proper time to prosecute it with success, we intreat you to take the full management of it into your hands, and do commit the care of soliciting it to your diligence and prudence; desiring you to let us know from time to time what progress is made in it. And if any thing farther be necessary on our part, on your intimations we shall be ready to do what is reasonable.

' This, with our prayers for the good success of your endeavours, is all from

' Yours, &c.

' Narcissus Armagh,

' William Dublin.'

Upon the Doctor's sending word, that the Grant was obtained, the Archbishop wrote the following letter to him, dated at Dublin, December 16, 1710.

' Sir,

' This is to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 20th past, which came not to my hands till Thursday last, by reason of winds that kept the packets on the other side.

' I find the matter of our first fruits, &c. is talked of now. I reckon on nothing certain till her Majesty's letter comes in form: and quære, why should not you come, and bring it with you? It would make you a very welcome Clergyman to Ireland, and be the best means to satisfy mankind how it was obtained, although I think that will be out of dispute. I am very well apprized of the dispatch you gave this affair, and well pleased that I judged better of the person fit to be employed, than some of my brethren. But now it is done, as I hope it is effectually, they will assume as much as their neighbours; which I shall never contradict.

' Things are taking a new turn here as well as with you, and, I am of opinion, by the time you come here, few will profess themselves Whigs. The greatest danger I apprehend, and which terrifies me more, than perhaps you will be able to imagine, is the fury and indiscretion of some of our own people, who never had any merit; but by embroiling things, they did, and I am afraid will yet do mischief.

' I heartily recommend you to God's favour,

' And am, &c.

' William Dublin.'

The Grant for exonerating the Clergy of Ireland from paying the twentieth parts, was dated Feb. 7, 1710, as was also the other Grant to *Narcissus*, Archbishop of Armagh; *Sir Constantine Phipps*, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland (59); *William*, Lord Archbishop of Dublin; *John*, Archbishop of Tuam, and others; of the first fruits payable out of all ecclesiastical benefices in trust, to be for ever applied towards purchasing glebes, and building residentary-houses for poor-endowed vicars. The success of which charitable fund hitherto, may be seen in a printed pamphlet, containing an account of the first fruits of Ireland.

(59) He was knighted and raised to this Dignity on the 26th of Decemb. preceding, having been of Council to Dr *Sacheverell*.

(kk) Deane Swift,
p. 227, 317.

hours in company, and two hours he was with him alone; he not only engaged in the Doctor's immediate business with the utmost zeal, and soon after accomplished it; but told him he must bring him acquainted with Mr St John, invited him to stay dinner, charged him to come often, and when the Doctor proposed attending at his Levee, told him that was no place for friends (kk). The Doctor became acquainted soon after with the rest of the Ministers, who appear to have courted and caressed him with an uncommon assiduity [S]. And, on his side, he supported from this time the interest of his new friends with all his power in pamphlets, poems, and periodical papers; his intimacy with them was so remarkable, that he was thought not only to defend, but in some degree to direct their measures; and such was his importance in the opinion of the opposite party, that many speeches were made against him in both Houses of Parliament; a reward was also offered for discovering the Author of *The Public Spirit of the Whigs* [T]. Whatever excellence we possess, or whatever honours we obtain, the pleasure which they produce is all relative to some particular favourite, with whom we are tenderly connected, either by friendship or by love; or, at most, it terminates like rays collected by a burning-glass in a very small circle, which is scarce more than a point, and, like light, becomes sensible only by reflexion. Thus Swift, while he was courted and caressed by those whom others were making interest to approach, seems to have enjoyed his distinction only in proportion as it was participated by *Stella*; amidst all the business, and all the honours that crowded upon him, he wrote every day an account of whatever occurred,

[S] *Courted and caressed with uncommon assiduity.* He dined every Saturday at Mr Harley's, with the Lord Keeper [Sir Simon, afterwards Lord Harcourt], Mr Secretary St John, and Lord Rivers: on that day no other person was, for some time, admitted; but this select company was at length enlarged to sixteen, all men of the first class, Swift included. They dined once a week at the houses of each other, by rotation, and went under the general denomination of Brothers. This, and many other particulars, which could have been known no other way, are found in his letters to *Stella*; which, if they may be credited, incontestably prove, that he was not only employed, but trusted; and that the mysterious Harley, impenetrably reserved to all others, was to Swift open and explicit in affairs of the utmost moment (60). The result of one of their conferences, so early as the year 1710, was to this effect: that the Kingdom was as certainly ruined, as a bankrupt merchant; that a peace, whether bad or good, was absolutely necessary; that the confederacy must soon break, and factions increase; and that the Ministry was upon too narrow a bottom, and stood like an Isthmus, between the Whigs on one side, and the violent Tories on the other; a situation in which they could not subsist. These violent Tories were formed into a Society, called the October Club, of whom Swift says, they are about a hundred Parliament Men of the country, who drink October beer at home, and meet every evening at a tavern near the Parliament-House, to drive things on to extremes against the Whigs (61). But if Swift thought this party too precipitant, it is certain he thought Lord Oxford too slow, and he once told him so, in a manner that shews both his integrity, and the freedom of his conversation with those who have a prescriptive right to servile flattery: he had received a present of a fine tortoise-shell snuff-box, lined with gold, and painted on the inside of the lid with a view of Venice. This present he shewed one day to the Treasurer, who having admired the painting and the workmanship, at last spied a figure studded on the outside of the bottom, which he thought resembled a goose; whereupon, turning to the Doctor, Jonathan, says he, I think they have made a goose of thee. Yes, my Lord, answers the Doctor, but if your Lordship will look a little farther, you will see that I am driving a snail before me; which indeed happened to be the device. To this the Earl coolly replied, that is severe enough, Jonathan; but I deserve it (62).

[T] *The public Spirit of the Whigs.* The whole title runs thus: *The public Spirit of the Whigs set forth in their generous Encouragement of the Author of the CRISIS, with some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candour, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise, printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall, 1714.* Of all the pieces wrote by our Author in defence of that Ministry, Lord Orrery (63) singles out this to shew of what importance he was then thought to be. The Scotch members in the preceding session, highly incensed at the malt-tax, which was laid equally that year upon both nations, had remonstrated against it to the Queen (64), and, receiving no satisfactory answer, carried their complaint before the House of Lords this session, and, in the debates upon it, even proposed to dissolve the Union. Our Author handles this proceeding with great bold-

ness, and no less severity, and having laid open the history of the Union, compares the conduct of England therein to a person of quality that had been prevailed upon to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune. He likewise observes, that the pensions and employments possessed by the natives of that country, then among us, amounted to more than the whole body of their nobility spent at home; and that all the money that was raised there among the public, was hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. He also said, he could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union; though their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a *Welsh Justice of Peace*; and had since gathered more money than ever any Scotchman who had not travelled could form an idea of. Provoked by this keen satire, all the Scotch Lords then in London went in a body, and complained to the Queen of the affront: and, upon the meeting of the next parliament, March 2, 1713, her Majesty, in her speech, having expressed her wishes that effectual care had been taken to suppress seditious papers (65), immediately after the Lords had voted an address of thanks for that speech, Lord *Wharton*, backed by Lord *Halifax*, in pursuance of that part of it, made a complaint to the House against this scandalous (so he called it) pamphlet; an enquiry into the author, printer, and publisher, was carried on with uncommon vigour; and when the printer and publisher, *Barber and Morphew*, insisted upon their not answering any question, the answer to which might tend to accuse themselves, or corroborate the accusation against them, Lord *Halifax* rose up, and said, 'They had nothing to do either with the printer or publisher, and that it highly concerned the honour of that august assembly to find out the villain, who was the author of that false and scandalous libel, in order to do the Scottish nation justice.' He further added, 'that there were not wanting persons, who had the honour to sit in that house, that were too well acquainted with a certain great man's veracity, not to suspect any thing in him rather than want of knowledge, since it was whispered about, that he who wrote the famous pamphlet had said *Grace* more than once, and fouled many a plate at a nobleman's table not a mile from York buildings (66).' Hereupon Lord *Oxford* protested, that he knew nothing of him directly or indirectly. How- ever, in order to conceal him, her Majesty was prevailed on to take the cognizance of the affair into her own hands in one of her courts at Westminster: and, on the 6th of March following, the Earl of Mar, principal Secretary of State for Scotland, had it in command to acquaint the Lords, that orders had been already given for the prosecution of *John Barber, &c.* Three days after which, the said *Barber and Morphew* were, on their petition, enlarged from their confinement. The Lords resolving at the same time on an address to her Majesty to issue out her royal proclamation, with a reward for the discovery of the author of the said libel. Accordingly a proclamation was published the same day on which the address was presented, promising a reward of 300l. for such discovery, payable by the Lord Treasurer: notwithstanding which no discovery was made (67).

(65) Which was levelled against Mr Steele's Critis.

(66) Lord Oxford's house was then in those buildings.

(67) Life of Lord Halifax, p. 211, 212, 213.

and

(60) This is levelled at Lord Orrery, who maintains that Swift was employed, but not trusted, which indeed is acknowledged by himself in his Imitation of Horace's Epist. Book I. addressed to this mysterious Minister; inserted in Swift's Works, Vol. III. Part I. p. 41. et seqq. edit. 1755. 4to.

(61) Deane Swift's Account, p. 318, 319, 320. from Letters to *Stella*. See also the Publisher's Preface to Some Advice humbly offered to the Members of the October Club, written in 1711. Swift's Works, as before, Vol. IV. Part II. p. 224. et seqq.

(62) Ibid. 146.

(63) In Letter VIII.

(64) This was done by a deputation of men of each rank, the Duke of Argyle, and the Earl of Mar, and Mr Lockhart, and Mr Cockburne. Life of Lord Halifax, p. 198. edit. 2d. 1716.

and sent her a journal regularly, dated every fortnight, during the whole time of his connexion with Queen Anne's Ministry. In the summer of 1711, he foresaw the ruin of this Ministry by those misunderstandings among themselves, which at last effected it; and it was not only his opinion, but their own, that if they could not carry a peace, they would not be able to keep themselves out of the Tower, even though they should agree. In order therefore to facilitate this great event, Swift wrote *The Conduct of the Allies*, a piece which he confesses cost him much pains, and which succeeded even beyond his expectation [U]. He continued to exert himself with unwearied diligence in the service of the Ministry [W], without receiving any gratuity or reward, till the year 1712, when he was offered the Deanery of St Patrick's in Dublin. This was a most grievous balk to his views; he had set his heart upon a Bishopric in England, in which he was undoubtedly qualified to make a figure in the House of Lords; but the Earl of Oxford did not think fit to gratify that inclination, probably from a caution to avoid giving so great an offence as it must have been to the opposite party. But with whatever view, or from whatever cause the Deanery was offered, he thought proper, considering the then precarious state of his friends, to accept it, and immediately crossed the Channel to take possession of his new dignity; but before he had been a fortnight in Ireland, he was urged by a hundred letters to hasten back and reconcile Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, the consequences of whose misunderstanding were justly dreaded by their friends (ll). Upon his return, he found their quarrels and coldness increased, and having predicted their ruin from this very cause, he laboured to bring about a reconciliation [X], as that upon which the whole interest of the party depended. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he went to Oxford by the coach, and thence to the house of a friend in Berkshire, where he continued till the Queen's death, which happened in about ten weeks. While he was at this place, his mind being still busy for his friends, he wrote a discourse called *Free Thoughts upon the present State of Affairs*, which he thought might be useful at that juncture, and sent it up to London (mm); but some difference of opinion happening between him and Lord Bolingbroke, the publication was delayed [Z] till the Queen's death, and then he recalled his copy (nn). A few weeks

(nn) It was afterwards deposited with the late Alderman Barber, and having been since published, is inserted among his Works.

after

[U] *The Conduct of the Allies succeeded beyond his expectation.* It was published on the 27th of November, 1711, just ten days before the Parliament met; and before the 28th of January, above eleven thousand were sold, seven editions having been printed in England, and three in Ireland. The Tory Members, in both Houses, who spoke, according to our Author's own account, drew all their arguments from it; and the resolutions which were printed in the Votes, and which would never have passed but for the *Conduct of the Allies*, were little more than quotations from it (68).

[W] *He continued to exert himself for the Ministry.* Among other things in that cause, while he was at Windsor, just at the conclusion of the peace at Utrecht, he drew the first sketch of *A History of the four last Years of Queen Anne* (69). The work would have been published soon after, if his friends in the Ministry had not disagreed about it, and after the Queen's death he spent much time in improving and correcting it (70); to this purpose our Author himself, in a letter to Mr Pope, dated 10th of January 1721, says he had written some Memorials of the four last years of the Queen's reign, with some other informations, which he received as necessary materials to qualify him for doing something in an employment, then designed for him (meaning the place of Historiographer,) 'but as it was, continues he, at the disposal of a person who had not the smallest share of steadiness or sincerity, I disdained to accept of it (71).' Lord Orrery takes notice of this passage, but thinks the Doctor flattered himself too much in this point. 'At least, says his Lordship, it is evident that he remained without any preferment till the year 1713, when he was made Dean of St Patrick's (72).' The noble Author, doubtless, had other grounds for his suspicion, than this remark could suggest, since Dr Swift plainly intimates, that the design of making him Historiographer, did not commence till 1714.

[X] *He laboured to bring about a reconciliation.* With this view he contrived to bring them to Lord Masham's at St James's, and Lord and Lady Masham, being acquainted with his purpose, left him alone with them; he then expostulated with them both, but to little effect, being only able to engage them to go to Windsor the next day, still hoping, that if he could keep them together, they would come to some agreement. Swift soon after followed them; but was told by Lord Bolingbroke that his scheme had come to nothing; and he had the mortification to observe, that they grew more cold to each other every day. In the mean time Lord Oxford's credit grew daily less, and the Queen's health visibly declin'd. Swift however contrived yet once more to meet them at Lord Masham's, and was again left alone with them; this was the last time they ever met, and he spoke to them both with

great freedom; but at length, despairing of his purpose, he told them he would retire, for that all was gone. Bolingbroke whispered him that he was right, but Oxford said all would do well (73). It is no wonder that the Dean's attempt to reconcile his friends were unsuccessful, for Bolingbroke declares, that 'he abhorred Oxford to such a degree, that he would rather have suffered banishment or death, than have taken measures, in concert with him, to have avoided either (74).' But this he did not think fit to declare then to Swift, who thought the reunion might have been effected, if others, who had more concern and more influence than himself, would so have acted their parts (75). He communicated a particular account of the matter to Lord Orrery, who says it was too interesting to be yet made public (76).

[Z] *His Free Thoughts were suppressed by Lord Bolingbroke.* Notwithstanding he lays the fault entirely upon Lord Oxford's reserve, and backwardness in making a thorough change, by displacing all the Whigs, and even the Whimsicals (77), which could not but be agreeable to Bolingbroke, yet this Minister knew very well, that such a thing was not to be declared openly. But what transgressed all bounds of prudence is this declaration, That the Elector of Hanover, as heir apparent to the crown, ought to have a chapel at Hanover, where divine service may be performed according to the ritual of the church of England, and frequent it too, as King William, he says, did that of the Princess Mary before the Revolution. He likewise proposes as necessary, to have the clause repealed in the act of succession, empowering the Elector to nominate any number of regents to be added to the seven appointed by the Act, &c. Upon this account Lord Orrery, speaking of this piece, says to his son, when you read it, *digito confeser labellium* (78). Upon the whole, it is evidently wrote in the same spirit, and many of the observations are also the same with what we find in Lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham. And, if we may believe our Author himself, it was his Lordship, and not Oxford, who had the first place in his heart. 'It is you, says he to Bolingbroke, that was my hero; the other, Oxford, never was: yet if he were, it was your own fault, who taught me to love him, and often vindicated him in the beginning of your ministry from my accusations. But I grant he had the greatest inequalities of any man alive, and his whole scene was fifty times more a *what d'ye call it* than yours. For I declare yours was uniform; and I wish you would so order it, that the world may be as wise as I upon that article (79).' But we are told, that the Doctor imagined himself a subtle diver, who dextrously shot down into the profoundest regions of politics; yet was suffered only

(73) Hawkeforth, p. 12, 13.

(74) Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

(75) Letter V. in the collection, ubi supra.

(76) Remarks, p. 38. In a letter to Pope, dated July 23, 1737, Swift writes thus: 'Pray let my Lord Orrery see you often; next to yourself I love no man so well.'

(77) Tories, who had been eager for the conclusion of the peace, till the treaties were perfected; they could come up to no direct approbation: in the clamour raised about the danger of the succession, they joined the whigs, declared directly against their party, and affected in most other points a most glorious neutrality. Bolingbroke's letter to Wyndham, p. 48, 49.

(78) Letter XX.

(79) In another letter he writes, that Bolingbroke never deceived him, which seems to insinuate that Lord Oxford sometimes did. Letter LXXXVIII.

(oo) 'I use the Ministry, says he to Stella, like Dogs, because I expect they will use me so.—I never knew a Ministry do any thing for those whom they make companions of their pleasures; but I care not.' Deane Swift's Account, p. 322.

(pp) See his political writings, and his letters to Pope and Bolingbroke.
(qq) Swift's letter to Pope, note (nn).

after this fatal catastrophe, he went back to his station in Ireland, all his connexions with the court being broken, and all his expectations disappointed. It may indeed be truly said, that his disappointment was, in a great measure, the fruit of his own conduct (oo). It is certain, that during his connexion with those of the highest rank, and who in any rank would have been great, he would never suffer himself to be treated but as an equal, and repulsed every attempt to hold him in dependance, or to keep him at a distance, with the utmost resentment and indignation [Z]. As to his political principles, if his own account of them may be believed, he abhorred Whiggism only in those who made it consist in damning the Church, reviling the Clergy, abetting the Dissenters, and speaking contemptibly of Revealed Religion. He always declared himself against a Popish Successor to the Crown, whatever title he might have by proximity of blood; nor did he regard the right line upon any other account than as it was established by law, and had much weight in the opinions of the people. He was of opinion, that when the grievances suffered under the present government became greater than those that might probably be expected from changing it by violence, a revolution was justifiable; and this he believed to have been the case, in that which was brought about by the Prince of Orange. He had a mortal antipathy against standing armies in times of peace, and was of opinion, that our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation, till the ancient law should be revived, by which our Parliaments were made annual: he abominated the political scheme of setting up a monied interest in opposition to the landed, and was an enemy to temporary suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus* act (pp); that he was not at any time a bigot to party, and that he did not indiscriminately transfer his resentments from principles to persons, was so evident by his conduct, that it was an usual subject of raillery towards him, among the Ministers, that he never came to them without a *Whig in his sleeve* (qq); and though it does not appear that he asked any thing for himself, yet he often pressed Lord Oxford in favour of *Addison*, *Congreve*, *Rowe*, and *Steele*, with whom, except the last, he frequently conversed during all Lord Oxford's Ministry, chusing his friends by their personal merit, without examining how far their notions agreed with the politics then in vogue; and in particular, his friendship with Mr Addison continued inviolate, and with as much kindness as when they used to meet at Lord Halifax's or Lord Somers's; who were leaders of the opposite party [AA].

This

(80) Lord Orre-ry, Letter V. 11. and XXX. 1.

to found the shallows nearest the shore, and was scarce admitted to descend below the froth at the top. But the same pen intimates, that the reason was because the deeper bottoms were too muddy for his inspection (80). However it is evident, that he had no suspicion of any such muddiness at the bottom, for he declares, that, if he had succeeded in reconciling the two great friends, the public interest both of church and state would not have been the worse, nor the protestant succession endangered: and yet in his conscience he thought himself a partaker in every ill design they had against the protestant succession, or the religion and liberties of their country, and continues he can say with Cicero, that I should be glad to be included with them in all their actions, *tanquam in equo Trojano*.

[Z] *He repulsed every attempt to hold him in dependance, &c.* It happened, upon some occasion, that Harley sent him a bank bill of 50 l. by his private Secretary, Mr Lewis, which Swift instantly returned with a letter of expostulation and complaint. Harley invited him to dine, but he refused; the Minister wrote to Lewis to mediate between them, desiring to be reconciled; but Swift sent word, that he expected further satisfaction: Harley replied, that if he would but come and see him, he would make him easy; but Swift insisted, that he should apologize by message; and declared, that otherwise *he would cast him off* (82). He would not suffer even negative civilities. Having one day dined with Mr St John, then Secretary of State, and remarking that he appeared to be much out of temper, he took the first opportunity of seeing him alone, and warned him never to behave to him with silent reserve; for that he would not be treated like a school-boy. 'I expect, says he, that if you hear or see any thing to my disadvantage, you would let me know it in plain words, and not put me in pain to guess, by the change or coldness of your countenance or behaviour; for it is what I would hardly bear from a Crowned Head, and I think no subject's favour is worth it (83).' The Secretary received the reproof like a friend, as it was given, and apologized for his behaviour, declaring, that business had kept him up several whole nights, and drinking one more; and to make up matters, he pressed the Doctor to stay dinner, which however he declined, being engaged with another friend. It is true, these accounts to Stella lie open to the suspicion of being exaggerated to gratify his vanity, yet they are in some measure justified by a letter of his to Lord Oxford, after the connexion between them was broken. 'When I was with you, says he, I have said more than once, that I would

(82) Deane Swift, p. 324. from Letter to Stella.

(83) Ibid. p. 327.

never allow quality or station to make any difference between men—I loved you just so much the worse for your station—In your public capacity you have often angered me to the heart; but as a private man never—I was too proud to be vain of the honour you did me—I was never afraid of offending you, nor am I now in any pain for the manner I write to you in.' In the same spirit, when he was desired by his Lordship to introduce Dr Parnel to his acquaintance, he refused upon this principle, that a man of genius was a character superior to that of a Lord in a high station. He therefore obliged his Lordship to walk with his Treasurer's staff from room to room through his own levee, enquiring which was Dr Parnel, in order to introduce himself, and beg the honour of his acquaintance (84).

[AA] *Leaders of the opposite party.* Among other persons with whom he was intimately acquainted, during this gay part of his life, was Mrs *Vanhomrigh*, a Lady of good family, being the daughter of Mr Stone the Commissioner, and niece to the Accomptant-General of Ireland. The history of this family is not a little entertaining, and as the Doctor had no small concern in it, we shall lay it before the reader. Mrs Vanhomrigh was the widow of Mr *Bartholomew Vanhomrigh*, a Merchant of Amsterdam, who removed thence to Dublin at the Revolution, being appointed Commissary of the Stores by King William, upon his expedition into Ireland; a place which, during the war, was computed to be worth 6000 l. per annum. After the affairs of Ireland were settled, he was appointed Muster-Master General, and a Commissioner of the Revenue, and laid out about 12000 l. in the purchase of forfeited estates: but though he received the produce of this estate, and enjoyed his appointments thirteen years, yet when he died, in 1703, his expences had been so nearly equal to his revenue, that his whole fortune, including the value of his estate, amounted only to 16000 l. This, which however was no small sum, he directed, by his will, to be divided equally between his wife and four children, two sons, and two daughters, *Esber* and *Mary*. The sons dying soon after their father, their share fell to the daughters. With this increase of fortune, in 1709 the widow and the two young ladies went to England, where they were visited by persons of the first quality; and Swift lodging within a few doors of their house, in *Bury-Street St James's*, used to be much there, coming and going without ceremony, as if he had been one of the family. During this familiarity, he became a kind of Preceptor to the young Ladies, particularly the eldest, *Esber*, who was about twenty years of age, much addicted to reading, and a great admirer

(84) Hawke-worth, p. 14.

of

This removal was the great event which determined the colour of his life, bounded his views, and shewed him at once what he might possess, and for what he might hope [BB]. Upon his first arrival, he seems to have been treated as the Sacheverell of Ireland, being followed by the mob of one faction with execrations, and pelted with stones and dirt as he passed along the streets; while the other mob attended him with shouts of applause (rr). As soon as he was settled at Dublin, Mrs Johnson removed from the country to be near him; but they still lived in separate houses, his residence was at the Deanery, and her's in lodgings upon Ormond Quay, on the other side of the river *Liffy* (ss). He was in debt at this time (tt); a situation which ill suited his spirit, and which determined him to a severe œconomy. However, he kept two public days a week, and though the circle of his visitors was small at first, yet it soon increased, and always consisted of the best company [CC]. On these days, the dignity of his station was sustained with the utmost elegance and decorum, under the direction of Mrs Johnson, who yet appeared in the circle, without any character distinct from the rest of the company. She was, however, frequently invited with the Dean, whether to entertainments or parties of pleasure, though not so generally as if she had been his wife; she visited and received visits as far as the practice is a meer ritual of good breeding: her friendships were still among the men; but she was treated with great politeness by the Ladies (uu). The Dean's mind had been now so filled with politics, that he found it impracticable to excel as a Preacher, his first and most laudable ambition, and frequently declared, that though he sometimes attempted to exert himself in the pulpit, yet he could never rise higher than preaching pamphlets (*). He was, however, still a good Dean and a good Priest; he applied himself to the care of his Deanery, his Cathedral, its regulations, its income, and œconomy, with great diligence [DD]; he renewed the primitive practice of celebrating the Holy Communion every Sunday;

(rr) The river that runs through Dublin.

(tt) To the depth of 1000 l. as he declares in his Poem to Lord Oxford.

(*) Some years before he died, he gave his Sermons to Sheridan, with this speech: 'Here is a bundle of my old Sermons. You may have them if you please; they may be of use to you, they have never been of any to me.' Lord Orrery, Letter XXII, who declares that some of those three that are printed are excellent compositions.

of poetry: ambitious to be esteemed a wit, excessively vain, full of pertness and gaiety, not without some agreeable accomplishments; but far from being either beautiful or genteel. In a person of this disposition, such a character as that of Swift could not but excite admiration; and that admiration, by frequent converse, at length begot love: in which it is more than probable that vanity had some share, since that passion would have been highly gratified by an alliance with the first wit of the age. Thus goaded on by the united force of love and vanity, she even ventured to make the Doctor a proposal of marriage. It is probable that his connexions with Mrs Johnson at this time were such (†), that he could not with honour accept this proposal: however, it is certain he declined it, though without assigning any other engagement as the reason. He appears first to have affected to believe her in jest; then to have rallied her on so whimsical a choice; and at last to have put her off with an absolute refusal. While he was in this situation, he wrote the poem called *Cadmus & Vanessa* (85): the principal view of which seems to have been at once to compliment and to rally her, to apologize for his conduct, and soften a tacit denial by leaving the event undetermined. The poem appears to have been written about the year 1713, a short time before he left *Vanessa*, and the rest of his friends in England, and retired to the place of his exile, which he always mentions with regret. In 1714 Mrs Vanhomrigh, the mother, died, and having lived at a rate greatly above her fortune, she left some debts unpaid. Her two daughters, whose fortunes she had likewise impaired, she appointed joint executrixes of her will; an office, which however troublesome, the situation of their affairs obliged them to accept: they had also contracted some debts in their own right, which they were not able immediately to pay, and therefore to avoid an arrest, they privately followed the Dean into Ireland (86).

[BB] This removal determined the colour of his life, &c.] The Dean was particularly struck by this revolution with the sense of his mortality; a reflection which, whether by the vigour and activity of his imagination, the multitude of his ideas, or the ardour of his pursuits, he had escaped the force of till this time: but now it came upon him with such influence, that after fifteen years, it constantly recurred when he first awaked in the morning, and was not dismissed till he again began to sleep (87).

[CC] He keeps the best company.] Those who were particularly the companions of his choice, were such as would have done honour to any character. For instance the *Grattons*, seven brothers, the sons of Dr Gratton, a venerable and hospitable clergyman, who gave them all a liberal education. The eldest was a Justice of peace, and lived reputably on his patrimony in the country; another was a physician, and another a merchant, both eminent in their professions; three others were clergymen, who had a competent provision in the church; and the youngest was a fellow of Dublin col-

lege, and master of the free-school at *Enniskilling*. They were all persons of great merit, as much acquainted and as much beloved as any in the kingdom. The *Jacksons*, a family of which both men and women were genteel, agreeable, and well-bred, such companions as no wise man ever wanted, if they could be had. *George Rochford* and *Peter Ludlow*, men of fortune, learning, wit, humour, and virtue; and Mr *Matthew Lord*, deemed the best lay scholar of his time. These, with the fellows of the college, Dr *Walmesley*, Dr *Holshart*, Dr *Delany*, Dr *Stofford*, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, and Dr *Sheridan*, Lady *Enslate*, Mrs *Moore*, Lady *Berry Rochford*, and Mrs *Ludlow*, with Mrs *Johnson*, and her friends, were the persons with whom Swift spent some of his leisure hours from the year 1714 to 1720 (88). However, there was among his companions one person, who could derive no honour from his lineage; a foundling, whom Swift therefore used to call *Melephedeek*. This gentleman's name was *Worrall*, he was a clergyman, a master of arts, a reader and a vicar of his cathedral, and master of the song. He was nearly of the Dean's own standing in the college, had good sense, and much humour. He was married to a woman of great sprightliness, good-nature, and generosity, remarkably clean and elegant in her person, in her house, and at her table. But there is another particular in Mr *Worrall's* character, which greatly contributed to his intimacy with the Dean: he was a good walker. The Dean used that exercise in an immoderate degree, under the notion of its being absolutely necessary, not to health only, but to cleanliness, by keeping the pores of the skin clear, and throwing off impurities by perspiration. Mr *Worrall's* situation in the church naturally engaged his frequent attendance upon the Dean, this attendance commonly ended in a walk, and the walk in their dining together, either at Mr *Worrall's* or at the Deanery; the Dean, being a single man, was oftener a guest to Mr *Worrall*, than Mr *Worrall* was a guest to him; and this brought on an agreement, that the Dean should dine with him whenever he would at a certain rate, and invite as many friends as he pleased upon the same terms. This gentleman is lately dead, and has left a large sum of money to be disposed of to public charities at the discretion of his executors, except 500l. which was appropriated to the Dean's hospital (89).

[DD] He applied himself to the care of his Deanery with great diligence.] This was the more necessary, as the Archbishop of Dublin, and some of his old friends in the chapter, set themselves against his measures with all their force, and laboured to disappoint him in the exercise of his power, by every art of opposition and delay. This behaviour served only to whet his courage. His maxim was, *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ita*. His first step therefore was to reduce these brethren to reason and obedience; and he succeeded so perfectly and so speedily in it, that, in a short time after his arrival, not one member of that body offered to contradict him, even in trifles. On the contrary, they held him in the highest respect and veneration, so that he sat in the

(85) Hawkef-worth, from Deane Swift, p. 108. and Delany, p. 90. et seqq. The reason of this particular list of his companions was thought necessary to wipe off a censure of Lord Orrery, who says his choice of companions in this period shewed him of a depraved taste. Letter VI.

(89) Ibid. from D. S. 299. and J. R. p. 92. This agreement with Worrall, it is true, suited well with the Dean's being in debt, but what can be said for the want of that hospitality enjoined the superior clergy by the Apostle?

(rr) Hawkef-worth, p. 17. by comparing and reconciling the different accounts of Deane Swift, Lord Orrery, and Dr Delany.

(uu) Deane Swift, p. 92.

(†) 'Tis most likely he had promised to marry her before she left Moor-Park, since he had contrived to break off a treaty of marriage with another, by persuading her to insist upon terms with which the gentleman could not comply.

(85) Signifying *Cadmus*, the Dean, and Mrs *Esther Vanhomrigh*, so styled on account of her vanity.

(86) Deane Swift, p. 260. et seqq. Lord Orrery, p. 71. et seqq.

(87) Letter to Bolingbroke. Pope's Works, Vol. IX. p. 105.

Sunday; at this sacrament he was constantly present, and consecrated it with his own hands in a manner equally graceful and devout; he attended at Church every morning, and generally preached in his turn; he also constantly attended the performance of the anthem on a Sunday night, though he did not understand music, to see that the choir did not neglect their duty (*ww*). As to his employment at home, he seems to have had no heart to apply himself to study of any kind, but to have resigned himself wholly to such amusements as offered, that he might not think of his situation, the misfortune of his friends, and the disappointment of his hope. The first remarkable event of his life, that occurred after his settlement at the Deanery, was his marriage to Mrs Johnson, after a most intimate friendship of more than sixteen years: this was in 1716, the ceremony being performed by Dr Ashe, then Bishop of Clogher, the Dean's Tutor at the College [EE]. But whatever were the motives of this marriage, the Dean and the Lady continued to live afterwards just in the same manner as they had lived before. Mrs *Dingley* was still the inseparable companion of *Stella*, wherever she went; and she never resided at the Deanery, except when the Dean was seized with violent fits of giddiness, which sometimes lasted near a month. From this period to the year 1720, is a chasm in his life, which has been found difficult to fill up (*xx*). Lord Orrery thinks he employed this time upon Gulliver's Travels; and it is highly probable, that having indulged his resentment, which his disappointed hopes had produced, till it could be contained no longer, he conceived the first notion of expressing it in such a manner, as might correct the enormities which he exposed, and with this view began his Travels, the first copy of which was probably finished before the year 1720 [FF]. About this time the Dean, who had already acquired the character of a humourist

(*ww*) Delany, p. 42.

(*xx*) Dr Delany, p. 101. thinks he went through a course of Ecclesiastical History, which is hardly reconcilable to a letter of his to Lord Boringbroke, of April 1729, in which it appears that he was then reading Baronius; and Baronius was the only piece of Church History that was found in his library. Hawkefworth, p. 21.

(90) Lord Orrery, Letter V.
(91) Hawkefworth, p. 17.

(92) Among these are reckoned Mr Conolly, the late Bishop of Cloyne, the late Judge Lindsay, and the Lord Chief Justice Marley: all persons of high rank and reputation. Deane Swift, p. 162.

(93) *Ibid.* p. 263, 265.

(94) Letter IX.

(95) Perhaps it communicated his marriage to *Stella*, that fatal secret, which at once precluded all her hopes, and accounted for his former conduct. Hawkefworth, p. 20.

(96) It is said that, from the time she was deserted, she devoted herself, like Ariadne, to Bacchus. Delany, p. 123.

chapter-house like Jupiter in the synod of the Gods (90); all their prejudices against him being removed by the disinterested integrity of his conduct (91).

[EE] *He married Stella in 1716.* Till this time he had continued his visits to *Vanessa*, who, though she had suffered very great pecuniary losses, had yet preserved her reputation and her friends (92). The Dean appears still to have preserved the character of her Preceptor; but soon after he visited her on another account. He went as an advocate for Mr Dean *Winter*, whom he took with him, a gentleman who was a professed admirer of *Vanessa*, and had made her some overtures of marriage; but though he had an estate of 800l. a year, besides 300l. per annum preferment in the church, yet *Vanessa* rejected the proposal in such terms, that it was never repeated. She was also addressed by Dr *Price*, afterwards Archbishop of Cassel, but without success (93). From this time the Dean's visits were much less frequent. In the year 1717 her younger sister *Mary* died, and, the whole remains of the family fortune being then settled in *Vanessa*, she retired to Selbridge, a small house and estate which had been purchased by her father, about twelve miles distant from Dublin: from this place she wrote frequently to the Dean, and he answered her letters. In these letters she still pressed him to marry her; and in his answers he still rallied, and still avoided a positive denial; till at length, being unable to sustain her weight of misery any longer, she writ, in 1723, a very serious epistle to him, insisting peremptorily upon as serious an answer, and an immediate acceptance or absolute refusal of her as his wife. His reply was delivered by his own hand. He brought it with him, when he made his final visit at Selbridge; and, throwing down the letter upon her table, with great passion hastened back to his horse, carrying in his countenance the frowns of anger and indignation. Lord Orrery observes (94), that the Doctor had a natural severity of face, which even his smiles could scarce soften, or his utmost gaiety render placid and serene: but when that sternness of visage was encreased by rage, it is scarce possible to imagine looks or features, that carried in them more terror and austerity. *Vanessa* had seen him in all tempers, and from his outward behaviour could not but guess at the inward contents of his letter. She read it with as much resolution as the present cruelty of her fate would permit. She found herself intirely discarded from his friendship and conversation; her offers were treated with insolence and disdain; she met with reproaches instead of love, and with tyranny instead of affection (95). In short, she did not survive this letter many days (96): but, during that short interval, was composed enough to cancel a will made in Swift's favour, and make another, wherein she left her fortune (which by long retirement was in some measure retrieved) to her two executors, Dr Berkley, late Bishop of Cloyne, and Mr Marshall, one of the King's Serjeants at law. She had chosen the latter, not only as he had an excellent character, but as he was her relation. She had little personal acquaintance with Dr Berkley; his virtues and his genius were universally known; yet other motives

perhaps induced her to appoint him a joint executor. In such an appointment she not improbably designed to mortify the pride of Dr Swift, by letting him see, that in her last thoughts she preferred a stranger before him. Thus, concludes his Lordship, perished at Selbridge, 'under all the agonies of despair, Mrs *Esber Van-homrigh*, a miserable example of an ill-spent life, 'fantastic wit, visionary schemes, and female weakness.' As the last gratification of her vanity, she directed, in her will, all the letters that passed between the Dean and her, together with the abovementioned poem, the only copy perhaps of which was in her hands, to be published; and the Poem was published accordingly. But Dr Berkley, upon a careful perusal of the letters, finding the Dean's to consist only of compliments, excuses, apologies, and thanks for trifling presents, while her's were filled with passionate declarations of her love, thought proper to suppress them. Dr Delany and Mr Dean Swift have said every thing that could be thought of to apologize for the conduct of *Vanessa* in this most ridiculous affair; and in so doing have unavoidably, though tacitly, impeached Cadenus of notorious indiscretion, while they clear him from the imputation of any vicious intercourse: and indeed the Dean's whole conduct in it, not only as a clergyman, but as a man of sense and honour, is absolutely indefensible.

[FF] *He finished his Travels before 1720.* We have an account of the general plan, which at the same time conveys the spirit and principle of this undertaking, from the Author himself, in a letter to Pope, wherein his view is put under a cover, yet that cover is made of glass, and well answers his intention thereby, which was to shew his meaning the better. Having given that friend some intimations of his Travels, and his design of coming to England, Mr Pope expresses his joy as follows: 'After so many dispersions, and so many divisions, two or three of us may yet be gathered together, not to plot, but divert ourselves, and the world too, if it pleases; or, at worst, to laugh at others as innocently, and as un hurtfully as at ourselves.' In answer to this, the Dean informs him, that he had prepared his Travels for the press, and declaring that he liked the scheme of their meeting, after distresses and dispersions, goes on thus: 'But the chief end I propose in all my labours, is to vex the world, rather than divert it; and if I could compass that design without hurting my own person or fortune, I would be the most indefatigable writer you have ever seen, without reading. I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities, and all my love is toward individuals; for instance, I hate the tribe of Lawyers, but I love Counsellor such a one, and Judge such a one. 'Tis so with Physicians. I will not speak of my own trade. Soldiers, English, Scotch, French, and the rest; but principally I hate and detest that animal called Man, although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. I have got materials towards a treatise, proving the falsity of that definition, *Animal Rationale*, and to shew it should

mourist and a wit, was first regarded with general kindness, as the Patriot of Ireland. He wrote *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*; a tract which, as it was apparently calculated for the service of Ireland, and zealously condemned a sacrifice of interest to England, first turned the side of popularity in his favour (yy); that popularity rose to the height of adoration in 1724 [GG], when a patent having been obtained by one Wood (zz), to coin a hundred and eight thousand pounds in copper for the use of Ireland, under which, by some iniquitous practices, he would have acquired exorbitant gain, and proportionably impoverished the nation; the Dean, in the character of a *Draper*, wrote a series of letters to the people, urging them not to receive this copper money (aaa) [HH]. These letters united

(zz) He was brother-in-law to one Molyneux, an Ironmonger in Dublin.

‘ should be only *ratiōnis capax*. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy, though not in *Simon's* manner, ‘ the whole building of my *Travels* is erected, and I ‘ never will have peace of mind, till all honest men ‘ are of my opinion (97).’ In these few strokes we have the key to that work perfectly formed, though unhammered. That part has been done since by the noble Author, so often mentioned, who has likewise both filed and polished it. His reflexions are admirable. And if I differ from his Lordship in one remark, let the mentioning it be taken as it is intended in the sentiment of that maxim in the civil law, which declares that *Exceptio confirmat regulam*. The remark I mean is in the XIth Letter, where from Swift's raillery upon the structure of the human body in the seventh chapter of the voyage to Brobdingnag, which his Lordship thinks unpardonable, he ventures to pronounce the lunacy and ideocy, which Swift fell into before his death, to be providential judgments, whereby he was punished for his wickedness in kind. It will hardly be denied, since it is evident from many of Swift's letters, that satire, when he wrote these travels, was, in his opinion, trifling, and of no use, unless it run into a libel. This principle necessarily requires strong exaggerations; in working which up, if he was carried sometimes into a faulty excess, yet the design of reforming his fellow creatures was still in view, and the principal point in view. Prudence, in his present situation, with regard to his governors, kept him from throwing himself into their hands; he therefore substituted human nature in general in the room of particular persons: whence, in keeping to his first principle, his satire unavoidably grew into a libel upon human nature, in the execution of which, some sallies of wit may indeed have been indulged a little too far, without any deliberate purpose of debasing and ridiculing his own species. In this light I own I cannot see such a degree of impiety and profaneness in any of his travels, as will justify a particular application of God's judgments upon the Author for them in this world. His Lordship's conjecture, that this work was the employment of Dr Swift's mind, while bleeding from the wound given it by the death of the Queen, is very consistent with this, as well as his other particular remarks upon it; but, after all, it is no more than a conjecture, though a very probable one; and it is certain that the whole was at least revised, perfected, and published, at a time when he was far from having any reason to be out of humour with his own species (98).

[GG] *Made him very popular.*] This service perhaps would not have been so long and so zealously remembered, if a prosecution had not been commenced against the printer. The piece being observed to spread very fast, a person in great office sent in haste for the Chief Justice Whitshed, and informed him of a seditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet, lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance; he directed, at the same time, that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost vigour. The Chief Justice had so quick an understanding, that he resolved, if possible, to outdo his orders. The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail. The jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry. The Chief Justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until, being tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the Judge, by what is called a special verdict (99): but the cause being so very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was put off from term to term, till, upon arrival of the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant, his Grace, after mature advice and permission from England, was pleased to grant a *Non prosequi* (100). No public notice however was taken of the Dean (101), who did not spare to embellish his satires at the expence of the Chief Justice the same year (102).

[HH] *The Draper's letter.*] Upon the arrival of Lord

Carteret, as Lord Lieutenant, soon after the publication of the fourth letter, several passages were selected as sufficient ground for a prosecution; and his Excellency and council published a proclamation, offering 300*l.* reward for a discovery of the author. This proclamation gave the Dean a remarkable opportunity of illustrating his character. It happened that the Butler, whom he had employed as his amanuensis, and who alone was entrusted with the secret, went out in the afternoon of the day of the proclamation without leave, and staid abroad the whole night, and part of the next day. There was great reason to apprehend that he had made an information, and, having received the reward, would never return. The man however came home in the evening, and the Dean was advised by his friends to take no notice of his fault, lest he should be provoked to a breach of trust, the fear of which was now removed by his return. But the Dean rejected this counsel with the utmost disdain; and, commanding the man into his presence, ordered him immediately to strip off his livery, and leave the house. ‘ You villain, said he, I know ‘ I am in your power, and for that very reason I will ‘ the less bear with your insolence or neglect.’ The man, in very submissive terms, confessed that he had been drinking all night, and intreated to be forgiven; but Swift was inexorable. He then begged that he might be confined in some part of the house so long as the proclamation could entitle him to any reward, lest, when he was driven from his service, and destitute of another, the temptation might be too strong for his virtue, and his distress might involve him in a crime which he most abhorred. His master continued still inexorable, and the man was dismissed. During all the time of danger, Swift obstinately refused to contribute one farthing towards his support; nor could he be persuaded to see his face: but, when the time limited in the proclamation was expired, he was permitted to return to his service; soon after which he was called hastily up by the Dean, who, without any preface, again ordered him to strip off his livery, put on his own cloaths, and then come to him again. The poor fellow, though he was greatly astonished at the proceeding, knew Swift too well to expostulate; and therefore, with whatever reluctance, did as he had been commanded. When he returned, the Dean ordered the other servants to be called up, who immediately attended, expecting to see the Butler dismissed *in terrorem*, and to hear themselves warned, in very severe terms, of his offence. Swift, as soon as they had ranged themselves in order before him, ordered them to take notice, that *Robert* was no longer his servant; ‘ he is now, said the Dean, Mr *Blakely*, ‘ the Verger of St Patrick's cathedral, a place which I give ‘ him as a reward for his fidelity.’ The value of this place is between thirty and forty pounds a year. However, *Robert* would not quit his master, but continued to be his butler some years afterwards (103). As to Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville, it appears, by many of Swift's writings, that he lived in good friendship with him during his Lieutenantancy, notwithstanding his Lordship had signed the proclamation. Swift once asked him how he could concur in it; to which his Excellency replied, in the words of Virgil,

*Regni novitas me talia cogit
Moliri.*

He was equally diligent to recommend his friends to *Carteret* as he had been to *Oxford*, and with the same dignity and freedom ‘ Pray, my Lord, said he one day, have you ‘ the honour to be acquainted with the *Grattoons*?’ My Lord answered he had not. ‘ Why then pray, my Lord, says ‘ Swift, take care to obtain it; it is of great consequence: ‘ the *Grattoos*, my Lord, can raise ten thousand men.’ He obtained a living for his friend *Sheridan*, and recommended others, of whom he knew nothing but that they were good men. He used also to remonstrate with great freedom against such measures as he disliked; and,

Lord

(yy) Lord Orrery, p. 44.

(aaa) The patent did not empower him to force the reception of the money without their consent.

(97) Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Letter XI. edit. 1752. 8vo.

(98) The first edition was published in 1726.

(99) During the trial, the Chief Justice, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly, that the author's design was to bring in the Pretender.

(100) Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Letter V.

(101) Hawke's worth, p. 22.

(102) See three epigrams upon him in Swift's Works, Vol. IV. p. 63, 64. edit. 1755. 4to.

(103) Deane Swift, p. 190.

(bbb) Being thus refused in Ireland, it was afterwards surreptitiously uttered in England, where it now passes without much difficulty, by the advantage of surpassing, in real value, other coin of the same denomination, which is spread about, though of no real value at all.

(ccc) Lord Orrery, Letter VI.

(ddd) Swift's Letters to Dr Sheridan, No. XX, dated July 8, 1726, in the Sixth Volume, Part II. p. 115. of his Works, edit. 1755. 4to.

(ggg) Letters to the same, No. XXIV.

united the whole nation in his praise, filled every street with his effigies, and every voice with acclamations; and Wood, though he was long supported by his friends, who procured the patent, was at length compelled to withdraw it, and his money was totally suppressed (bbb). Whereupon the Dean came out with *A full and true Account of the solemn Procession to the Gallows, at the Execution of William Wood, Esq., and Hard-ware Man* [II]. From this time the Dean's influence in Ireland was almost without bounds; he was consulted in whatever related to domestic policy, and in particular to trade. The weavers always considered him as their Patron and Legislator after his *Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufactures*, and came frequently in a body to receive his advice in settling the rates of their stuffs, and the wages of their journeymen; and when elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many corporations refused to declare themselves till they knew his sentiments, and inclinations, which were always followed. Over the populace he was the most absolute Monarch that ever governed men, and he was regarded by persons of every rank, with veneration and esteem. Thus he lived as the *Tutelar-patron* of that kingdom, in an unexampled state of power and influence, as long as his health permitted him to enjoy it (ccc). No wonder then, that in the midst of this splendor in Ireland, he refused an offer that was made to him while he was in England, in a visit to Mr Pope in 1726, of a settlement in the midst of his friends, within twelve miles of London (ddd). The same year he had also an invitation from Lord Bolingbroke, to spend a winter with him at his house on the banks of the *Loire* in France; and this he would have accepted, but that he received an account from Ireland, that Mrs Johnson (for she still went by her maiden name) was dangerously ill (ccc). Her constitution was tender and delicate, and as the Dean himself says, she had not the *flamini vitæ* (fff). In the year 1724, she began visibly to decay, and in the year 1726, was thought to be dying. The Dean received the news with agonies not to be felt, but by the tenderness and most ardent friendship; nor conceived, but by the most lively imagination [KK]; and immediately hastened back into Ireland. It happened, however, that she recovered a moderate state of health, and the Dean returned again to England, in 1727, to finish the *Miscellanies*, in concert with Pope and Arbuthnot (ggg). From England, he was once more about to set out for France, upon Lord Bolingbroke's invitation, when news arrived of the King's death. He had attended the late Queen Caroline, while she was princess, in his former excursions to England, and he had seen her twice in one week by her Royal Highness's command in this (bbb) [LL]. She had always treated the Dean with

(ccc) Swift's Letters to Sheridan, No. XX. p. 116.

(fff) Ibid. No. XXI.

(bbb) Ibid. Letter XXII.

(104) Deane Swift, p. 270. Delany, p. 25 and 95.

(105) Letter XVI.

(106) There are no less than threescore and eleven of them.

Lord Carteret having gained the advantage of him in some dispute concerning the distresses of Ireland, he cried out in a violent passion, 'What the vengeance brought you among us? Get you gone, get you gone. Pray God Almighty to send us our boobies back again (104).

[II] *A full and true account, &c.*] This paper is one of the Dean's nonpareils in the jocose way. The dangerous consequence of Wood's patent was a most serious affair, and accordingly is handled as such in the Drapier's letters. The noble author, to whom we are so much indebted in this memoir, having recommended them (105) to the perusal of his son for the stile and conduct of their manner, proceeds thus; 'But, if they appear too grave for so young a man, and one who is so little interested in the present, and much less in the past affairs of Ireland, you will find a paper at the end of them that will excite your risibility, or I am mistaken.' His Lordship then goes on to give the title of *A full and true Account, &c.* and observes, 'that the Author makes the several artificers attend William Wood (represented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradesman expresses his resentment in the terms of his proper calling. The COOK will BASTE him, the BOOKSELLER will TURN OVER A NEW LEAF WITH HIM, the TAYLOR will SIT IN HIS SKIRTS; and so on through a number of people (106) of different conditions. Then follows the procession, most humorously described. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the strongest gravity to withstand.'

[KK] *He received the news with the greatest agonies.*] A character so extraordinary as that of Dean Swift naturally raises a curiosity to see him in every circumstance and change of life, and the more especially when exhibited by himself, as it is in the present case, in a letter to Dr Sheridan, dated July 27, where he pours forth his grief as follows. 'I have yours just now of the 19th, and the account you give is nothing but what I have some time expected with the utmost agonies; and there is one aggravation of constraint, that, where I am, I am forced to put on an easy countenance. It was, at this time, the best office your friendship could do, not to deceive me. I was violently bent all last year, as I believe you remember, that she should go to *Montpelier*, or *Bath*, or *Tunbridge*. I intended, if there was no amendment, they might both come to London. But there was a fatality, although I indeed think her *flamina* could not last much longer, when I saw she could take no nourishment. I look

upon this to be the greatest event that can ever happen to me; but all my preparations will not suffice to make me bear it like a philosopher, nor altogether like a Christian. There hath been the most intimate friendship between us from her childhood, and the greatest merit on her side that ever was in one human creature towards another. Nay, if I were now near her, I would not see her; I could not behave myself tolerably, and should redouble her sorrow—Judge in what a temper of mind I write this—The very time I am writing, I conclude the fairest soul in the world hath left its body—Confusion! that I am this moment called down to a visitor, when I am in the country, and not in my power to deny myself—I have passed a very constrained hour, and now return to say I know not what. I have been long weary of the world, and shall, for my small remainder of years, be weary of life, having for ever lost that conversation which could only make it tolerable—I fear, while you are reading this, you will be shedding tears at her funeral; she loved you well, and a great share of the little merit I have with you is owing to her solicitations (107). Perhaps no one part of Swift's life is more picturesque of the singularity of his character than this. Could it be imagined, did not the facts shew it, that he was at this very time engaged in publishing and writing some materials of the *Miscellanies* in concert with Pope and Arbuthnot, particularly the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*, notes upon the *Dunciad* (108)?

[LL] *He visited the Princess of Wales.*] The state of that court at this time is well known, and represented with exquisite wit and humour in *Gulliver's travels*; where the Prince is represented wearing shoes with one heel higher than the other, which gave him a hobble in his gate. In his letter to Sheridan, cited in the text, speaking of the Princess, he says, 'She charges me, without ceremony, to be the author of a bad book (*), though I told her how angry the ministry were; but she assures me, that both she and the Princess were very well pleased with every particular; but, continues he, I disowned the whole affair, as you know I very well might (109), only gave her leave, as she liked the book, to suppose what author she pleased (110). He had before, in the same letter, informed this intimate friend, that there was a settled resolution to assault Sir Robert Walpole (†); and declares he himself was highly displeased with him and his partisans.—That he was advised by all his friends not to go to France (as he

(107) Letters Sheridan, No. XXI.

(108) See Po article in Vol.

(*) *Gulliver's travels.*

(109) See (124).

(110) Letter Sheridan, No. XXII.

(†) Meant particularly by his friend Bolingbroke who acted in all his misdeeds against Walpole. See his art.

with great civility; and the Dean had treated her with his usual, and peculiar frankness. The third day after the death of King George I, he attended at court, and kissed the new King and Queen's hands, upon their accession, and was blamed by his friends for deferring it so long. What prospect he had of a change in public affairs on this event, or of any advantages which such a change might produce to himself or his friends, does not appear; but he was earnestly intreated to delay his journey; and when he had again determined to set out, he was, upon some new incidents, again prevailed upon not to go, by the persuasions of some persons whom, he says, he could not disobey. Many schemes were proposed, in which he was eagerly solicited to engage, but he received them coldly; not because he was determined to enter no more into public life, but because the schemes were such as he did not approve (iii). He was soon after seized with one of his fits of giddiness and deafness; a calamity which was greatly aggravated by the news that Mrs Johnson was again so ill, that the Physicians despaired of her life. Upon this occasion, he relapsed into the agonies of mind, which he had felt the year before: he expected, by the next post, to hear that she was dead, and intreated that he might be told no particulars, but the event in general; for that his age being then within three months of sixty, his weakness and his friendship would bear no more. As he despaired of seeing her alive, he determined not to return to Ireland so soon as he had intended, but to pass the winter either near Salisbury-Plain, or in France. And that he might not be interrupted by company, and condemned to the torment of suppressing his sorrow to preserve the rules of good breeding, he quitted the house of Mr Pope at Twickenham, and retired to a village near London, with a female relation for his nurse. The next letter that he received he kept an hour in his pocket before he could sufficiently fortify himself against the shock which he expected when he should open it (kkk): however, as Stella's life ebbed by slow degrees, and sometimes seemed at a stand, if not to flow, his hope of a parting interview revived, and he set out for Ireland as soon as he was able to travel. He found her alive (lll); but after languishing about three months, she expired on the 28th of January, 1727, in the forty-fourth year of her age, regretted by the Dean with such excess of affection and esteem, as the warmest sensibility only could feel, and the most excellent character excite [MM]. From the death of Stella, the Dean's life be-

(iii) Letters to Sheridan, No. XXIII.

(lll) He composed two prayers for her, one on the 17th of Oct. and the other on the 6th of Nov. inserted in his Works, Vol. VI, p. 2. 4to edition.

he intended for two months) for fear of their vengeance, 'in a manner which, says he, they cannot execute here.' However he was resolved not to engage against the ministry. 'I reckon, continues he, there will be a warm winter, wherein, my comfort is, I shall have no concern (111).'

[MM] Stella's death was lamented by Swift with an affection excited by her character. Stella must needs have been a woman of a most excellent character: the writers of Swift's life have vied with each other in setting forth that excellence. 'STELLA, says Lord Orrery, was a most amiable woman in mind and person. She had an elevated understanding, with all the delicacy and softness of her sex. Her voice, however sweet in itself, was still rendered more harmonious by what she said. Her wit was poignant without severity: her manners were humane, polite, easy, and unreserved. Wherever she came, she attracted attention and esteem. As virtue was her guide in morality, sincerity was her guide in religion: she was constant, but not ostentatious, in her devotions. She was remarkably prudent in her conversation. She had great skill in music, and was perfectly well versed in all the lesser arts that employ a lady's leisure. Her wit allowed her a fund of perpetual cheerfulness: her prudence kept that cheerfulness within proper limits. She exactly answered the description of PENELOPE in HOMER:

'A woman loveliest of the lovely kind,
'In body perfect, and complete in mind.

'Such was STELLA: yet, with all these accomplishments, she never could prevail upon Dr Swift to acknowledge her openly as his wife. A great genius must tread in unbeaten paths, and deviate from the common road of life; otherwise, surely a diamond of so much lustre might have been publicly produced, although it had been fixed within the collet of matrimony: but the flaw which, in Dr Swift's eye, reduced the value of such a jewel, was the servile state of her father, who, as was said before, was a menial servant to Sir William Temple. Ambition and pride will at any time conquer reason and justice; and each larger degree of pride, like the larger fishes of prey, will devour all the less: thus the vanity of boasting such a wife was suppressed by the greater vanity of keeping free from such an alliance (112). His Lordship here plainly uses the words pride and vanity to express the same quality; but, in describing Swift's character, he is more accurate in distinguishing the two qualities, and tells us, that Swift himself used to say, that his pride kept him from being vain. However, his Lordship's rival in drawing Stella's character makes this inaccuracy in his Lordship's draught a handle to animadvert upon VOL. VI. No. 323.

him. 'Why the Dean, says he, did not sooner marry this excellent person, why he married her at all, why his marriage was so cautiously concealed, and why he was never known to meet her but in the presence of a third person, are enquiries which no man can answer, or has attempted to answer, without absurdity; and are therefore unprofitable objects of speculation (113).' In this disposition the same writer, not satisfied with his Lordship's character of Stella, has supplied what he thought the defects therein as follows. 'Her stature, says he, was tall, her hair and eyes black, her complexion fair and delicate, her features regular, soft, and animated, her shape easy and elegant, and her manner feminine, polite, and graceful. As to her wit, it was confessed by all her acquaintance, and particularly by the Dean, that she never failed to say the best thing that was said, whenever she was in company, though her companions were usually persons of the best understanding in the kingdom (114). Neither was her wit merely of the colloquial kind; she had great force of poetical fancy, could range her thoughts in a regular composition, and express them in correct and harmonious verse.' We have a beautiful instance of this in a poem addressed to Swift on his birth-day, 1721, which concludes with the following lines:

'Long be the day that gave you birth,
'Sacred to friendship, wit, and mirth;
'Late dying, may you cast a shred
'Of your rich mantle o'er my head;
'To bear with dignity my sorrow
'One day alone; then die to-morrow (115).'

Lord Orrery, in speaking of the Dean's conduct to Stella, observes, that a woman of her delicacy must needs repine at such an extraordinary situation. 'The outward honours, says his Lordship, which she received, are as frequently bestowed upon a mistress as a wife. She was absolutely virtuous, and yet was obliged to submit to all the appearances of vice, except in the presence of those few people, who were witnesses of the cautious manner in which she lived with her husband, who scorned even to be married like any other married folks. Inward anxiety affected by degrees the calmness of her mind, and the strength of her body. She began to decline in her health in 1724, and, from the first symptoms of decays, she rather hastened than shrunk back: in the descent, tacitly pleased to find her foot-steps tending to that place, where they neither marry nor are given in marriage. She died towards the end of January, 1727 or 1728, absolutely destroyed by

(113) Hawke's worth, p. 26.

(114) Ibid. See instances of this, under the name of Bons mots de Stella, in Vol. XII. of Swift's Works, in 8vo, and two specimens of her poetry are inserted in the appendix to his life.

(115) Hawkins, in the Appendix to Swift's life, p. 42.

(114) Ibid. Letters XXIV, XXV, and XXVI.

(111) Letters to Sheridan, No. XXII.

(112) Orrery's remarks, Letter II.

came much more retired, and the austerity of his temper daily encreased; he could not join in the social cheerfulness of his public days; these entertainments therefore were discontinued, and he sometimes avoided the company of the most intimate friends. In this solitary life, he frequently amused himself with writing, as appears by the dates of many of his pieces, which are subsequent to this time; and it is very remarkable, that although his mind was doubtless greatly depressed, and his principal enjoyment at an end, when Mrs Johnson died, yet there is an air of trifling and levity in some of the pieces, which he wrote afterwards, that is not to be found in any other [NN]. However, in 1733, when an attempt was made to repeal the Test Act in Ireland, he wrote a copy of verses (mmm) against that attempt, with so much boldness, as even brought his life in some danger [OO]. But the fits

(mmm) Inserted in Vol. IV. Part I. p. 18. et seqq. of his Works, edit. 1755. 4to.

(116) Lord Orrery's letter, as before.

(117) Delany, p. 63.

(118) Id. p. 56, and 288.

(*) It is inserted in his Works, Vol. III. Part II. p. 121. edit. 1755. 4to.

(119) Hawkesworth, p. 27.

(†) What the French call *de l'Esprit* (wit) is a talent for writing trifling pieces with vivacity.

(120) Lord Carteret, being present at the acting of an old Greek tragedy by his boys, was so pleased with the performance, that he gave the master a living, worth near 100l. per annum. Vindication of his Excellency Lord Carteret, &c. in Swift's Works, Vol. V. p. 2. edit. 1755. 4to.

(121) In his way to his living he stop at Cork to wait upon his Bishop, and, preaching there on a Sunday, which happened to be the first of August, the Anniversary day of King George I's Accession, on this text, *sufficient to the day is the evil thereof*, such a clamour was raised against him (though the choice of the text was pure accident, and no politics in the sermon) that the Lord Lieutenant was obliged to withdraw his presentation. Whereupon, says Swift, Sheridan shot his own fortune dead by meet chance-medley with a single text. Vindication of his Excellency Lord Carteret, &c.

' the peculiarity of her fate, a fate which perhaps she could not have incurred by an alliance with any other person in the world (116). Here again his Lordship's rival interposes, and tells us, that 'the Dean's peculiar connexion appears to have been suspected, if not known, by his particular acquaintance, one of whom had the courage, indirectly, to blame his conduct several times, by setting before him the example of a clergyman of distinguished merit, who married nearly in the same circumstances; but, instead of concealing his marriage, retired into thrifty lodgings, till he had made a provision for his wife, and then returned to the world, and became eminent for his hospitality and charity (117). The Dean, whether moved by these representations, or some other motive, did at length earnestly desire that she might be publicly owned as his wife; but, as her health was then declining, and his œconomy became more severe, she said it was too late, and insisted that they should continue to live as before: to this the Dean in his turn consented, and suffered her to dispose entirely of her own fortune by her own name to a public charity, when she died (118). It appears, continues this writer, by several little incidents, that Stella regretted and disapproved the Dean's conduct, and that she sometimes reproached him with unkindness; for to such regret and reproach he certainly alludes in the conclusion of his poem on her birth-day in 1726 (*): Thus we see this writer agrees with his Lordship in the point of Stella's regret and resentment; and he observes, that it seems to be generally agreed, in concurrence with his Lordship, that *Stella* was destroyed by the peculiarity of her circumstances; and that the fabric, however weak by the delicacy of its composition, would not have fallen so soon, if the foundation had not been injured by the slow minings of regret and vexation.

In so flagrant an instance of the most inhumanly savage cruelty (I had almost said murder) what can be said for the author of it? Mr Hawkesworth indeed has told us (119), that it is generally agreed, that in this instance, as in every other, the Dean's intention was upright, though his judgment might be erroneous. But he had better have said nothing.

[AN] *A greater air of trifling in some of his pieces after this time than in any before.*] He had established his principle of *Vive la bagatelle* (†), and was resolved to put it in execution. Among these trifling pieces are his directions to servants, and several of his letters to Dr Sheridan stand foremost. In the last remark we gave the picture of Swift's wife, and we shall here give some sketches of this friend, done by the same hands. 'Dr Sheridan, says Lord Orrery, was a schoolmaster, and, in many instances, perfectly well adapted for that station. He was deeply versed in the Greek and Roman languages, and in their customs and antiquities. He had that kind of good-nature, which absence of mind, indolence of body, and carelessness of fortune, produce; and, although not over strict in his own conduct, yet he took care of the morality of his scholars, whom he sent to the University remarkably well founded in all classical learning (120), and not ill instructed in the social duties of life. He was slovenly, indigent, and cheerful. He knew books much better than men: and he knew the value of money least of all. In this situation, and with this disposition, Swift fastened upon him as upon a prey, with which he intended to regale himself, whenever his appetite should prompt him. Sheridan therefore was kept constantly within his reach; and the only time he was permitted to go beyond the limits of his chain, was to take possession of a living in the county of Cork, which had been bestowed upon him by the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the present Earl of Granville. Sheridan, in one fatal moment, or by one fatal text, effected his own ruin (121); and this ill-starred, good-natured, improvident man returned to Dublin, unhinged from all favour at court,

and even banished from the castle. But still he remained a punster, a quibbler, a fiddler, and a wit: not a day passed without a rebus, an anagram, or a madrigal. His pen and his fiddle-stick were in continual motion, yet to little or no purpose (122). Mr Hawkesworth, apparently thinking his Lordship too severe upon this friend of Swift, sets him in a more favourable light. 'As Swift, says he (123), was, undoubtedly, much more tenderly and strictly connected with Stella than with any other woman, so his friendship seems to have been more intimate and unreserved with Sheridan than with any other man; his letters to him are evidently the spontaneous effusions of his heart, whether he was cheerful or sad, and seem to imply a perfect acquaintance with every peculiarity of his circumstances.' This writer, in proceeding, agrees with his Lordship in other particulars; but, passing over Sheridan's ill conduct in silence, he observes, that this gentleman was by nature suited to Swift as a companion in the highest degree: he had a vein of humour that was a constant occasion of merriment, he had an absence of mind which rendered him a perpetual object of railery, and an indolent good-nature which made him unapt to take offence; he was always disposed to be cheerful, and therefore readily concurred in the entertainment of Swift's hours of pleasantries; and could, without much pain or displeasure, give way to his petulance or his coldness, in his paroxysms of fretfulness or reserve: he also greatly contributed to Swift's amusement by little sprightly pieces of the inferior kind of poetry, which he was always writing; and yet more to his employment, by hints and materials which he was every moment throwing out (124). This writer concludes his account, in a further defence of Sheridan against his Lordship's insinuation, that he was held in contempt by Swift, as follows: 'With this easy, negligent, contented creature, Swift passed much of his time, as well during Mrs Johnson's life as afterwards; and though there is in general an air of superiority in his letters, and might be sometimes in his behaviour a want of that complacency which no familiarity should exclude, yet it appears, that the Dean did not hold Sheridan cheap. Sheridan he loved for his own merit, and was content to have deserved his love by the interest of another. Stella, says he, loved you well; and a great share of the little merit I have with you is owing to her solicitations (125).'

[OO] *His life was in some danger.*] The Dissenters often affected to call themselves brother Protestants and fellow Christians with the members of the established church, an affectation which is rallied by the Dean with his usual spirit. Among other instances, to expose the absurdity of it, he has the following:

*Thus at the bar that blockhead Bettsworth,
Though half a crown o'erpays his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law nor text nor margin,
Calls Singleton (*) his brother serjeant.*

These lines so provoked Bettsworth, who was also a member of the Irish parliament, that he swore, in the hearing of many persons, to revenge himself, either by murdering or maiming the Author: and for this purpose he engaged his footman, with two ruffians, to secure the Dean wherever he could be found. As soon as this oath and attempt were known, thirty of the nobility and gentry of the liberty of St Patrick waited upon the Dean in form, and presented a paper, subscribed with their names, in which they solemnly engaged, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the liberty, to defend his person and fortune, as the friend and benefactor of his country. When this paper was delivered, Swift was in bed, giddy and deaf, having been some time before seized with one of his fits: But, with all the dignity of habitual preëminence, he dictated the following answer.

'Gentlemen,

(122) Lord Orrery, Letter VII.

(123) p. 27.

(124) It was this that justified Swift in disowning Gulliver's travels to the Princess, afterwards Queen Caroline, as mentioned in remark [LL].

(125) See remark [MM].

(*) This gentleman was long the boast of Ireland for his extraordinary fluency in the law.

fits of giddiness and deafness became more frequent and violent, as he grew into years; and in 1736, while he was writing a satire on the Irish Parliament, which he called *The Legion Club*, he was seized with one of these fits, the effects of which were so dreadful, that he left the Poem unfinished, and never afterwards attempted a composition of any length, either in verse or prose. From this time his memory was perceived gradually to decline, and he appeared every day more fretful and peevish (*), and even grew weary of life [PP]; yet his conversation remained still lively and severe, but the satire more frequent and more bitter. He also continued to correspond with his friends in England, particularly Mr Pope. In the beginning of the year 1741, his passions grew so violent, his memory so decayed, and his reason so depraved, that the utmost precautions were taken to keep all strangers from approaching him, and his friends found it necessary to have guardians appointed of his person and estate. Early in the year 1742, his reason was wholly subverted, and his rage became absolute madness. In October, after his phrenzy had continued several months, his left eye swelled to the size of an egg, and the lid appeared to be so much inflamed and discoloured, that the surgeon expected it to mortify; several large boils also broke out on his arms and body. The extreme pain of this tumour kept him waking near a month, and during one week it was with difficulty that five persons kept him by meer force from tearing out his own eyes. However, when the tumour subsided, and the pain left him, he appeared so far to have recovered his understanding and temper (mm), that the surgeon was not without hopes that he might once more enjoy society, and be amused by the company of his old friends (oo). But this hope was but of short duration; for a few days afterwards, he sunk into a state of total insensibility [QQ], slept much, and could not, without great difficulty, be prevailed upon to walk cross the room. After he had continued speechless a whole year in this state of helpless ideocy, his house-keeper went into his room on the 30th of November, 1743, in the morning, and telling him it was his birth-day, and that bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual, he immediately replied, 'Tis all folly; they had better let it alone (ppp). This, and some other instances of sense and reason shewn afterwards, prove that his disorder had not totally destroyed, but only suspended the powers of his mind (qqq). But from the year 1744, he was perfectly silent to his death, which happened in the latter end of October, 1745, without the least pang or convulsion, in the seventy-eighth year of his age (rrr). Lord Orrery thinks he certainly foresaw his fate [RR]; that his frequent attacks of giddiness, and his manifest decay of memory, gave room for such apprehensions; and this seems to be countenanced by his last will, which is dated May 3, 1740, just before he ceased to be a reasonable Being. In it having left about twelve hundred pounds in specific legacies [SS], he bequeathed the rest of his fortune, which amounted to about eleven thousand pounds, to erect and endow an hospital for ideots and lunatics. He was buried in the great isle of St Patrick's Cathedral, under a stone of black marble, inscribed with an epitaph written by himself [TT]. His character was very singular,

‘Gentlemen,

‘I receive, with great thankfulness, these many kind expressions of your concern for my safety, as well as your declared resolution to defend me (as far as the laws of God and man will allow) against all murderers and ruffians, who shall attempt to enter into the liberty with any bloody and wicked designs upon my life, my limbs, my house, or my goods. Gentlemen, my life is in the hands of God, and, whether it may be cut off by treachery, or open violence, or by the common way of other men, as long as it continues, I shall ever bear a grateful memory for this favour you have shewn, beyond my expectation, and almost exceeding my wishes. The inhabitants of the liberty, as well as those of the neighbourhood, have lived with me in great amity for near twenty years; which I am confident will never diminish during my life. I am chiefly sorry that, by two cruel disorders of deafness and giddiness, which have pursued me for four months, I am not in a condition either to hear or to receive you, much less to return you my most sincere acknowledgments, which in justice and gratitude I ought to do. May God bless you and your families in this world, and make you for ever happy in the next (126).’

[PP] *He grew weary of life.*] This appears by many passages in his Letters, and expressions to his friends. Among other instances we shall give the following: In 1739, he had been standing with a Clergyman under a very large heavy pier-glass, which, just as they moved to another part of the room, fell down and broke to pieces; whereupon the Clergyman, turning to Swift, said, ‘What a mercy it is that we moved the moment we did; for if we had not, we should certainly have been killed.’ The Dean replied, that as to himself, he was sorry he had changed ground, and wished the glass had fallen upon him (*).

[QQ] *He sunk into a state of total insensibility.*] This was the effect of another disease, a kind of dropy; his brain was loaded with water. Mr Stevens, an ingenious clergyman of Dublin, pronounced this to be the case during his illness; and, upon opening his body, it

appeared that he was not mistaken: but, though he often intreated the Dean's friends and physicians that his head might be trepanned to discharge the water, no regard was paid to his opinion or intreaty (127).

[RR] *He certainly foresaw his fate.*] ‘I have often,’ says Lord Orrery, heard him lament the state of childhood and idiotism to which some of the greatest men of this nation were reduced before their death. He mentioned, as examples within his own time, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Somers: and, when he cited these melancholy instances, it was always with a heavy sigh, and with gestures that shewed great uneasiness, as if he felt an impulse of what was to happen to him before he died (128).’

[SS] *Specific legacies.*] His will, like all his other writings, is drawn up in a peculiar manner. Even in so serious a composition he could not help indulging himself in leaving legacies that carry with them an air of raillery and jest. He disposes of his three hats, his best, his second best, and his third best beaver, with an ironical solemnity that renders the bequests ridiculous. He bequeaths to Mr John Gratton a silver box, to keep in it the tobacco which the said John usually chewed, called pigtail. But his legacy to Mr Robert Gratton is still more extraordinary. *Item, I bequeath to Mr Robert Gratton, Prebendary of St Andrew's, my strong box, on condition of his giving the sole use of the said box to his brother, Dr James Gratton, during the life of the said Doctor, who hath more occasion for it.*

[TT] *An epitaph written by himself.*] It is in these terms:

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
HUIUS ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS DECANI,
UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO
ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT.
ABI VIATOR,
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,
STRENUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.
OBIIT ANNO [MDCCXLV]
MENSIS [OCTOBRIS] DIE [19]
ÆTATIS ANNO [LXXVIII.]

(nnn) He knew Mrs Whiteway, who was a relation and constantly attended him, took her by the hand and spoke to her with his former kindness. See her Letter, dated April 4, 1743, to Lord Orrery, inserted in his Letters, No. XI. He had taken her as a companion, after the death of Stella. Letters signed J. R. p. 129. Mrs Dingley not being agreeable to him. Letter to Dr Sheridan, No. XXVII.

(ppp) Hawkeforth, p. 31.

(qqq) Ibid. where other instances are mentioned.

(rrr) Ibid. and Lord Orrery, who observes, that even the rattling in his throat was scarce sufficient to give any alarm to his attendants, till within some very little time before he expired. Letter XXI.

(127) Delany, p. 149.

(128) Letter XXI.

(*) Some instances of this are related in Mrs Pilkington's memoirs.

(oo) Lord Orrery and Deane Swift.

(126) Appendix to the account of his life, &c. by Hawkins.

(*) Hawkeforth, p. 30.

lar, and has been attempted by several writers, the substance of which is as follows. In his person, he was large, robust, and masculine; his deportment was commanding, and his walk erect. His voice was sharp and high toned, especially when he read prayers, but not effeminate; and there was a natural severity in his aspect, which even his smiles could scarce soften, nor could his utmost gaiety relax. He was cleanly even to superstition; his nails were always paired to the quick, to prevent the least gathering of dirt under them, and he never dressed without a basin of water by him, with which he carefully cleansed his feet. Among his singularities, were his resolution never to wear spectacles, and his obstinate perseverance in the use of too much exercise (sss). Regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the greatest trifles. His hours of walking and reading never varied. His motions were guided by his watch, which was so constantly held in his hand, or placed before him on the table, that he seldom deviated many minutes in the daily revolutions of his exercises and employments. His manner was without ceremony, but not rustick; for he had a perfect knowledge of all the modes and variations of politeness and complaisance, which he practised in a manner peculiar to himself; and the respect that was due to him by these rules, he took care to exact, without the least abatement. He had seen the great world, and profited much by his experience. His capacity and strength of mind were undeniably equal to any task whatsoever. His pride, his spirit or his ambition, call it by what name you please, was boundless; but his views were checked in his younger years, and the anxiety of that disappointment had a visible effect upon all his actions. He was sour and severe, but not absolutely ill-natured. He was sociable only to particular friends, and to them only at particular hours. In company his rule was never to speak more than a minute at a time, and then to wait at least as long for others to take up the conversation. His colloquial stile, like that of his writing, was clear, forcible, and concise. He greatly excelled in punning, a talent he said which no man affected to despise, but those which were without it. But his conversation abounded with turns of wit of a higher kind [UU]. The Dean also greatly excelled in telling a story, his sentences were short and perspicuous, his observations piercing; and though in the latter part of his life he was very apt to tell his stories too often, yet his wit, as well as his virtues, was always superior to the wretched expedients of those despicable babblers, who are perpetually attempting to put off double entendre and prophaneness for wit and humour. His conversation was in the highest degree chaste, and wholly free from the least tincture of irreligion. As he was zealous to preserve all the delicacies of conversation, he was always best pleased, when some of the company (ttt) were ladies [WW]. He had not the least tincture of vanity in his conversa-

(sss) It wasted his flesh, and produced a poverty in his blood, of which he was told by his Physicians; and when he was reduced to idiotism, so as not to be able to walk, he recovered his flesh in a short time. Hawkesworth, p. 39.

(ttt) In a letter to Pope, written in 1732, he complains that even his female friends had forsaken him, which was what vexed him most.

It is inserted in his will, after expressing his desire to have his body buried in the great aisle of his Cathedral, on the South side, under the pillar next to the monument of Primate Narcissus Marsh, three days after his decease, as privately as possible, and at twelve o'clock at night, that a black marble of feet square, and seven feet from the ground, fixed to the wall, may be erected, with the inscription in large letters, deeply cut, and strongly gilded. Lord Orrery very justly remarks (129), 'that this monumental inscription serves to confirm an observation which he had made in a former letter, that the Dean was not an elegant writer of Latin. An harsher epitaph, continues his Lordship, has seldom been composed: it is scarce intelligible; and, if intelligible, is a proof how difficult a task it is, even for the greatest genius to draw his own character, or to represent himself and his actions in a proper manner.' The former letter, here referred to by his Lordship, is the tenth, where, in speaking of two Latin poems, *Epistola ad Thomam Sberidan*, and *Carberia Rupes*, he observes, that 'our Author was extremely solicitous to have them printed among his works (130): and, what is no less true than amazing, he assumes to himself more vanity upon these two Latin poems than upon many of his best English performances. It is said that Milton in his judgment, continues the noble Author, preferred the Paradise Regained to the Paradise Lost. There possibly might be found some excuse for such a preference; but in Swift's case there can be none: he understood the Latin language perfectly well, and he read it constantly; but he was no Latin poet. And if the *Carberia Rupes* and the *Epistola ad Thomam Sberidan* had been the produce of any other author, they must have undergone a severe censure from Dr Swift.'

[UU] Turns of wit of a higher kind.] The following deserves particular notice. He greatly admired the talents of the late Duke of Wharton, and, hearing him one day recount many of his frolics, *Aye, my Lord*, said he, *you have had many frolics; but let me recommend one more to you: Take a frolic to be virtuous; I assure you it will do you more honour than all the rest* (131).

[WW] He was best pleased in the company of the ladies.] The particular charm which attached him to their company and acquaintance is excellently set forth by Lord Orrery: 'I have just now, says his Lordship, cast my eye over a poem called *Death and Daphne*, which makes me relate an odd incident relating to that

nymph. Swift, soon after our acquaintance, introduced me to her as to one of his female favourites. I had been scarce half an hour in her company, before she asked me if I had seen the Dean's poem upon *Death and Daphne**. As I told her I had not, she immediately unlocked a cabinet, and, bringing out the MS, read it to me with a seeming satisfaction, of which at that time I doubted the sincerity. While she was reading, the Dean was perpetually correcting her for bad pronunciation, and for placing a wrong emphasis upon particular words. As soon as she had gone through the composition, she assured me smilingly, that the portrait of Daphne was drawn for herself †. I begged to be excused from believing it, and protested that I could not see one feature that had the least resemblance: but the Dean immediately burst into a laughter. You fancy, says he, that you are very polite, but you are much mistaken; that lady had rather be a Daphne drawn by me, than a Sacherissa by any other pencil. She confirmed what he had said with great earnestness; so that I had no other method of retrieving my error, than by whispering in her ear, as I was conducting her down stairs to dinner, that indeed I found

* Her hand as dry and cold as lead (132).

You see the command which Swift had over all his females, and would have smiled to have found his house a constant seraglio of very virtuous women (133), who attended him from morning till night, with an obedience, an awe, and an assiduity, that are seldom paid to the richest, or the most powerful lovers; no, not even to the Grand Signior himself. Not any of his Senators presumed to approach him when he signified his pleasure to remain in private, and without interruption. His nightgown and slippers were not easier put on or off, than his attendants. No Prince ever met with more flattery to his person, or more devotion to his mandates (134). To these ladies, proceeds his Lordship, Swift owed the publication of many pieces, which ought never to have been delivered to the press. He communicated every composition, as soon as finished, to his female senate, who not only passed their judgment on the performance; but constantly asked, and almost as constantly obtained a copy of it. You cannot be surprized, that it was immediately afterwards seen in print: and when printed, became a part of his works.

(*) It was written in 1730, and is inserted in his Works, Vol. IV Part I. p. 129. edit. 1755. 4 to.

(†) It is said she was, according to the common expression, as thin as death.

(132) A line that poem.

(133) This is evidently not meant in the strict literal sense of the word; for the animadversion upon it by Hawkesworth, p. 28.

(134) Lord Orrery, Letter X.

(129) Letter XXI.

(130) Where they are inserted in the second volume.

(131) Observation, p. 216.

tion; he used to say he was too proud to be vain. He generally spoke as he thought, in all companies, and at all times. If the conversation turned upon serious subjects, he was neither petulant in the debate, nor negligent of the issue. He would listen with great attention to the arguments of others, and whether he was engaged or not in the argument, he would recapitulate what had been said, state the question with great clearness and precision, point out the controverted particular, and appeal to the opinion, either of some neutral person, or of the majority. It is however true, that he kept his friends in some degree of awe, and was therefore rather an entertaining, than a desirable guest. He was open to adulation, and could not, or would not distinguish between low flattery, and just applause. Yet he was not less open to admonition, if it was offered without arrogance, and by persons of whose ability and honesty he had no doubt [XX]. Such was Swift as a companion; as a master, he was not less remarkable. As he expected punctual, ready, and implicit obedience, he always tried his servants when he hired them, by some test of their humility. Among other questions, he always asked whether they understood cleaning shoes; 'because, said he, my kitchen-wench (*uuu*) has a scullion that does her drudgery, and one part of the business of my groom and footman, is constantly to clean her shoes 'by turns;' if they scrupled this, the treaty was at an end; if not, he gave them a further hearing. He appeared to be churlish and austere to his domestics in general; but in reality was a good master (*www*). As a member of civil society, he was a zealous advocate for liberty, the detector of fraud, and the scourge of oppression. In politics, he was neither Whig nor Tory, Jacobite nor Republican; he was Dr Swift. As an Ecclesiastic, he was scrupulously exact, in the exercise of his function [YY], as well with regard to spiritual as temporal things. He was extremely exact and conscientious in promoting the members of his choir according to their merit, and never advanced any person to a vicarage, who was not qualified in all respects in the highest degree [ZZ]. He could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter-lands [AAA]. He always chose to raise the rents, as the method least oppressive to the present tenant, and most advantageous to all future tenants and landlords; he constantly refused to give charity out of the chapter-funds [BBB], which he alledged were scarce sufficient to maintain the necessary repairs of the cathedral, and he expended more money to support and adorn it, than had been applied to the same use in any period of equal length since it was first built. He was a faithful Guardian of the

(*uuu*) This was his Cook, a wench of a large size, robust constitution, and coarse features, her face very much seamed with the small-pox, and furrowed by age. He always distinguished her by the name of sweet-heart. Hawkeſworth, P. 34.

(*www*) He gave them board-wages at the highest rate, and if any of them left any part of their wages un-received, he paid them interest for that time. *Id. ibid.*

(135) J. R. p. 19.

(136) Hawkeſworth, p. 33.

(137) In the Article of Lord Bolognere, Vol. I. p. 3577. Rem. [FF].

[XX] *He was open to admonition.* As an instance of this, we are told that in his Poem of Baucis and Philemon, which does not consist of quite two hundred verses, Mr Addison made him blot out fourscore, add fourscore, and alter fourscore (135); to this may be added the following instance: It was customary with his friends to make him some little annual present on his birthday: Dr Delany, soon after he was admitted to some degree of intimacy, sent him, with such a memorial of his esteem, some verses, in which he upbraids him, though with great delicacy, for misapplying his talents, and admonishes him to turn the force of his ridicule, of which he was so great a master, upon those who had laboured to employ it against the sacred doctrines of Christianity. The Dean, as he had suffered Addison's correction with approbation, received the admonition with kindness: he sighed, and said, with great appearance of regret, that it was too late, and from that day, took all occasions to distinguish Dr Delany by the name of friend (136). The Reader will find a third instance of this sort, in the course of his work (137), in the case of a most severe reprobation from his friend Pope, which was apparently taken as kindly as it was meant.

[YY] *He was exact in the exercise of his function.* In this respect he had one very singular practice. As he constantly attended the service of the church, so as soon as the preacher mounted the pulpit, the Dean took out a pencil and a piece of paper, and carefully noted whatever was wrong both in the expressions and the manner in which they were delivered, whether they were too scholastic to be generally understood, or so coarse and vulgar as was unbecoming the dignity and gravity of a sermon: and he never failed to make these the subject of an admonition to the preacher as soon as he came into the chapter-house. We have already observed, that though he did not understand music, yet he always attended at the anthem to see that the choir did their duty; and notwithstanding his want of skill in it, his power of ridicule extended even to music, of which he gave an instance too singular to be forgotten. Dr Pratt, who was the Provost of Dublin-college, had, in his travels, acquired much of the Italian taste for this art, and Tom Rossgrave, a celebrated performer, being just returned from Italy, played a voluntary one day at St Patrick's cathedral: the Doctor happened to dine at the deanery the same day, and was so extravagant in his encomiums on Rossgrave's voluntary, that several of the

company said they wished they had heard it. Do you? said Swift; then you shall hear it still; and immediately fung out so lively, and yet so ridiculous an imitation of it, that all the company were kept in continual laughter till it was over; except one old gentleman, who sat with great composure; and, though he listened, yet shewed neither curiosity nor approbation: after the entertainment he was asked by some of the company, how it happened that he had been no more affected with the music? to which he answered, with great gravity, that he had heard Mr Rossgrave himself play it before (138).

[ZZ] *He was very conscientious in disposing of a vicarage.* He once refused a vicarage to a person; for whom the Lady Carteret was very importunate, though he declared to her Ladyship, that if it had been in his power to have made the Gentleman a Dean or a Bishop, he would have obliged her willingly; because, said he, Deaneries and Bishoprics are preferments in which merit hath no concern, though the merit of a vicar will be brought to the test every day (139).

[AAA] *He never raised the fines, but the rents of the chapter-lands.* He once resolved never to renew a certain lease belonging to the deanery, without raising the rent 30l. a year. The tenant had often solicited him, instead of raising the rent, to take a larger fine; and this man, a very short time before the Dean had lost his memory, urged him with a very large sum, not doubting of success from the Dean's known fondness for money. But the Dean maintained his integrity, refused the offer with indignation, and fulfilled his purpose of raising the rent, though at this time his memory was so bad, that the next day he did not remember what he had done; and his love of money so predominant over every thing but his virtue, that, though he complained of being deserted, yet he banished his best friends, merely to save the expence of entertaining them, and would sometimes refuse them a single bottle of wine (140).

[BBB] *He refused to give charity out of the chapter-funds.* When any person solicited such an alienation, he used to tell them that this money was appropriated; but, says he, as you declare, that the person to be relieved is an object of Christian charity, I will give out of my private purse any sum proportioned to my revenue, if you will contribute a sum in the same proportion to yours; my deanery is worth 700l per annum, your income is 200l. if you will give two shillings, I will give seven, or any larger sum after the same rate (141).

(138) Hawkeſworth, p. 37.

(139) Letter signed J. R. p. 19.

(140) Letter signed J. R. p. 245 and 228.

(141) *Ibid.* p. 192.

(xxx) Letters to
Sheridan, No.
XXIII.

(yyy) Hawkef-
worth, p. 37.

rights of his Deanery, and even determined to assert his right of absence against the Archbishop of Dublin, at the expence of several hundred pounds, when he did not believe he should ever again claim the privileges for himself; because he would not hurt his successor by an injurious president (xxx). The poor, in the liberty of his Cathedral, were better regulated than any other in the kingdom: They were all badged, and were never found begging out of their district. For these, he built and furnished a little Alms-house, being assisted by some voluntary contributions, and he preserved among them uncommon cleanliness and decency, by constantly visiting them in person. Nor was his care and kindness confined to his Cathedral; he improved his Living of *Laracor*, though he continued there but a short time, and left both the house and glebe a convenient and agreeable retreat to his successor, at a considerable expence (yyy). In his private capacity, he was not only charitable but generous, and whatever misanthropy may be found in his writings, there does not appear to have been any in his life. His writings in defence of the poor people of Ireland are well known, and that he might not be wanting himself, while he pleaded their cause with others, he constantly lent out a large sum of money in small portions to honest, industrious, and necessitous tradesmen, upon easy terms [CCC]. Besides this, he frequently gave five and ten pounds, without any parade, when proper objects offered. He was diligent to relieve the poor, and at the same time, to encourage industry, even in the lowest station; he used regularly to visit a great number of poor, chiefly women, as well in the public streets, as in the bye allies, and under the arches of Dublin [DDD]. If he was not exempt from the infirmity of loving money, yet he was clear of the vice. If his œconomy degenerated into avarice, it must be confessed it did not contract his bounty. He turned all the evil of excessive frugality upon himself; it induced him to walk when he had been used to ride, and he would then say, he had earned a shilling or eighteen-pence, which he had a right to do what he pleased with, and which he constantly applied to his usual charities, which by this expedient he could continue, and yet expend less upon the whole than before [EEE]. Whilst he abounded in charity, he was not less diligent in the practice of other virtues, or less devout and constant in the solemnities of religion. He was remarkably temperate, both in eating and drinking. He was not only just but punctual in his dealings, and he had an inviolable regard for truth. As he constantly attended divine worship when he was at home, so he used always to go early to church when he was in London, and never to sleep without assembling his family in his own chamber to prayers. An abhorrence of hypocrisy was a striking particular in his character; he even carried it to such an excess, that it is not easy to determine, whether it was more a virtue than a vice; for it brought upon him the charge of irreligion, and encouraged others to be irreligious. In proportion as he abhorred hypocrisy, he dreaded the imputation of it, and therefore concealed his piety with as much diligence, as others conceal their vices, which custom has not made reputable [FFF]. As his abhorrence of hypocrisy exempted him from affectation, the natural equity of his mind secured him against envy. He cultivated genius wherever he found it, and in whatever degree, with great zeal and assiduity, and would frequently spend much time in correcting and improving any literary composition

[CCC] *He lent large sums upon easy terms.* The money was repaid, with a small gratuity by way of interest, to the person who kept the account of the disbursements and weekly payment; for he received back these loans by a certain sum out of the weekly profit of the borrower's trade in such proportions as the whole should be repaid in a year (142).

(142) Ibid.
p. 203, 204.

[DDD] *He visited the poor in bye allies.* Some of these sold plumbs, some hobnails, others tape, and others gingerbread, some knitted, some darned stockings, and others cobbled shoes; these women were most of them old, deformed, or crippled, and some were all three. He saluted them with great kindness, asked how they throve, and what stock they had; if the ware of any of them was such as he could possibly use, or pretend to use, he bought some, and paid for every halfpenny-worth sixpence; if not, he always added something to their stock, and strictly charged them to be industrious and honest (143).

(143) Letters
signed J. R.
p. 132, 133.

[EEE] *Yet expend less upon the whole than before.* The distribution even of this charity was marked with the peculiarity of his temper; for, that he might proportion his bounty to the necessities and the merit of various objects, and yet give but one piece of money at a time, he constantly kept a pocket full of all sorts of coin from a silver threepence to a crown piece (144). Some of these poor people, to whom he used to give money when he met them in his walks, he named, partly for distinction and partly for humour, *Cancerina*, *Stumpa-nympha*, *Pull-a-gown-a*, *Friterilla*, *Flora*, *Stumpantba*. In a letter to Dr Sheridan he writes thus: 'No soul has broke his neck, or is hanged, or married; only Cancerina is dead, and I let her go to her grave without a coffin and without fees (145).'

(144) Ibid.
p. 13.

(145) His Letter,
No. XXXIII,
dated Dublin,
March 7, 1733.

[FFF] *He concealed his piety with diligence.* His

constant attendance at church when he was at the deanery, he knew would be considered as the duty of his station; but whatever had the appearance of voluntary devotion he always took care to hide: when he went to church in London, it was early in the morning; so that, though he was constantly at prayers and at the sacrament, yet he appeared to neglect both, as he was at home when others were at church; and, when he went to prayers in his family, the servants assembled at the appointed hour as it were by stealth, without notice from a bell, or any other call except the striking of a clock: so that Dr Delany was six months in his family, before he suspected him of this unfashionable practice.

The same principle, upon which he thus studiously avoided the appearance of good, made him frequently incur appearances of evil, especially when an opportunity offered of indulging his peculiar vein of humour. One instance of this has already been given (146); but there are others less excusable. Soon after he was made Dean of St Patrick's, he had dined one Sunday with Dr Raymond, Vicar of *Trim*; and when the bell had rung, and the people were assembled to evening prayers at the church, which was not above two hundred yards distant, 'Raymond, said he, I'll lay you a crown that I begin prayers before you this afternoon.' Dr Raymond accepted the wager; and they both ran as fast as they could to church. Raymond, being much nimbler than Swift, arrived first at the door, and, entering the church, walked decently towards the reading desk; Swift never slackened his pace; but running up the aisle, left Dr Raymond behind him in the middle of it, and stepping into the desk, without putting on a surplice, or opening the book, began the service in an audible voice, and thus won his wager (147).

(146) The first
time of reading
prayers on a
Wednesday at
Laracor.

(147) Hawkef-
worth, p. 38.

that

that had the least appearance of ingenuity [GGG]. As a Writer, he had no equal. His style is masterly, correct, and strong, never diffusive, yet always clear; and if we consider it in comparison of his Predecessors, he has out-done them all, and is one, perhaps the chief, of those few select English Writers, who have excelled in elegance and propriety of language (zzz). In politics, his favourite topic, he appears like a masterly gladiator; he wields the sword of party with ease, justness, and dexterity, and while he entertains the ignorant and the vulgar, he draws an equal attention from the learned and the great [HHH]. When he is serious, his gravity becomes him; when he laughs, his readers must laugh with him. In poetry, he would not take pains to excel; but became, in some measure, superior to it, and assumed more the air and manner of a Critic, than a Poet (aaaa). But what shall be said for his love of trifles, and his want of delicacy and decorum (bbbb)? Forgive him these errors, and draw a veil over certain excrescences of wit and humour; you will then admire him as an honour to the public, and a scourge to all the knaves and fools of his time. Upon the whole, his conduct was greatly variegated, so much as to appear even capricious and contradictory. However, if we look a little deeper than the surface, these seeming contradictions will be found to arise from the same principles. Swift was naturally temperate and chaste, it was therefore easy for him to be frugal; but he was also naturally high-spirited, and therefore as wealth is the pledge of independence, it is not strange his frugality should verge to excess. However, as he acted upon Christian principles of general virtue, he did not deliver himself up to natural propensions, when contrary to his duty; and therefore his love of money did not contract his charity to the poor, or defraud his successors to enrich himself. The same spirit which secured his integrity, by disdaining the meanness of a lye, produced that dread of hypocrisy which concealed his piety, and betrayed him into appearances of evil; and the same want of natural tenderness which made him obdurate and austere, transferred the distribution of his liberality from instinct to religion. Such was *Jonathan Swift*, whose life, with all the advantages of genius and learning, was a scale of infelicity, gradually ascending, till pain and anguish destroyed the faculties by which they were felt. An instructive lesson to teach the wise humility, and the simple content. The first authentic edition of his Works was printed at Dublin in eight Volumes, 8vo. (cccc); after this several editions were printed at London (dddd), the last of which came out in 1755, in six Volumes 4to, with his life prefixed by John Hawkesworth; and again in twelve Volumes, 8vo, 1761. The Doctor had begun a History of England, and had pursued it through two or three reigns from William the Conqueror; but the contempt which he conceived of our ancient Monarchs, made him soon lay the design aside (eeee).

(zzz) Lord Orrery, Letter VI. who says, he exceeds Tillotson in perspicuity, and Addison in humour.

(aaaa) Lord Orrery declares, that had Swift lived in the same age with Horace, he would have approached nearer to him than any other Poet; which his Lordship has endeavoured to justify by running the parallel through many particulars. Ibid.

(cccc) The four first Volumes came out in 1735, which were followed by the fifth and sixth in our Author's life-time, and the two last Volumes were added after his death: See Lord Orrery, Letter VI. and Hawkesworth's Preface.

(148) Fitz-osborne's letters, Vol. II.

[GGG] *He improved the works of others, &c.* Nor was this kindness confined to those whose parts could never come in competition with his own; he started many hints to Mr Gay; and he recommended Addison, Congreve, Parnel, Pope, and many others, to those whose favours were most likely to render them conspicuous. [HHH] *Mr Melmouth has lately opened the secret.* He observes, that Swift's style has this peculiarity, not to

have one metaphor in his works. His images are surprizingly unexpected, and exhibited in their true, genuine, native form; this strikes the greatest: and, being fetched generally from common life, they captivate the lowest of the people (148). Hence he appears a Beggar among Beggars, and a King among Kings.

SYDENHAM [Dr THOMAS], a learned Physician, and of very great practice, in the XVIIth century, was the son of William Sydenham of Winford Eagle in Dorsetshire Esq; and born there in the year 1624 [A]. In Midsummer-term, 1642, he was entered a Commoner of Magdalen-hall in Oxford: But leaving the university when it became a garrison for the use of King Charles I, he went to London. There he fell accidentally into the company of Dr Thomas Cox, a noted and eminent Physician, who finding him to be a person of more than ordinary parts, encouraged and put him into a method to study physic at his return to the university. Upon the delivery of that place to the Parliament's forces, in 1646, he retired again to Magdalen-hall (a), and entering on the Physic Line, was created Batchelor in that faculty April 14, 1648 (b), not having before taken any degree in Arts. About that time, submitting to the authority of the Visitors appointed by Parliament, he was, by means of a near relation of his, made Fellow of All-Souls College, in the room of one ejected at the Penbrochian Visitation. Having continued some years there, and studied Physic with the utmost industry and application, he left the university without his Doctor's degree, which he took afterwards at Cambridge; and settling at Westminster, practised his faculty with the utmost success and reputation: so that he was esteemed the chief Physician in that city from the year 1660 to 1670. He was particularly famous for the cool regimen which he prescribed in the Small-pox [B], and

(a) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 839.

(b) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 65. He was created at the Visitation of the University by the Earl of Penbroke.

[A] *And born there in the year 1624.* That he was born in the year 1624, I infer from hence, because in Midsummer term 1642, the time of his admission in the University, he was aged eighteen years, or thereabouts, as Mr Wood informs us (1).

[B] *He was particularly famous for the cool regimen which he prescribed in the Small-pox.* When he first began to practise; the common method in fashion among the most eminent Physicians, both of the Court and City, was to use their utmost endeavours to subdue the malignity and putrefaction, which, in their judgment, tainted and dissolved the blood in

the confluent kind of small-pox, by the use of the most generous and active medicines; such as Venice-treacle, Virginian snake-root, contrayerva, zedoary, saffron, volatile salt of hartshorn, powder of viper's flesh, and the like. But Dr Sydenham fell upon the cool regimen, and discharged all the train of warm alexipharmic remedies, such as those here enumerated, and instituted a method of practice the reverse to theirs. For he opened not only the curtains round the bed, but often the windows likewise to let in fresh air into the room; took the sick persons out of bed, and plied them constantly with diluting and attempering, or with

(bbb) The trifles are inserted in the last Volume of his Works, and the chief of his pieces charged with indelicacy, is The Lady's Dressing-Room, in Vol. IV. Part I. p. 113. et seqq. in a note to which is offered this apology, that while the Dean writes against delicacy, he teaches it.—And so I have heard it said of a common swearer, that he swore enough to bring swearing out of fashion.

(ddd) Particularly one in thirteen Volumes, 22mo. in 1742.

(eee) Lord Orrery, Letter XXIV.

(1) Ath. at supra.

and that has been almost universally followed since, to the inexpressible benefit of Mankind, as it hath preserved millions of Lives. He was famous also for his method of giving the bark after the paroxysm, or return of the fit, in agues; and for his use of laudanum (c). In the latter part of his life, he was Licentiate of the College of Physicians; and, at the request chiefly of his friends, he communicated at divers times to the world, the useful Observations he made in the course of his practice [C]. Having for a long time been

(c) Wood, Ath. ut supra. See our Author's Works.

with acid and cooling remedies. In the mean time he often, through the several stages of the distemper, prescribed six drachms or an ounce of syrup of white poppies to be taken in the evening, or at the beginning of the night, and to be repeated, and the dose to be increased, as great wakefulness and inquietude should demand. This account we give in Sir Richard Blackmore's words (2). But we cannot help observing, how injuriously he treats Dr Sydenham, in the same place; when he ascribes this practice of his not to skill and judgment, but to obstinacy, and downright opposition to the rest of the faculty. . . . Our most celebrated Physicians (saith Sir Richard) before Dr Sydenham declared for the *hot regimen*; but that Doctor having taken a resolution at his first entering upon the practice of Physic, as he himself assured me in conversation, to act *directly contrary in all cases* to the common method then in fashion among the most eminent Physicians, (and he told me his reasons for it) in conformity to the design, did, in the management of this disease, as well as others, oppose the common method of the Physicians of the Court and City. But it appears from the Doctor's own observations, that he grounded his practice upon more rational principles than opposition. Of which take the following specimen (3) . . . To me, saith he, indeed it seems agreeable to reason, that the longer Nature is in working and perfecting separation, so the ebullition be not quite torpid, so much the more certainly and universally the separation is performed; and upon its being so finished, it is necessary that the success of the following cure must especially depend, as from the contrary method the event of the business must be quite contrary; for from that *hot regimen* no good comes, as from over-hasty fruit no advantage; seeing it frequently happens, that the patient falls either downright into a phrenzy, or, which is worse, great sweats arise, whereby particles not fit for separation, nor answering the nature of *pus* (which very *pus* notwithstanding is the genuine product of this separation) are ejected, or the small-pox being too much forced out, by giving cordials, and by a hot regimen, run all into one, a sad spectacle, and that threatens a fatal event: and these and the like symptoms are usually occasioned by these errors; whereas I never observed any mischief from the other method, for Nature, left to herself, does her work in her own time, and separates, and then expels the matter in the right way and manner. . . . Elsewhere, he lays it down for a rule, *Quo sedatior est sanguis, eo melius erumpent pustulae*; i. e. The calmer the blood is, the better will the pustules of the small-pox come out (4).

[C] He communicated at divers times to the world the useful Observations he made in the course of his practice.] They seem to have been mostly drawn, not to say extorted, from him by his friends: some of them being written by way of letter to Gentlemen that desired his opinion, or pressed him to make public what observations he had made; conceiving a very high opinion of his abilities, from what he had already published. They came out in the following order; I. *Methodus curandi Febres, propriis observationibus superstructa*, i. e. The method of curing Fevers, founded upon his own observations. Lond. 1666. 4to. A second edition, corrected and enlarged, was printed in 1668. 8vo. having an additional section concerning the Plague. This volume contains, Remarks upon acute and epidemick diseases in general. The epidemick constitution of the years 1661, 62, 63, 64. Of the continual Fever of the years 1661, 62, 63, 64. Of the Agues of the years 1661, 62, 63, 64. The epidemick constitution of the years 1665, and 1666, at London; and of the pestilential Fever and Plague in those years. II. *Observationes Medicæ circa Morborum acutorum Historiam & Curationem*. Lond. 1676. 8vo; i. e. Physical Observations on the History and Cure of acute Diseases. In these the particulars are; Of the epidemick constitution of the years 1667, 68, and part of the year 1669, at London. Of the regular Small-pox, within that period. Of the continual Fever, within the same period. Of the epidemick constitution of part of the year 1669,

and of the years 1670, 1671, 1672, at London. Of the *Cholera-morbus* of the year 1669. Of the Bloody-flux of part of the year 1669, and of the years 70, 71, 72. Of the continual Fever of part of the year 1669, and in 1670, 71, 72. Of the Measles in the year 1670. Of the irregular Small-pox, in the years 1670, 71, 72. Of the bilious Colick of the years 1670, 71, 72. Of the epidemick constitution of part of the year 1673, and of the years 1674, 75. Of the continual Fever of the years 1673, 74, 75. Of the Measles of the year 1674. Of the irregular Small-pox, in the years 1674, 75. Of the epidemick Coughs with a Pleurisie, and Peripneumonia coming upon them, of the year 1675. Of the intercurrent Fevers; viz. Of the Scarlet Fever; Of a Pleurisie; Of a Bastard Peripneumonia; Of a Rheumatism; Of an Erysipelatose Fever; Of the Quinsie. III. *Epistolæ responsivæ duæ; prima de Morbis epidemickis ab anno 1675 ad ann. 1680; secunda de Luis Venereæ Historia & Curatione*. Lond. 1680. 8vo; i. e. Two Letters written by way of answer; the first, of epidemick Diseases from the year 1675 to 1680, to Dr Robert Brady, Master of Caius college, and the King's Professor of Physick in Cambridge; the second, of the History and Cure of the Venereal disease, to Dr Henry Paman, Fellow of St John's college, and Public Orator in the same University; and Professor of Physick in Gresham-college, London. IV. *Dissertatio Epistolaris ad spectatiss. & doctiss. virum Guliel. Cole, M. D. de Observationibus nuperis circa Curationem Variolarum confluentium, necnon de Affectione Hystericâ*. Lond. 1682. 8vo; i. e. An Epistolary Discourse to Dr William Cole, containing his new Observations on the confluent Small-pox, and also Observations on Hysterick Diseases. V. *Traictatus de Podagrâ & Hydrope*. Lond. 1683. 8vo; i. e. A Treatise of the Gout and Dropsy. Dedicated to Dr Thomas Short, Fellow of the College of Physicians in London. VI. *Schedula monitoria de novæ Febris ingressu*. Lond. 1686; i. e. A Monitorary Schedule, or Short Advice, concerning the new Fever in 1686. Inscribed to Dr Charles Goodall, Fellow of the College of Physicians. VII. 'Of the putrid Fever coming upon the flux Pox.' VIII. 'Of bloody Urine from a Stone in the Kidneys.'—The above several pieces were collected together, and published under this title, *Processus integri in Morbis ferè omnibus curandis, a Thoma Sydenham conscripti; quibus accessit graphica Symptomatum delineatio*. Lond. 1693. 8vo. Reprinted several times at London, and also at Amsterdam, Leiden, Leipzig, Geneva, &c. J. Pechey, M. D. hath translated them into English, in one volume, 8vo, intituled, 'The whole works of that excellent practical Physician, Dr Thomas Sydenham. Wherein not only the History and Cures of acute Diseases are treated of, after a new & accurate method; but also the shortest and safest way of curing most chronical Diseases.' . . . And another translation of them by J. Swan, M. D. was published in 1749. 8vo.

These "incomparable Treatises, as Dr Goodall rightly observes (5), are drawn (as it were by another Hippocrates) from his most exact and nice observation of Diseases, and their symptoms; to which are added most judicious natural Hypotheses, and curative Indications, deduced from them. He hath given such an exact history of all acute diseases, from the beginning of 1661, to 1680, that there is scarcely a sentence to be found therein, which is not of moment. Several weighty observations are likewise taken notice of by this sagacious Physician, which other Authors have omitted, as particularly the several constitutions of the Air specifically different, which depend not upon the manifest qualities thereof, but upon some inexplicable causes, and produce Diseases as specifically different, which Constitutions, after some time, give place one to another; and are accompanied with a peculiar and specifically different Fever, both as to its symptoms and cure; these Fevers he calls stationary, distinguishing them from the sporadique, or intercurrent Fevers, depending upon the manifest qualities or alterations of the Air; the Ptyalism that attends adult persons, and the Diarrhœa which usually accompanies Children in the Flux-pox; the day when the Ptyalism ordinarily ceaseth,

(5) Proceeding of the College Physicians against Empiric in the Epistle Dedicatory.

(2) Treatise of the Small-pox, edit. Lond. 1723. 8vo. sect. 3. p. 47.

(3) See his works in English, edit. 1701. p. 88, 89. where he treats of the irregular small-pox in the years 1667, 1668, and part of 69.

(4) Epistolary Discourse to Dr Cole.

been troubled with the Gout (*d*); about the year 1670, he began to be more sorely afflicted with that excruciating distemper; which much hindered his practice, and his great usefulness in the world. After having greatly suffered by it, he died at his house in Pall-Mall, Westminster, December 29, 1689, and was buried in the south isle of St James's Church. He was a learned man, of a solid judgment, and a florid Writer; of a generous and public spirit, great integrity, and very charitable (*e*). The character given of him by Sir Richard Blackmore, is both false and injurious [*D*].

(*d*) See his Treatise of the Gout, about the beginning: When he wrote that Treatise he had been thirty-four years troubled with it.

Dr Sydenham's eldest brother, named *William*, was engaged, and zealous, in the Parliament's Service; a Colonel; Governor of Weymouth, and of the Isle of Wight; Member of Cromwell's Parliaments, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, &c. (*f*). His eldest daughter, *Mary*, was married to Walter Thornhill of Wareham in Dorsetshire, and by him had the late celebrated Painter, Sir James Thornhill Knight.

(*f*) For a further account of him, see Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 75, 95, 116, 134, 597, 627, 631, 654, 666, 675, 678, 680, 685, 693.

ceaseth, with the danger ensuing thereupon; the great tendency to symptomatical sweats, in the distinct Pox; Convulsions in Children before the eruption of the Small-pox, which he observeth to be the usual prognostick of a mild distemper; the *mania* or frenzy following Agues, with the different cure it requires; the Jaundice, observable at the going off of the *colica hysterica*; the limpid Urine, which he asserts to be the most universal and pathognomonick sign of hysterical and hypochondriacal affections; which diseases do frequently assume the shape of nephritick and colical distempers, yet are really different, both in their original and cure; with many of the like kind, dispersed throughout his Book."

It appears from his writings, That he regulated his Practice more by his own Observations and Enquiries, than by the method either of his predecessors or contemporaries.

There was among Bishop More's MSS. '*Theologia Rationalis*, by Dr Sydenham the famous Physician:' which we suppose is now, among the rest of his books, in the public Library of the University of Cambridge.

[*D*] *The character given of him by Sir Richard Blackmore, is both false and injurious.* It is in his Treatise upon the Small-pox (*6*) that he gives this character of Dr Sydenham. For, having observed, that 'a man of good sense, vivacity, and spirit, may arrive to the highest rank of Physicians without the assistance of great Erudition, and the knowledge of Books;' . . . This (adds he) was the case of Dr Sydenham, who became an able and eminent Physician, though he never designed to take up the profession till the civil wars were composed; and then being a disbanded officer, he entered upon it for a maintenance, without any learning preparatory for the undertaking of it. And to shew the reader what contempt he had for writings in Physic, when one day I asked him to advise me what books I should read to qualify me for practice, he replied, *Read Don Quixote, it is a very good book, I read it still.* So low an opinion had this celebrated man of the learning collected out of the authors, his predecessors. And a late celebrated Physician (*7*), whose judgment was universally relied upon as almost infallible in his profession, used to say, as I am well informed, that *when he died, he would leave behind him the whole mystery of Physic in half a sheet of paper.* It is true, both these Doctors carried the matter much too far by vilifying Learning, of which they were no matters, and perhaps for that reason.—In this passage there are several mistakes. For it is false, that Dr Sydenham was a *disbanded officer*—that *he never designed to take up the profession of Physic till the civil wars were composed*—that he did it *for a maintenance*; for his father was a gentleman of a plentiful estate (*8*). And his style and manner of writing plainly shew, that he had all the *learning preparatory* for any Science. . . . As for the *advice*, here mentioned, it was plainly a banter; and shews, what *low opinion* the Doctor had of the

then young Mr Blackmore's genius and capacity, and that he thought him fitter to study *Don Quixote* than *Physic*. . . . It seems Sir Richard was feverely censured, for the mean Reflexions he had here made upon Learning. For, in another place (*9*), he is forced to make an apology for himself, in the following words 'Some Gentlemen have been disingenuous and unjust to me, by wresting and forcing my meaning in the Preface to another book, as if I condemned and exposed all Learning, though they knew I declared, that I greatly honoured and esteemed all men of superior Literature, and Erudition, and that I only undervalued false or superficial Learning, that signifies nothing for the Service of Mankind; and that as to Physick, I expressly affirmed, that Learning must be joined with native Genius to make a Physician of the first rank; but if those talents are separated, I asserted, and do still insist, that a man of native Sagacity and Diligence, will prove a more able and useful Practiser, than a heavy notional Scholar, encumbered with a heap of confused Ideas: For I never shall be convinced, that a man, either of a dull Thought and a cloudy Imagination, let his head be ever so much stuffed with undigested notions; nor on the other hand, one who is a meer rattle, and pertly insignificant, or offensive by a strong infusion of the coxcomb in his make, will ever prove a good Physician.'

(*9*) Preface to A Treatise of Consumptions, &c. ed. 1725. 8vo. p. xiii.

The character given of Dr Sydenham by the learned Dr Sewell (*10*), in the following lines, is more candid as well as more just.

(*10*) Prefixed to Sir Richard Blackmore's Treatise of Consumptions. Lond. 1725. 8vo.

SYDENHAM, at length, a mighty Genius, came,
Who founded Medicine on a nobler Frame.
Who studied *Nature* through, and *Nature's Larvs*,
Nor blindly puzzled for the peccant cause.
Father of Physick He . . . Immortal Name!
Who leaves the *Grecian* but a second fame:
Sing forth, ye Muses, in sublimer strains,
A new *Hippocrates* in *Britain* reigns;
With every healing Plant his grave adorn,
Saviour of many Millions yet unborn:
Forgive this Tribute to the glorious Dead,
You knew *The Man*, whom I have only read;
More is his Due who freed me from the Rules
Of tyrant Notions, and pedantick Schools.
Keep him ye humbler Sons of Art in view,
Hopeless to teach, ambitious to pursue.

The great Mr Locke wrote a Poem, in praise of our learned Author's Method of curing Fevers, which is prefixed to his works in Latin. We have reason to wonder, that it is not inserted in the collection of Mr Locke's works, three Volumes folio, together with the same Author's two Poems on the Peace between England and the United Provinces in 1654 (*11*); since, without them, his works are not complete.

(*11*) They are inserted in *Musarum Oxoniensium 'Ελληνισμοί*; and State-Poems continued, Vol. II. p. 8, 13, ed. 1697. 8vo.

SYDNEY, or SIDNEY [Sir PHILIP], the darling of his time, was the eldest son of Sir Henry Sydney [*A*], by *Mary* his wife, eldest daughter of John Dudley Duke of Northumberland.

[*A*] *Was the eldest son of Sir Henry Sidney.* The *Sidney* family, anciently seated at Cranley in Surrey, and Kingesham in Suffex, derive themselves lineally from Sir William Sidney, Knt, that came out of Anjou with King Henry II, who then made him his Chamberlain.—From him descended Sir *William Sidney*, Knt, a brave officer by sea and land in King Henry VIIIth's reign, Chamberlain, and Steward to that King. He

died Feb. 11. 1552-3, leaving *Henry* his son and heir, mentioned above. This *Henry* was from his infancy bred at Court, being a companion, and many times a bed-fellow to Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward VI, who, when he came to the crown, made him principal Gentleman of his Privy chamber; knighted him in 1549; and sent him ambassador to France, when he was but two and twenty years of age; and, in 1550, constituted

Wood, Ath. above; and Pechey's Introduction to his translation of our Author's Works.

edit. 1723. Preface, 1.

Dr John deLille,

See Dr Pechey's Preface to translation of Author's works.

kind of learning (e). Upon his leaving the university, in 1572, he was sent to travel [D]; and, though aged but eighteen, gained reverence and esteem among some of the most learned men abroad (f). Charles IX, King of France, under pretence of being taken with his knowledge and extraordinary merit, made him one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber [E]. But it was justly thought, that this was only one of the treacherous favours heaped by that base Prince on the Protestants, in order to trepan Admiral Coligni and his adherents to Paris, at the King of Navarre's wedding; when the Protestants, fancying themselves secure by that marriage, were barbarously massacred on the 24th of August, 1572 (g). In that extremity of danger, Mr Sidney secured himself by taking refuge in the house of Sir Francis Walsingham (b), Embassador there from the Queen of England. Thence he went through Lorraine, and by Strasburg and Heidelberg, in September or October following, to Francford: where he lodged in the house of the famous Printer Wechel, and by that means became acquainted with the learned Hubert Languet, a lodger in the same house; who conceived the utmost tenderness and affection for him, as appears by his letters [F]. Continuing his travels in Germany, he arrived at Vienna in May 1573, where he met Languet, and stayed with him till September, when he went into Hungary, and parts adjacent. He passed next into Italy, where he remained all the winter following, and most of the summer 1574, and then returned with Languet into Germany. The next spring, he came back by Francford, Heidelberg, and Antwerp, into England, where he arrived about May 1575 (i). In the year 1576, when not above one and twenty years old, he was sent by Queen Elizabeth to condole the death of the Emperor Maximilian II, and to congratulate his successor, Rodolph II, upon his new dignity. But under the shadow of this compliment, he waited, at the same time, upon such of the German Princes, as were interested in the defence and preservation of the Protestant Religion, or their own native Liberties; and prevailed upon them to enter into a religious League with England. He also took an opportunity, to condole with the Elector Palatine's sons on the death of their father, Frederic III; and to demand of Count Casimir, the money Queen Elizabeth had disbursed for the wars in France (k) [G]. The next year, in his return, he waited upon that gallant Prince, Don John of Austria, Governor of the Low-Countries for the King of Spain, and William Prince of Orange: by the former of which, though received at first as a youth, a stranger, and an enemy; yet after some conversation, he was so struck with him, that the beholders wondered to see, what tribute that brave and high-minded Prince paid to his worth, giving more honour and respect to this hopeful young Gentleman, than to the Embassadors of mighty Princes (l). In 1579, when a marriage was in agitation between Queen Elizabeth and Francis Duke of Alençon, or Anjou [H], Mr Sidney, though neither Magistrate nor Counsellor, took the liberty humbly,

(e) Fragments Regalia &c. by Sir Robert Naunton, edit. 1653. 12mo. p. 34.

(g) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 48. and Addenda & Corrigena to that Volume, after the Contents.

(i) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(k) Camdeni Annales Elizabethæ, ad ann. 1576. and Life &c. as above, p. 48, 49, &c.

(l) Wood, ubi supra. And Life &c. as above, p. 37.

[D] In 1572, he was sent to travel.] Sir Fulke Grevil says (4), that he was sent to travel 'at fourteen years old,' which surely must be a great mistake (5). His words are these: 'Are not the Arts and Languages, which enabled him to Travel at fourteen years old, and in his Travail to win reverence amongst the chief Learned men abroad, witnesses beyond exception, that there was great inequality of worth and goodnesse in him? Instance that reverend Languet, mentioned for honour's sake in Sir Philip's Arcadia, learned *usque ad miraculum*, &c.' But this is not the only mistake in that ill-written Life: For what follows soon after, is equally full of faults. . . . 'So as this reverend Languet, orderly sequestered from his several functions under a mighty King, and Saxonie the greatest Prince of Germany, became a nurse of knowledge to this hopefull young Gentleman, and without any other hire, or motive than this sympathy of affections, accompanied him in the whole course of his three years travail.'—But it is certain, that Languet did not quit his other employments to accompany Mr Sidney in his three years travel.—'The like mistakes, as A. Wood observes (6), are in that Life, concerning Languet's coming into England in February 1573, 'onely to see that excellent plant of his own polishing, at which time, it is said, he was sixty-six years of age, whereas he was but sixty-one; that also he and Sidney parted at the Sea, which could not be, for Duke John Casimire, with whom he came, went away so suddenly, that Languet could not take leave of him.'

[E] Charles IX. . . . made him one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber.] And thereupon, his Majesty certified, to the Great Chamberlain of France, the Masters in ordinary of his household, and the Master and Comptroller of his Chamber for moneys, &c. That considering how great the house of Sidenay was in England, and the rank it had always held near the persons of the Kings and Queens, their Sovereigns, and desiring well and favourably to treat the young Sir Philip Sidenay, for the good and commendable knowledge in him; He had retained and received him in the state of Gentleman

in ordinary of his Chamber, to serve him hereafter, and to receive the Honours, Authorities, Wages, Rights, Hostellages, Profits, and customary Emoluments thereunto appertaining, during pleasure. With command to his faithful Counsellor, and first Gentleman of his Chamber, to take of the said S. Baron of Sidenay, the usual oath in such case required, &c. Accordingly he was sworn into that office August 9, 1572 (7). But he enjoyed it a very little time indeed.

[F] As appears by his Letters.] These Letters of Hubert Languet to Sir Philip Sydney, were published at Francfort, in 1633. 12mo. and reprinted in 1646, with the beautiful types of Elzevir, 12mo. and the same year at Groningen. The title of them is, 'Huberti Langueti Epistolæ Politicæ et Historicæ ad Philippum Sydnæum equitem Anglum illustrissimi Proregis Hybernici filium, Vlissingensem Gubernatorem.' In these Letters, are uncommon strains of the utmost Affection, Tenderness, and Esteem for Sir Philip; and they are written in a most pure and elegant Latin style.

[G] The money Queen Elizabeth had disbursed for the wars in France.] In the Castrations to Holinshed's Chronicle (8), it is observed, That Mr Sidney performed all these Commissions 'in such exquisite order, and advised wise course, omitting nothing he should doo, nor suppling any thing he should not doo in ceremonial or otherwise, as he exceedingly therein satisfied his Majesty, both by his letters and report, and wanted to himselfe great credit and singular commendation.'

[H] In 1579, when a marriage was in agitation between Queen Elizabeth, and Francis Duke of Alençon.] Mr Strype hath placed this under the year 1572, which is void of all probability: for, it is not credible that Mr Sidney should thus address the Queen, when he was but a youth of about eighteen. Mr Strype mentions it again under the year 1579, but very imperfectly; and refers to the Letter in the Appendix, No. XIX. which is not to be found there (9). It is at length in the Cabala (10). Perhaps he was misled by the titles of Alençon and Anjou, which belonged to the same person.

(7) Memoirs of the Sidneys, &c. as above, p. 98. from the original at Penshurst.

(8) p. 1554.

(9) See Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 147, &c. 567.

(10) p. 363.

(f) Life &c. as above, p. S. &c.

(b) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 146, and 152. Compleat Ambassadors, or Letters of Negotiation of Sir Francis Walsingham &c. Lond. 1655. fol. p. 250.

(4) Letters and Memorials, ubi supra, p. 7.

(5) See Strype's Annals, as above, p. 145.

(6) Athen. ut supra, and Life of Sir Philip Sidney, p. 11.

and privately by letter [I], to offer her Majesty very strong and substantial reasons against that marriage. (m). He was naturally of a warm and high spirit, so jealous of his honour and reputation, that he could not brook the least intrenchment on either, from his equals or inferiors [K], nor even from persons of the highest rank. Of which an instance is given, in a violent dispute between him and Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford [L], who was born great, greater by alliance, as having married Anne, eldest daughter of the Lord Treasurer Cecil, and superlative in the Queen's favour (n). That quarrel occasioned his retiring from the Court in 1580: during which recess, he wrote his eloquent and entertaining

(n) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 100, 101. and Life by Grevil, p. 74, &c.

[I] Mr Sidney, though neither Magistrate nor Counsellor, took the liberty humbly and privately by letter.] The minutes of that letter are printed in Mr Strype's Annals of the Reformation (11). But it is printed at length in the Cabala (12), as I have just now said.—In it, he uses many good Arguments for dissuading her from this Marriage; particularly, the Disadvantage and Danger that would thence redound to her Protestant Subjects; and the great Encouragement it would give to the Papists, and other disaffected persons.—Then he considers the Motives her Majesty had alledged for this sudden change; namely, Fear of standing alone in respect of foreign powers; and Apprehension of Contempt from her own Subjects, from whom she ought to have respect.—But, with regard to the first, 'Truly, saith he, standing alone, with good foresight of Government, both in peace and warlike defence, is the honourablest thing that can be to a well-established Monarchy; those buildings being ever most strongly durable which lean to none other, but remain firm on their own foundation.' Then he shews, how improbable it is, that the Duke of Anjou and She should be united in *One Interest*, the chief strength and support of Government.—*Monsieur's* desires, and yours, how they should meet in publick matters, I think no oracle can tell: For as the Geometricians say, that parallels, because they maintain divers lines, can never join; so truly, two, having in the beginning contrary principles, to bring forth one Doctrine, must be some miracle. He of the Romish Religion; and if he be a man, must needs have that manlike property, to desire that all men be of his mind: You the Erecter and Defender of the contrary; and the only sun that dazzleth their eyes. He French, and desiring to make France great: Your Majesty English, and desiring nothing less than that France should grow great. He, both by his own fancy, and his youthful Governours, embracing all ambitious hopes, having Alexander's image in his head, but, perhaps, evil painted: Your Majesty, with excellent vertue, taught what you should hope; and by no less wisdom, what you may hope; with a Council renowned over all Christendom, for their well tempered minds, having set the utmost of their ambition in your Favour; and the study of their souls in your Safety.—As to the Apprehension of Contempt;—'What is there, saith he, either within you or without you, that can possibly fall into the danger of contempt, to whom fortunes are tyed by so long descent of your royal Ancestors. But our minds rejoyce with the experience of your inward Vertues, and our eyes are delighted with the sight of you.' After many other arguments, to convince her Majesty, that she is in no manner of danger of Contempt; he concludes his letter thus:—'As for this man, as long as he is but *Monsieur* in might, and a Papist in profession, he neither can, nor will greatly shield you: And if he grow to be King, his defence will be like Ajax's shield, which rather weighed them down, then defended those that bare it. Against Contempt, if there be any, which I will never believe, let your excellent vertues of Piety, Justice, and Liberality, daily, if it be possible, more and more shine; let such particular actions be found out (which be easie as I think to be done) by which you may gratifie all the hearts of your people. Let those in whom you find trust, and to whom you have committed trust in your weighty affairs, be held up in the eyes of your subjects. Lastly, doing as you do, you shall be as you be, the Example of Princes, the Ornament of this Age, the Comfort of the afflicted, the Delight of your people, and the most excellent Fruit of your progenitors, and the perfect Mirrour of your posterity.'—A. Wood says, that this letter was written at the desire of Robert Earl of Leicester, as he supposes; and that it was the occasion of the quarrel between Mr Sidney and the Earl of Oxford (13). But there doth not seem to be sufficient ground for either of those assertions.

[K] So jealous of his honour and reputation, that he

could not brook the least intrenchment on either from his equals or inferiors.] Arthur Collins Esq; hath published an eminent instance of it, in a letter of his to Edward Mollineux Esq; Secretary to his father as Lord Deputy of Ireland, which is as follows.

' Mr Mollineux,

' Few woordes are beste. My Lettres to my Father have come to the eyes of some. Neither can I condemme any but yow for it. If it be so, yow have plaide the very knave with me; and so I will make yow know, if I have good prooffe of it. But that for so muche as is past. For that is to come, I assure yow, before God, that if ever I know yow do so much as reede any Lettre I wryte to my Father, without his commaundment, or my consente, I will thruste my dagger into yow. And truste to it, for I speake it in earnest. In the meane time farwell.

' From Courte, this last
' of May, 1578 (14).'

See below, note [AA], Mr Walpole's observation upon this Letter.

[L] Of which an instance is given, in a violent dispute between him and Edward Vere Earl of Oxford.] Fulke Grevil, Lord Brook, hath set down a long and circumstantial account of that Dispute (15), of which the substance is this. "One day as Mr Philip Sidney was at Tennis, the Earl of Oxford came abruptly into the court, and wanted the other to give place to him, and depart; 'forgetting to entreat that, which he could not legally command.' Mr Sidney not complying, the Earl began to expostulate more roughly, and at last commanded Mr Sidney and his companion to quit the court. Thereupon Mr Sidney calmly answers, 'That if his Lordship had been pleased to express his desire in milder terms, perhaps he might have led out those, that he should now find would not be driven out.' This answer blowing up the Earl into a flame, made him scornfully call Mr Sidney a Puppy. And the latter, pretending not to understand, caused his Lordship to repeat the epithet of Puppy a second time. Upon which Mr Sidney gave my Lord the lie, saying, 'All the world knows, puppies are gotten by dogs, and children by men.' A crowd gathering about, Mr Sidney, with some sharp words, led the way abruptly out of the Tennis-court; and the great Lord continued his play, not much to his reputation. Mr Sidney expected satisfaction, and sends a Gentleman of worth upon that errand to the Earl; who thereupon resolves to give his young antagonist a challenge. In the mean time the Privy-Council interposed, and endeavoured to reconcile them; but in vain. The Queen therefore undertakes to do it, and lays before Mr Sidney 'the difference in degree between Earls and Gentlemen; the respect inferiors owed to their superiors; and the necessity in Princes to maintain their own creatures, as degrees descending between the people's licentiousness, and the anointed sovereignty of crowns; how the Gentleman's neglect of the Nobility taught the peasant to insult upon both.' To which Mr Sidney replied, with all due reverence: 'That place was never intended for privilege to wrong: witness herself, who, how sovereign soever she were by throne, birth, education, and nature; yet was she content to cast her own affections into the same moulds her subjects did, and govern all her rights by their laws. Again, he besought her Majesty to consider, that although the Earl of Oxford were a great Lord by birth, alliance, and grace; yet he was no Lord over him: and therefore the difference of degrees between freemen could not challenge any other homage than precedence.' These truths did not displease the Queen, though he obeyed not her commands, but chose rather to withdraw from the court."—Edward Earl of Oxford was a man of violent passions, and made a very bad Husband to his wife, Anne, daughter of William Lord Burleigh (16).
Romance,

(14) Letters and Memorials of State, as above, Vol. I. p. 256.

(15) Life &c. as above, p. 74—81.

(16) See Mr Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 56

(m) Life &c. as above, p. 53—71. See Cabala, p. 363. and Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney family, Vol. I. p. 287.

(11) Vol. II. p. 147, 148, 149, 150.

(12) p. 363. and in Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney family, Vol. I. p. 287, &c.

(13) Athen. col. 227.

Romance, called Arcadia [M]. His noble and generous disposition to relieve all who were in distress, appears from several instances, as well as from his Letters; and he was so universally applauded for it, that his fame spread even beyond the bounds of Europe. For, in 1580, when, upon the death of the King of Portugal, the Spaniards had seized that kingdom; Don Antonio, the chief competitor thereto (o), applied to Mr Sydney for his assistance. His Letter is so remarkable, that we thought proper to insert it in the note (p) [N]. The treaty of marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou being renewed in 1581, Mr Sydney was one of those noble gallants, that performed, in the royal justings, barriers, and turney, for the entertainment of the Duke and his train (q): being very fond of those pastimes [O]. And upon the Duke's departure from England, in the February following, he attended him to Antwerp, with his uncle, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the chief of the English court (r). In 1583, John, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, being made a Knight of the Garter, gave his procuration to Mr Philip Sydney, to receive his stall, and take possession of it in his name; and thereupon he was knighted by the Sovereign, at Windsor-castle, January the 13th, the morning before he proceeded to take possession of the stall (s). In 1584, he wrote an Answer to the Libel against his uncle, commonly known by the title of 'Leicester's Commonwealth:' which Answer was first published by Arthur Collins Esq; (t). The year following, he projected an expedition to America, without the knowledge and consent of the Queen or his own relations; wherein he was to be joined by the brave Sir Francis Drake [P]. But when he was got to Plim-mouth, and ready to embark, the Queen, who was unwilling to risk a person of his worth

(o) There were two other Competitors; viz. Philip II, King of Spain, and Don Juan of Portugal, Duke of Braganza.

(q) Stow's Annals, edit. 1631. fol. p. 689.

(s) Ashmole's Order of the Garter, p. 436, 438.

(22) Castrations to Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1555.

(23) Sir Francis Walsingham.

(24) Life &c. as above, p. 81, 82—90. 131, 132.

(p) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. p. 102. and Letters and Memorials of State, Vol. I. p. 294.

(r) Camdeni Annales Elizab. ad ann. 1582.

(t) In Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. p. 82, &c.

(17) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 108.

(18) Richard Belling, Ware, and W. Harris, Writers of Ireland, p. 165.

(19) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 228.

(20) See Life by F. Grevil, p. 19. and Ed. Leigh's Fœlix Confortium, p. 324.

[M] Called Arcadia.] He dedicated it to his dear sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke; and there is a room at Wilton, the lower pannels whercof are finely painted, with representations of the stories mentioned therein (17). One G. M. (probably Gervase Markham) wrote the second and last part of the Arcadia, printed at London in 1613. 4to. And in the eighth edition, at London, 1633, Sir W. A. Knight, made a supplement of a defect in the third part of the History; and R. B. of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; (18), added then to it a sixth book. In 1652 the Arcadia was published again in six Books, with several of his other Works added to them (19). It hath borne fourteen editions; and been modernized by Mrs Stanley, in 1725. fol. It hath also been translated into French, Dutch, and other languages. It seems he desired upon his death-bed (but not in his will, as Sir Fulke Grevil says,) that it should be destroyed or suppressed (20).

[N] That we thought proper to insert it in the note.] Arth. Collins hath given the following translation of it.

' Illustrious Nephew, Philip Sidney,
' I write this not only to inclose and forward to you
' Captain Allen's Letters, but also to desire you to
' write to me often, and preserve me in your friendship.
' My affairs (praised be God) go on extremely well.
' The Fleet is ready to sail, fully manned and well
' equipt, and I do expect to receive a considerable
' quantity of stores or ammunition by the ships from
' Flanders, in order to equip a second expedition, on
' board which I intend to go, with about six or seven
' thousand men; which number is getting ready by
' three or four friends, who are willing to risque the
' same fate with me; these are Monsieur de Babue,
' Monsieur de St Luc, Monsieur de Sordiac, and Mon-
' sieur de Belleville (that is, if they can get leave for
' that purpose) there will come also Count Roxafocar,
' who is now in Flanders. Besides the abovenamed,
' there are other Gentlemen that will go in the best
' manner they can: This is to be understood, if they
' continue in the same mind, and do not retract: But
' I am of opinion they will not, or at least the four
' abovenamed; and though many more should go, if
' I did not see you in the company, I shall say, *Nu-
' merum non habet illa suum.* I have received good
' news from Portugal, both in regard to the Natives,
' as well as to Spaniards; the former wishing my pre-
' sence, and the latter desiring to return into their
' own country. The King of France assists me
' sufficiently, his Mother still better, the States of
' Flanders very well; and only Dominga keeps si-
' lent, but she is not to be blamed, considering her
' husband's affairs. I remain in health, God grant
' you the same, according to my wishes.

' Tunis, 3d of ' Your greatest Friend,
' May, 1581.

' The King (21).'

[O] Being very fond of those pastimes.] So we are in-
formed by Mr Edmund Molineux, who was secretary

to his father.—' For at all such disports he commonlie
' made one; and he would bring in such a livelie gal-
' lant shew, so agreeable to everie point, which is re-
' quired for the expressing of a perfect devise (so rich
' he was in those inventions) as, if he surpassed not all,
' he would equall, or at least second the best. Wherein,
' as he rightlie deserved, he ever gained singular com-
' mendation (22).'

[P] Wherein he was to be joined by the brave Sir Francis
Drake] This expedition was of Sir Philip's ' own
' projecting, wherein he fashioned the whole body, with
' purpose to become Head of it himself. As the scope
' of this journey was mixt both of sea and land service;
' so had it accordingly, distinct Officers and Command-
' ers, chosen by Sir Philip out of the ablest Governors
' of those martial times. The project was contrived
' between themselves in this manner; that both should
' equally be Governors when they had left the shore of
' England; but while things were preparing at home,
' Sir Francis was to bear the name, and by the credit
' of Sir Philip have all particulars abundantly supplied.'

... Accordingly the preparations went on with great
vigour and chearfulness; through Sir Philip's interest,
nothing being refused Sir Francis that he could ask.
When all was ready, Sir Francis repairs to the fleet at
Plimmouth; having promised Sir Philip, that when he
staid for nothing but a wind, he would send post for him.
A letter comes, according to agreement: And, in the
mean time, our Court having advice that Don Antonio,
candidate to the Crown of Portugal, was coming for
England, and intended to land at Plimmouth; ' Sir
' Philip, turning occasion into wisdom, puts himself
' into the employment of conducting up that King;
' and under that veil leaves the Court without suspi-
' cion; overshoots his father-in-law, then Secretary of
' State (23), in his own bow; and comes to Plimmouth,
' where he is received with a great deal of outward
' pomp and compliment.' In the mean time Don An-
tonio not coming, and Sir Philip's design being found
out; he is commanded back again to Court, as is above
related.—His Project, it seems, was to plant a Colony
upon the main of America, and to possess himself of
Nombre de Dios, or some other good Port near; as a fit
rendez-vous between the two seas, for the supply or
retreat of an army upon all occasions. For this purpose
it was, that he had fitted out a Fleet, to which the
United Provinces had promised to join one of theirs.
And he had drawn in thirty Gentlemen, of great blood
and state here in England, every one of them to sell a
hundred pounds a year in land; to second and coun-
tenance this first Fleet with a second.—The reason
of his keeping it so secret, (besides the utmost point of
Prudence with regard to the enemy) was, because he
thought it impossible to obtain the Queen's, and his
great Relations Consent, for his engaging in an employ-
ment so remote, and of so hazardous a nature. His
Unexperience would also be a very strong objection.
And while the affair was unknown, he knew it would
pass without interruption; or, when it was done, pre-
sumed the Success would put Envy and all her agents
to silence (24).

(21) Letters and Memorials of State &c. as above, Vol. I. p. 294.

in an employment so remote, and of so hazardous a nature, sent messengers to stay him; or, if he did not readily comply, to stop the whole fleet. By his own management, the messengers being intercepted upon the road, and their letters forcibly taken from them by two soldiers, disguised as sailors; the Queen, thereupon, sent her royal command to him by a Peer of the realm, absolutely to quit the enterprize (*u*). At his return to Court, he was appointed Governor of Flushing, one of the cautionary towns delivered by the Dutch to Queen Elizabeth; as also General of the Horse under his uncle, Robert Earl of Leicester: in both which employments, he manifested singular wisdom and valour, and brought great honor to his country (*w*). His first exploit, after being arrived in the Low-Countries, was contriving, in July 1586, the surprize of Axel; in the execution of which, he behaved like a most consummate General, using both such diligence and secrecy, that he surprized the town, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of his coming, and without the loss or hurt of any one of his men. Likewise, upon his entrance into the town, he placed a band of choice soldiers, to make a stand in the market-place, for security to the rest: and, when the service was over, rewarded every one liberally, out of his own purse, according to their respective merits. Soon after, in an attempt to surprize Graveling in the night, he shewed a great deal of penetration, care, and judgment, worthy of an old officer; by venturing only a detachment, and not hazarding the lives and honor, of the whole English army, in that treacherous expedition (*x*). His fame and high deserts were now so well known and established, that he was put in nomination for the crown of Poland, upon the death of Stephen Batori; but Queen Elizabeth refused to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her times (*y*). During those unreasonable discontents and jealousies, that prevailed in the confederate army, between the two Generals, Robert Earl of Leicester, and Count Hohenloe; Sir Philip behaved with that incomparable goodness, prudence, and discretion, as dissipated those clouds; and turned much to the public advantage. So that, by the real proof he gave of his abilities above others, in a very little time his reputation and authority became so considerable in the United Provinces, that it would have been no hard matter for him, to the prejudice of his uncle, and the distraction of the public affairs in those parts, to have raised himself a fortune. But in the whole course of his life, he did so constantly ballance Ambition with the safer precepts of divine and moral Duty, as no pretence whatsoever could have enticed him to break through the rules of a good Patriot (*z*). Good and happy man! but how short is all human felicity! For, on the 22d of September, 1586, being sent out with a party to intercept a convoy that was coming into Zutphen, he fell into an ambuscade, and had his horse killed under him. Taking another, he returned to the charge, when he received a terrible wound in his left thigh, which broke the bone quite in pieces [2]. He then

(u) Life &c. as above, p. 81—88.

(w) Ibid. p. 135. and Pat. 27. Eliz. p. 13. m. 23.

(x) Life &c. p. 135, 136. Stow's Annales, p. 733. and Camdeni Annales Elizab. ad ann. 1586. and Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1551, 1552.

(y) Life &c. as above, p. 139, 140, 141.

(y) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, ut supra, p. 35.

[2] Which broke the bone quite in pieces.] The best account of this melancholy accident is comprized in a letter, from Robert Earl of Leicester to Sir Thomas Heneage, published by the ingenious William Oldys, Esq; Norroy, in the British Librarian (25), and also communicated by him to Arthur Collins, Esq; (26), part of which runs thus: 'Sithens my other Letters of the 20th it fell oute, that yesterday morninge some intelligence was broughte, that the Enemie was bringing a Convoe of Victual, garded with three hundred horse. There was sente out to ympeache that, two hundred horse and three hundred footemen, and a number more both horse and foote to second them: Among other young men my nephew Sir Philip Sydney was, and the rather for that the Colonell Norrice himself went with the stande of footemen, to second the rest; but the vanguard of the Prince was marched and came with this convoe, and being a mystie morninge, our men fell into the Ambuscade of Footemen, who were three thousand, the most musketts, the rest pykes. Our horsemen being formoste by their haste indeed, would not turne, but past through and charged the horsemen that fiede at the backe of their footemen so valientlie, as, albeyt they were eleven hundred horse, and of the verie chief of all his troupes, they brake them, being not two hundred. Many of our horses hurt and killed, among which was my Nephewes owne. He wente and changed to another, and woulde needes to the charge again, and onste paste those musketters; where he receyved a fore wounde upon his thighe, three fingers above his knee, the bone broken quite in pieces; but for which chance, God did send such a daye as I think was never many yeres sene, so fewe againste so many.'—Here the Earl proceeds to enumerate the Commanders and other persons of Distinction in this rencounter, whose names were Colonel Norrice, who had the charge of the foot, my Lord of Essex, Sir Thomas Perrot, and my unfortunate Phillip, says he, with Sir William Russel, and divers Gentlemen, and not one hurte, but only my Nephew. They killed four of their enemies chief Leaders, and carried the valient Count Hannibal Gonzaga away with them upon a horse; also took

(25) No. V. p. 271.

(26) See Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys, p. 104. &c.

' Captain George Cresier, the principal Soldier of the camp, and Captain of all the Albanez. My Lord Willoughbie overthrew him at the first encounter, horse and man. The Gentleman did acknowledge it himself. There is not a properer Gentleman in the world towards than this Lord Willoughbie is; but I can hardly prayse one more than another, they did all so well; yet every one had his horse killed or hurt.' And it was thought very strange, 'that Sir William Stanley, with three hundred of his men, should pass in spite of so many musketts, such troops of horse, three several times, making them remove their ground, and to return with no more loss than he did. Albeyt; I must say (continues the Earl) yt was too much loss for me; for this young Manne was my greatest Comfort next her Majestie of all the world, and if I could buy his lief with all I have, to my sherte, I would give yt. How God will dispose of him I know not, but feare I must needes, greatly, the worst; the Blow is in so dangerous a place, and so great; yet did I never heare of any manne that did abide the dressinge and setting his bones better than he did: and he was carried afterwards in my barge to Arnheim, and I heare this day he ys still of good hearte, and comforteth all aboute him as much as maye be. God of his mercie graunt me his lieffe, which I cannot but doubt of greatly. I was abroad that tyme in the fieelde, giving some order to supplie that busines, which did indure almoste twoe Owres in continuall fighte; and metinge Phillip commynge upon his horsebacke, not a litle to my greafe. But I woulde you had stode by to heare his most loyal Speeches to her Majestie; his constant minde to the cause; his lovinge care over me, and his moste resolute determination for deathe, not one jot appalled for his blow; which ys the most grievous that ever I sawe with such a bullet; ryding so a long myle and a halfe, upon his horse, ere he came to the campe; not ceasing to speak still of her Majestie; being glad, yf his hurte and deathe mighte any waye honour her Majestie; for her's he was whilest he lyved, and God's he was sure to be yf he dyed: Prayed all men to thinke that the cause was as well her Majestie's as the Countrie's; and not

then rode back to the camp, about a mile and a half, on horse-back; and, after the dressing of his wound, was carried in a barge to Arnheim. For about sixteen days there were great hopes of his recovery; but the ball not being extracted (*aa*), and a mortification ensuing, he prepared himself for death [*R*], and at last expired on the 17th of October, in the thirty-second year of his age (*bb*). The States of Zealand requested of the Queen, and his noble friends, that they might have the honor of burying him at the public expence of their government: But their request was not granted; the Queen, in regard to his great worth and accomplishments, giving order for his burial at her own expence (*cc*). Whereupon, his body was brought from Arnheim to Flushing; and, after having remained there eight days, was put on board a vessel, the 1st of November, with all military honors, and landed at the Tower-wharf, the 5th day of the same month. Being conveyed to the Minories, it lay there in state a considerable time, till his magnificent funeral (*dd*) in St Paul's cathedral, the 16th of February following. No monument was erected to him; but, some time after, the Inscription, given below [*S*], was painted on a wooden tablet, and fastened to a pillar near his grave. James, King of Scots, honoured him with an Epitaph of his own composition [*T*]. And the universities of Oxford and Cambridge composed verses to

(*aa*) Hollinshed's Chronicle, p. 1552.

(*bb*) Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 104. &c. and Stow's Annales, p. 739. It appears from the codicil to his will, that he did not die till the 17th. See also Hollinshed, p. 1552.

(*cc*) Life &c. p. 151—160.

(*dd*) It was the seventeenth.

(*ee*) Stow's Survey of London: Strype's edition, book iii. p. 161.

‘ to be discouraged, for you have seen such success as may encourage us all; and this my hurt is the ordinance of God, by the happe of the warre. Well I pray God, yf yt be his will, save me his lieffe; even as well for her Majesty's service sake, as for myne own comforte.’—Fulke Grevil, Lord Brooke, adds the following circumstances (*27*): Before he set out upon this fatal expedition “ he had compleatly put on his Armour, but meeting the Marshal of the Camp lightly armed, out of emulation, he took off his cuisses [or thigh-armor] and so disarmed that part, where he received his fatal wound. The weather being misty, they fell unawares upon the enemy, who had made a strong stand to receive them, near to the very walls of Zutphen; by reason of which accident, their troops happened not only to be unexpectedly engaged within the level of the great shot, that played from the ramparts, but more fatally within shot of their muskets, which were layd in ambush within their own trenches. After he was wounded, the horse he rode upon, being rather furiously choleric than bravely proud, forced him to forsake the field, but not his back, as the noblest and fittest biere to carry a martial commander to his grave. In which sad progress, passing along by the rest of the army, where his uncle the General was, and, being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for drink, which was presently brought him: But, as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had been wounded at the same time, gaffly casting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, “ Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.”—Mr Cibber rightly observes (*28*), That “ this generous behaviour of our gallant Knight, ought not to pass without a panegyric. All his deeds of bravery, his politeness, his learning, and courtly accomplishments, do not reflect so much honour upon him, as this one disinterested, truly heroic action: It discovered so tender and benevolent a nature; a mind so fortified against pain; a heart so overflowing with generous sentiments, to relieve, in opposition to the violent call of his own necessities, a poor man languishing in the same distress, before himself, that none can read it without the highest admiration.—Bravery is often constitutional; fame may be the motive to feats of arms; a statesman and a courtier may act from interest; but a sacrifice so generous as this, can be made by none but those who are good as well as great, who are noble-minded, and gloriously compassionate like Sidney.”

[*R*] *He prepared himself for death.*] First, he called unto him the Ministers, who were all excellent men, of divers nations, and before them made such a confession of Christian Faith, as no book but the heart can truly and feelingly deliver: Then, desired them to accompany him in Prayer. Next, he called for his will, which was dated the last day of September, 1586, and to which he then undoubtedly added the codicil that bears date the seventeenth of October (*29*), the same day he dyed. After that he called for musick, especially that song, which he had made himself, intituled, *La cuisse rompuë*, or The broken Thigh. The last scene of this tragedy, was the parting between him and his brother Sir Robert; of whom he took his leave in these words, ‘ Love my memory, cherish my friends; their faith to me may assure you they are honest. But, above all, govern your will and affections by the will

‘ and word of your Creator; in Me beholding the end of this world, with all her vanities (*30*).’ [*S*] *The inscription below.*] ‘ A briefe Epitaph upon the Death of that most valiant, and perfect honourable Gentleman, Sir Philip Sidney, Knt, late Governor of Flushing in Zealand, who received his Death's wound at a Battel near Zutphen in Gelderland, the twenty-second day of September, and died at Arnheim the sixteenth (*31*) day of October, 1586. Whose Funerals were performed, and his Body interred, within this Cathedral Church of St Paul in London, the sixteenth day of February next following, in the year of our Lord God, 1586.

England, Netherland, the Heavens, and the Arts,
The Souldiers, and the World, have made sixe Parts
Of the noble *Sidney*; for none will suppose,
That a small Heap of Stones can *Sidney* inclose.
His Body hath England, for she it bred,
Netherland his blood, in her defence shed;
The Heav'ns have his Soule, the Arts have his Fame,
All Souldiers the Griefe, the World his good
Name (*32*).

[*T*] *James, King of Scots, honoured him with an epitaph of his own composition.*] We shall give it here, for the sake of the curious and learned reader, as his Majesty composed it, both in English and Latin.

Thou mighty *Mars*, the Lord of Souldiers brave,
And thou *Minerue*, that dois in wit excell,
And thou *Apollo*, who dois knowledge have
Of ev'ry art that from Parnassus fell,
With all your Sisters that thaireon do dwell,
Lament for him, who duelic serv'd you all,
Whom in you wisely all your arts did mell,
Bewaile (I say) his unexpected fall;
I neede not in remembrance for to call
His race, his youth, the hope had of him ay,
Since that in him doth cruell death appall
Both manhood, wit, and learning, every way;
But yet he doth in bed of *honor* rest,
And evermore of him shall live the best.

• • • • •
Armipotens, cui jus in fortia pectora, *Mavors*,
Tu *Dea*, quæ cerebrum perrumpere digna *Tonantis*,
Tuque adeo bijugæ, *proles Latonia*, rupis
Gloria, deciduæ cingunt quam collibus *artes*,
Vos etiam huc lachrymas conferte *Heliconides*, istum
Plangite, quo vestri non observantior alter
Nec fuerat vestris insignior artibus alter,
Plangite talem inquam, quem fata inopina tulere
Cujus quid memorem, quid carmine persequar altum
Aut genus, aut virides annos, aut quam dederat
spem?

Exiit heu rapido mors illætabilis ictu,
Quo *Mars*, quo *Pallas*, quòque ipsum ornavit *Apollo*.
Sed venerandus *honor*, cineri superinduit urnam
Parte etiam meliore sui super æthera vivit.

(*aa*) Life &c. as above, p. 165. and Hollinshed's Chronicle, p. 1552.

(*dd*) See a particular description of it in Arthur Collins's Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 109. and in Stow's Annales, p. 739.

(*27*) Life &c. p. 143, &c.

(*28*) Lives of the Poets, in the Life of Sir Philip Sidney, Vol. I. p. 79.

(*29*) Both Will, and Codicil, are, at length, in Collins's Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. p. 109. &c.

(ee) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 228, 229.

(gg) Ibid. p. 113. and Letters of State, p. 44. and Strype's Annals &c. Vol. III. p. 59.

his memory, which were severally printed (ee) [V]. So general was the mourning for him, that, many months after his death, it was accounted indecent for any Gentleman of quality, to appear at court or in the city, in any light or gaudy apparel (ff). A match was at first proposed between him and Anne daughter of Sir William Cecil, on the recommendation of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester (gg); but he married Frances, the only daughter of the ever-memorable Sir Francis Walsingham, by whom he left an only daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1585 [W]. He was not only learned himself [X], but also a great encourager of learning, and learned men [Y]. His contemporaries agree to give him the highest character possible. They extol his Abilities [Z], his Modesty, his Piety, his Generosity,

(ff) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 109.

[V] *And the universities of Oxford and Cambridge composed verses to his memory, which were severally printed.* The Oxford verses were printed there in 1587. 4to, and some in particular made by the members of New College, under the title of *Peplus Sidnei*. Oxon. 1587. 4to.—Those made at Cambridge, were published by Alexander Nevill, Lond. 1587. 4to.

(33) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 229.

(34) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 181. and Irish Compendium, under the title Bourk, Earl of Clanrickard. See Lord Lytelton's Dialogues.

[W] *Elizabeth, born in 1585.* The eminent Civilian, Scipio Gentilis, wrote a Latin poem on her Nativity, intituled, *Nereus, sive de natali Elizabethæ, illustrissimi Philippi Sydnei filicæ*. Lond. 1585. one sheet in 4to (33). She was married thrice; first, to Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland, by whom she had no issue; secondly, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, who had by her one son, and two daughters; and, thirdly, to Richard Bourk, Earl of Clanrickard in Ireland, and of St Albans in England, to whom she brought forth one daughter and one son (34).

[X] *He was not only learned himself.* Besides his *Arcadia*, already mentioned; the monuments he left of his learning were as follows: 1. 'Astrophel and Stella; wherein the excellency of sweet poesie is concluded.' Lond. 1591. 4to, said to be written for the sake of one whom he entirely loved, viz. the Lady Rich, by whom was understood *Philoclea* in the *Arcadia*. 2. 'An Apology for Poetry.' Lond. 1595. 4to, in prose. 3. 'Ourania, a Poem.' Lond. 1606. published by N. B. 4. 'Sonnetts; Remedy for Love;' printed at the end of the eleventh edition of the *Arcadia*. Lond. 1662. fol. 5. 'England's Helicon; or a Collection of Songs.' They were not all written by Sir Philip, but only the greatest part of them. Lond. 4to. 6. 'Valour anatomized in a Fancie. By Sir Philip Sidney,' 1581. Printed among *Cottoni Posthuma*. Lond. 1651. 8vo. Ascribed by some to Sir Thomas Overbury. 7. 'Almanzor and Almanzaida, a Novel.' Lond. 1678. 8vo. This book coming out so long after Sir Philip's death, it is justly questioned whether he was the author. Probably, his great name was set to it, for the sake of promoting the sale. 8. 'Instructions, describing what special Observations are to be taken by Travellers, in all Nations, States, and Countries.' 12mo. The names of Robert Earl of Essex and Sir Philip Sidney are put to this book (35); but it is a question whether either of them had a hand in it. 9. He began to translate from French into English, 'A work concerning the Trueness of Christian Religion, against Atheists, &c.' written by Philip de Mornay. But that translation being left by him imperfect, Arthur Golding finished it, and had it printed at London, 1587. 4to. Afterwards it was revised and corrected by Thomas Wilcocks, a Minister, 1604. 10. Sir Philip turned also the Psalms of David into English verse; which are in manuscript, curiously bound in crimson velvet, in the Library of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton, being left to it by his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke (36). One of them, namely the 137th, is printed in the *Guardian*, No. 18. 11. Ten of his Letters are printed in the First Volume of the *Letters and Memorials of State of the Sydney family*, published by Arthur Collins, Esq; (37). But most of them are not of a very interesting nature, and seem to have been written in haste.—His works were reprinted in 1725, three Volumes, 8vo.—The Lord Brooke says (38), that 'his end was not writing, even while he wrote; nor his knowledge moulded for tables or schools; but, both his wit and understanding bent upon his heart, to make himself, and others, not in words or opinion, but in life, and action, good and great.'

(35) A letter of his, to his brother beyond the seas, concerning Travel, is among the MSS of University-college, Oxon. No. 152. Catalog. MSS Angliæ.

(36) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 228.

(37) p. 247, 256, 283, 287, 293, 296, 298, 389, 392, 393.

(38) Life &c. p. 21.

[Y] *But also a great encourager of learning, and learned men.* The Universities abroad, and at home, accounted him a general *Mecænas* of learning; dedicated their Books to him; and communicated every invention, or improvement of knowledge with him. . . . His heart and capacity were so large, that there was not a curious Painter, a skilful Ingenier, an excellent Musician, or any other Artificer of extraordinary fame,

that made not himself known to this famous spirit, and found him his true friend without hire; and the common rendezvous of worth in his time. . . . It will be confessed by all men, that this one man's example, and personall respect, did not only encourage Learning, and honour in the Schooles, but brought the affection, and true use thereof both into the Court, and Camp (39).

(39) Life &c. as above, p. 38, 39, 40.

The ingenious Author of the *Life of Mr Edmund Spencer* gives a remarkable instance of Sir Philip Sidney's exquisite judgment, and of his great munificence to the truly learned (40). His words are these: "It is said Spencer was a stranger to Sir Philip Sydney, when he had begun to write his *Fairy Queen*; and that he took occasion to go to Leicester-house, and to introduce himself, by sending in to Sir Philip a copy of the ninth Canto of the first book of that Poem. Sir Philip was much surprized with the description of Despair in that Canto, and is said to have shewn an unusual transport, on the discovery of so new and uncommon a genius. After he had read some stanzas, he bid his steward give the person that brought those verses fifty pounds; but, upon reading the next stanza, he ordered the sum to be doubled. The Steward was no less surprized than his Master, and thought it his duty to make some delay, in executing so sudden and lavish a bounty: But, upon reading one stanza more, Sir Philip raised his gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the Steward to give it immediately, lest, as he read further, he might be tempted to give away his whole estate." . . . No wonder, therefore, that the Poets of his time, especially *Spenser*, revered him not only as a Patron, but a Master; since he was almost the only person in any age (not excepting *Mecænas*) that could teach the best rules of Poetry, and most freely reward the performances of Poets (41).

(40) *Life of Spenser*, prefixed to his works, p. 4.

(41) Wood, Ath. col. 226.

[Z] *They extol his abilities.* They were observed, at his first appearance into the world, by that wise man, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange; who, having conversed with him, both by word of mouth and letters, about the most important Affairs of Europe, conceived such a high idea of his extraordinary Merit; that he desired Sir Fulke Grevil, (when he waited upon his Highness at Delft) to acquaint the Queen with Mr Sidney's great Abilities. 'Protesting, that, if he could judge, her Majesty had one of the ripest and greatest Counsellors of Estate in that young Man, at that time in Europe: to the trial of which he was pleased to leave his own credit engaged, until her Majesty might employ that Gentleman, either amongst her friends or enemies (42).—Henry King of Navarre, afterwards the great Henry IV. King of France, having found out this Master-Spirit among us, used him like an equal in nature, and a person fit for friendship with a King (43).—His uncle, Robert Earl of Leicester, when he first carried him over to the Low-Countries, not only despised his youth for a Counsellor, but also bore a strict hand over him as a forward young man. But, in a short time, he saw this sun so risen above his horizon, that both he and his stars were glad to fetch light from him. And in the end acknowledged, that he held up the Honour of his casual Authority by him whilst he lived, and found reason to withdraw himself from that burthen after his death (44).—His Father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, that wise and active Secretary, who had influence in all countries, and a hand upon all affairs; often confessed also to Sir Fulke Grevil, that his Philip did so far overshoot him in his own bow, that those Friends, which at first were Sir Philip's for the Secretary's sake, within a while became so fully possessed by Sir Philip, that now he held them at the second-hand, by his son-in-law's native courtesy (45).—And he merited even the Praise and Esteem of his Enemies. Don John of Austria's regard for him hath been already mentioned. And the Spanish Secretary, Don Bernardine de Mendoza, acknowledged openly; That howsoever he was glad, King Philip

(42) Life &c. as above, p. 22—31.

(43) Ibid. p. 36.

(44) Ibid. p. 34. Sir Fulke Grevil had it from the Earl's own mouth.

(45) Ibid. p. 35.

nerosity, his Goodness, his Sincerity, his Honesty [AA], and all those amiable Virtues, which constitute either one of the most accomplished of Men, or the best of Christians. Mr Camden, in particular (bb), styles him, 'the great glory of his family, the great hopes of mankind, the most lively pattern of virtue, and the darling of the learned world. This is, (adds he) that Sidney, whom as Providence seems to have sent into the world, to give the present age a specimen of the Ancients; so did it on a sudden recall him, and snatch him from us, as more worthy of heaven than of earth. Thus, when Virtue is come to perfection, it presently leaves us; and the best things are seldom lasting. Rest then in peace, O Sidney! if I may be allowed this address; we will not celebrate thy memory with tears, but with admiration. Whatever we loved in thee, as the best of authors speaks of that best Governor of Britain (ii), whatever we admired in thee, continues, and will continue in the memories of men, the revolutions of ages, and the annuals of time. Many, as inglorious and ignoble, are buried in oblivion; but Sidney shall live to all posterity. For, as the Greek poet has it, 'Virtue's beyond the reach of fate.' 'But, to speak more of him, were to make him less;' as Sir Robert Naunton rightly observes (kk).

(bb) Britannia, in Kent.

(ii) Tacitus, Life of Agricola.

(kk) Fragmenta &c. ut supra p. 36.

'Philip his master had lost, in a private gentleman, a dangerous enemy to his state, yet he could not but lament to see Christendom deprived of so rare a light in these cloudy times; and bewail poor widow England (so he termed her) that, having been many years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment bereaved of him.—Indeed, as Sir Fulke Grevil goes on, he was a true model of worth; a man fit for conquest, plantation, reformation, or what action ever is greatest and hardest among men.' . . . Souldiers honoured him, and were so honoured by him, that no man thought he marched under the true banner of Mars, that had not obtained Sir Philip Sidney's approbation. Men of affairs, in most parts of Christendom, entertained correspondency with him (46). He was a statesman, Soldier, and Scholar, a compleat matter of matter and language, as his immortal pen shews. Certain it is, he was a noble and matchless Gentleman; and it may be justly said, without hyperbole or fiction, as it was of Cato Uticensis, that he seemed to be born to that only which he went about (47).

[AA] His Modesty, his Piety, his Generosity, his Goodness, his Sincerity, his Honesty.] Fulke Grevil, Lord Brook, testifies, that he was 'such a lover of Mankind, and Goodness, that whosoever had any real part, in Him found comfort, participation, and protection to the uttermost of his power; like Zephyrus he giving life where he blew.' . . . A man of 'such eminence, that he was not only a nourisher of Virtue in Courts, but a reformed Standard, by which even the most humorous persons could not but have a reverend ambition to be tried and approved. . . . Besides which honour of Nature and Education, his very waies in the world did generally adde reputation to his Prince, and country, by restoring amongst us the ancient majestic of noble and True Dealing. . . . His heart and tongue went both one way, and so with every one that went with the Truth; as knowing no other kindred, partie, or end. Above all, he made the Religion he professed, the firm basis of his life: For this was his judgement (as he often told Sir Fulke Grevil) that our true-heartedness to the Reformed Religion in the beginning, brought Peace, Safetie, and Freedom to us; concluding, that the wisest and best way, was that of the famous William Prince of Orange, who never divided the consideration of Estate from the cause of Religion, nor gave the found party occasion to be jealous or distracted, upon any appearance of safety whatsoever. . . . The Greatness which he affected was built upon true worth; esteeming Fame more than Riches, and Noble actions far above Nobility itself (48).—This Gentleman's large, yet uniform, disposition was every where praised; greater in himself than in the world; yet greater there in Fame and Honour than many of his superiors; revered by forrain Nations in one form, of his own in another; easily censured, hardly imitated.—The Ingenuitie of his Nature did spread itself so freely abroad; as who can say he ever did him harm; whereas there be many, that may thankfully acknowledge he did them good. Neither was this in him a private, but a publique affection; his chief ends being not Friends, Wife, Children, or himselfe; but, above all things, the honour of his

'Maker, and Service of his Prince, or Country (49). This further Character is given of him in Holinshed's Chronicle (50). He was 'a gentleman of great hope, and exceeding expectation, endowed with manie rare Gifts, singular Vertues, and other Ornaments both of mind and bodie; one generallie beloved and esteemed of all men.—He greatlie abounded in sundrie good Vertues, which, wherever he came, procured him Love, but chiefly in Justice and Liberality (a worthy and most speciall note in a Governor) which gained him hearty love, coupled with Fame and Honor. For the which, especially those under his late charge and government greatly loved, honoured, and in a sort adored him, when he was alive.—' He was reckoned, for his Modestie, Courtesie, Affabilitie, and other speciall Vertues, amongst the verie prime Gentlemen for his yeares that this age hath bred, or our countrie afforded; and so complet a man to everie Perfection, as the memorie of him ought not to be forgotten (51).

In a modern Life of him (52), he is styled, 'the great Ornament to human Nature, to Literature, and to Britain.'—And the immortal Grotius pays a just tribute to his memory, by taking notice of his learning, and saying, That he was born for every great thing. *Juvenis ad maxima quæque nati, ut qui claris natalibus epibusque, rarum decus! literas adjunxisset; hoc major avunculo Leicesterie, cui & fortuna, quantacunque ea futura erat, successor destinabatur* (53).

But the Hon. Horace Walpole doth not pass so favorable, and as some may think a more impartial, judgement upon him. His words are, . . . 'No man seems to me so astonishing an object of temporary admiration as the celebrated friend of the Lord Brooke, the famous Sir Philip Sidney. The learned of Europe dedicated their works to Him; the republic of Poland thought him at least worthy to be in the nomination for their crown. All the muses of England wept his death. When we at this distance of time inquire what prodigious merits excited such admiration, what do we find.—Great valour.—But it was an age of heroes.—In full of all other talents we have a tedious, lamentable, pedantic, pastoral romance, which the patience of a young virgin in love cannot now wade through; and some absurd attempts to fetter English verse in Roman chains; a proof that this applauded author understood little of the genius of his own language. The few of his letters extant are poor matters; one to a steward of his father, an instance of unwarrantable violence. By far the best presumption of his abilities [to us who can judge only by what we see] is a pamphlet published amongst the Sidney-papers (54), being an answer to the famous libel called *Leicester's Commonwealth*. It defends his uncle with great spirit: What had been said in derogation to their blood seems to have touched Sir Philip most. He died with the rashness of a volunteer, after having lived to write with the *sang froid* (55), and prolixity of Mademoiselle Scuderi (56).—After all, there must have been something very extraordinary in Sir Philip Sydney's Person and Manner, now lost at this distance of time, which could draw such a volume of letters, as Hubert Languet wrote to him, and those very uncommon Commendations of his Cotemporaries, mentioned above.

(49) p. 46, 47.

(50) Edit. 1587. Vol. III. p. 1551, 1552.

(51) This last paragraph is taken from the Castrated Sheets of Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1554.

(52) Lives of the Poets, as above, Vol. I, p. 76.

(53) Grotii Annal. et Hist. de Rebus Belgicis, edit. 1657. fol. p. 98.

(54) In the Introduction, p. 62.

(55) Cool blood.

(56) Noble Authors of England, Vol. I. p. 184.

(6) Life &c. as above, p. 38, 39.

(7) Naunton's Fragmenta, as above, p. 36.

(8) Life &c. as above, p. 38, 41, 42, 45.

SYDNEY, or SIDNEY (ALGERNOON), was the second surviving son of Robert Earl of Leicester, by his wife Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland. He was born about the year 1621, or 1622 (a) [A]. His noble father was very careful to give him a good education; and in 1632, when he went ambassador to Denmark, took him with him; as also when he was ambassador in France (b) [B]. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland, in the year 1641, he had a commission for a troop of horse in his Father's regiment, who was Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom; and went over thither with his brother the Lord Viscount Lisle, where he behaved very gallantly. In 1643, he had the King's permission to come to England, with his brother the Lord Lisle, but, withal, they received express orders on their allegiance to repair to his Majesty at Oxford: which the Parliament hearing of, sent into Lancashire where they landed, and had them taken into custody [C]. The King believing it happened through their own management, was greatly offended with them; and thereupon they entered into the measures of the Parliament (c), under which Algernoon accepted of a command: And 2000 l. was ordered him for his arrears (d). The Earl of Manchester (Serjeant-Major-General of the counties of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln) constituted him, May 10, 1644, Captain of a troop of horse, in his own regiment, consisting of one hundred, to be raised for the defence of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom. And, April the 2d, 1645, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Commander in chief of all the forces raised for the defence of the kingdom, made him Colonel of a regiment of horse. He was in the battles of York, and other places; and likewise Governor of Chichester. His brother, the Lord Viscount Lisle, being appointed Lieutenant-general of Ireland, and Commander of the forces there, made him Colonel of a regiment of horse, to serve in the expedition into Ireland, which was in 1646. He became Lieutenant-general of the horse in that kingdom, and Governor of Dublin. But in 1647, that Government was taken from him, and given to Colonel Jones. However, the House of Commons ordered that some recompence might be given to Colonel Algernoon Sydney (e). He came over to England about that time; and, May 7, 1647, had, among others, the thanks of the House of Commons, for his good service in Ireland: and was afterwards made Governor of Dover (f). In 1648, he was nominated one of the Judges of King Charles I, but did not appear in that tragical affair (g) [D]. He was, by inclination and principle, so grounded in his opinion for a Commonwealth, that, when Oliver Cromwell had assumed the government, he refused to act under him; or his son Richard, who succeeded him in the Protectorship: During which time, he lived retired at Penshurst, and other places, when it is conceived he began to write his Discourses on Government, or at least some part of them. But, on the resignation of Richard, and the restoration of the Long Parliament, and their Speaker, Lenthall; they having voted, on the 7th of May, 1659, a Declaration to secure the Liberty and Property of the people, both as Men and Christians, without a single Person, King, or House of Peers, he then came into their measures. Whereupon, on the 13th of the month just now mentioned, he was named by that Parliament one of the Council of State, with the Lord Fairfax, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and others (h). The 5th of June following, he was nominated one of the Commissioners, with Sir Robert Honeywood, and Bulstrode Whitelock Esq; to go and mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. But Mr Whitelock declining that employment, and Mr Thomas Boone being appointed in his room (i), Sir Robert Honeywood, Colonel Sydney, and Mr Boone, went on that embassy, which was not ended at the Restoration of King Charles the Second (k). They were successful in their negotiations, and obtained a peace between Denmark and Sweden (l).

(a) Memoirs of Algernon Sidney Esq; prefixed to his Discourses concerning Government, fol. edit. 1751. p. 1.

(c) Ibid. p. 148, 150.

(e) Memoirs &c. by Ar. Collins, as above, p. 150, 151, 152. and Whitelock's Memorials, p. 242.

(g) Dugdale's Short view of the Troubles, p. 368.

(b) Memoirs &c. as above, p. 152. and Whitelock, p. 678. and Ludlow's Memoirs, edit. 1699. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 656.

(i) One of the reasons given by Mr Whitelock for his declining that employment, is, because he 'knew well 'the over-ruling 'temper, and 'height of Col. 'Sidney.' Memorials, p. 680.

(1) See Letters and Memorials of State, &c. Vol. II. p. 709.

(2) Memoirs &c. as above, by Collins. See also Letters and Memorials of State &c. Vol. II. p. 445.

[A] Born about the year 1621, or 1622.] He says, in April 1661, that he was 'growing very near forty (1).'

[B] As also when he was ambassador in France.] Whilst he was there, the Countess his mother, in a Letter to the Earl at Paris, dated Nov. 10, 1636, acquaints his Lordship, 'That she hears him [her son Algernoon] 'much commended by all that come from thence, for 'a huge deal of Wit, and much Sweetness of Nature (2).'

[C] And had them taken into custody.] The order of the House of Commons for that purpose was in these words.

' Die Jovis ult. Augusti, 1643.

' A letter was read from the Committee at Liverpoole and Manchester, and an intercepted letter, there taken from Captayne Sidney, newly come out of Ireland, to Orlando Bridgman at Chester, of his intentions to goe to the King, were read:

' Ordered,

' That a letter bee written to the Deputy Lieutenants and Committees in the Countie of Lancaster, to send upp in safe custody the Lord Lisle, Captayne Sidney, and Sir Richard Grinville, guarded with a strong convey: And that the Committees and Deputie Lieutenants in the Counties betwixt this and Lancashire,

' respectively, doe appointe a good convoy with the said persons, through their severall Counties, and that a stay bee made of all their goods and armes, till this Howse take further order. And Mr Ashurst is to prepare this letter, and to write the same accordingly.'

[D] But did not appear in that tragical affair.] The anonymous Author of the Reflections upon Col. Sidney's last Paper (3), says, that 'He was not only named in this execrable commission, but was actually in the Court, and upon the bench as a co-assessor with that villain Bradshaw and the rest at the tryal of that illustrious sufferer; as he was able to make appear from a true transcript of every severall day's proceeding, in the Tryal; the original whereof is attested under Phelps the Clerk of that pretended Court's own hand, and was by him drawn up, and the names of all that were present each day entered by order from the Keepers of the Liberties of England. It is true he was not present when the sentence was passed, nor the execrable warrant for the barbarous execution signed.'—In April 1651, he had a great quarrel with the Earl of Oxford, the occasion not known, which ended in a duel; as appears by this entry in Whitelock's Memorials (4), 'That the Earl of Oxford, and Colonel Sidney, were gone into Flanders to fight a duel with seconds.'

(b) Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys &c. prefixed to Letters of State &c. published by Ar. Collins Esq; Vol. I. edit. 1746. fol. p. 149, &c.

(d) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732. p. 233.

(f) Whitelock's p. 246, 487.

(k) See Thurler's State-Papers, Vol. II.

(l) See Letters and Memorials of State, Vol. p. 686, 687, &c.

(3) p. 5.

(4) p. 492.

But Col. Sydney was so noted a Republican [E], and had acted all along with such earnestness against the King's friends, that he did not think it safe or advisable to return to England, though he was advised to it by General Monk [F]; therefore, according to his father's

[E] *But Col. Sydney was so noted a Republican.* With what eye he was looked upon at the Court of England, appears plainly from the following extract of a Letter of his Father's to him 'Concerning you, what to resolve in myself, or what to advise you, truly I know not; for you must give me leave to remember, of how little weight my opinions and counsels have been with you, and how unkindly and unfriendly you have rejected those exhortations and admonitions, which, in much affection and kindness, I have given you upon many occasions, and in almost every thing, from the highest to the lowest, that hath concerned you: and this you may think sufficient to discourage me from putting my advices into the like danger. Yet somewhat I will say: and, first, I think it unfit, and perhaps as yet unsafe, for you to come into England; for I believe Powell (5) hath told you, that he heard, when he was here, that you were likely to be excepted out of the general act of pardon and oblivion: and, though I know not what you have done or said here or there, yet I have several ways heard, that there is an ill opinion of you, as of any, even of those that condemned the late King. And when I thought there was no other exception to you, than your being of the other party, I spoke to the General in your behalf, who told me, that very ill offices had been done you; but he would assist you as much as justly he could. And I intended then also to speak to somebody else; you may guess whom I mean (6): But since that I have heard such things of you, that, in the doubtfulness only of their being true, no man will open his mouth for you. I will tell you some passages, and you shall do well to clear yourself of them. It is said, that the university of Copenhagen brought their *album* unto you, desiring you to write something therein; and that you did *scribere in albo* these words;

. . . . Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

And put your name to it (7). This cannot choose but be publicly known, if it be true. It is also said, that a minister, who hath married a Lady Laurence, here at Chelsea, but now dwelling at Copenhagen, being there in company with you, said, "I think you were none of the late King's judges, nor guilty of his death," meaning our King. "Guilty!" said you: do you call that guilt? why, it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England, or any where else;" with other words to the same effect. It is said also, that, you having heard of a design to seize upon you, or to cause you to be taken prisoner, you took notice of it to the King of Denmark himself, and said, "I hear there is a design to seize upon me; but who is it that hath that design?" "*Efice nôtre bandit* (8)?" by which you are understood to mean the King. Besides this, it is reported, that you have been heard to say many scornful and contemptuous things of the King's person and family, which, unless you can justify yourself, will hardly be forgiven or forgotten; for such personal offences make deeper impressions than public actions, either of war or treaty (9).

[F] *That he did not think it safe or advisable to return to England, &c.* This account he gives us himself: "I chose rather to remaine beyond the seas, then to return into my owne country, though general Monk, upon the account of many obligations received from me, did desire me to returne, with large offers of all the advantages he could procure for me (10)."—He had some thoughts of returning home at first, but suffered himself to be directed by his relations, and at last had reason to think, that he acted wisely by staying abroad. This appears from the following extracts of some of his letters to his father "I did hope, that, by the time I could returne from hence, our Messenger might have met me with an Answer unto my letters at Copenhagen. I now despair of that, and am absolutely uncertaine what course I shall take, unlesse I find somme other letters, at my returne, that may instruct me. I shall conclude what I have to say relating unto my own concernements, in desiring your Lordship, and my Lord of Northumberland, to doe that which you think best, according to

the present state of things, and to send me directions how to dispose of myself, which I shall exactly followe. Your Lordship may better know my motions then myself; for I shall take my measures, for staying or returning, just according to what I shall hear from England (11). . . . In the following letter we find, it had been his Father's opinion, He should returne immediately home. . . . But very soon after, he ordered him, 'to remove from Stockholm to Hamburgh, and from thence into Holland, or some place in Germany (12).' He acknowledges in another letter (13), how prudent that course had been. 'I think, says he, the counsell given me by all my Friends, to keep out of England for a while, doth too clearly appeare to have bin good, by the usage my companions have already received, and perhaps will be yet further verified by what they will find. Nothing doth seeme more certaine to me, then that, I must either have procured my safety, by such meanes as Sir Arthur Haselrigg is sayed to have used; or runne the fortune of somme others, whoe have shewed themselves more resolute.'—In another Letter, he expresses himself in a yet more strong and pathetick manner. . . . 'I confess, we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think, that being exiled from it is a great evil; and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But, when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty, which we hoped to establish, oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which we hoped, God by our hands would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army, corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible; no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means, as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see, that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah! no: better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty; or, at least, not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles, in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time is come, wherein I should resign it. And when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it; I think he shews me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the King glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers: let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps they may find the King's glory is their shame; his plenty the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for destroying a nation (which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world) and that others may find they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery; a dear price paid for that, which is not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it. The honour of English Parliaments hath ever been, in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the interest of it, to satisfy the lulls of one man. Miserable nation! that, from so great a height of glory, is fallen into the most despicable condition in the world; of having all its good depend upon the breath and will of

(11) Letters and Memorials of State, Vol. II. p. 690.

(12) p. 691.

(13) p. 700.

(5) His manservant.

(6) Undoubtedly King Charles II.

(7) See Lord Moleworth's Account of Denmark, Preface, near the end.

(8) i. e. Is it our banditti?

(9) Familiar Letters, written by John, late Earl of Rochester, and several other persons of honour, &c. Lond. 1697. 8vo. p. 53, &c.

(10) His Apology, prefixed to the last edition of his Discourses concerning Government.

(m) The same
Volume, p. 691,
695.

father's command, he determined to remove to Hamburgh, and from thence into Holland, or some place in Germany, where he might lie still a while, and see what was to be expected for him (*m*). In September 1660, he was at Francford (*n*), and the November following at Rome [*G*]: But, to all appearance by orders from England, he was forced, about the middle of the year 1661, to remove from thence to Frascati (*o*) [*H*]; and next

(n) See the same
Volume, p. 698.

(o) See Letters,
p. 708, 718, &c.
to

' the vilest persons in it! cheated and sold by them
' they trusted! infamous traffic, equal almost in guilt
' to that of Judas! In all preceding ages Parliaments
' have been the palace of our liberty; the sure de-
' fenders of the oppressed: they, who formerly could
' bridle Kings, and keep the balance equal between
' them and the people, are now become instruments of
' all our oppressions, and a sword in his hand to de-
' stroy us; they themselves led by a few interested
' persons, who are willing to buy offices for them-
' selves, by the misery of the whole nation, and the
' blood of the most worthy and eminent persons in it.
' Detestable bribes, worse than the oaths now in
' fashion in this mercenary court! I mean to owe
' neither my life nor liberty to any such means: when
' the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I
' will stay away till the storm be over-passed. In short,
' where Vane, Lambert, and Haselrigg cannot live in
' safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in Eng-
' land, I should have expected a lodging with them;
' or, though they may be the first, as being more emi-
' nent than I, I must expect to follow their example in
' suffering, as I have been their companion in acting.
' I am most in a maze at the mistaken informations,
' that were sent to me by my friends, full of expecta-
' tions of favours and employments. Who can think,
' that they, who imprison them, would employ me;
' or suffer me to live, when they are put to death?
' If I might live, and be employed, can it be expect-
' ed, that I should serve a government that seeks such
' detestable ways of establishing itself? Ah! no: I
' have not learnt to make my own peace, by perfe-
' cuting and betraying my brethren, more innocent
' and worthy than myself. I must live by just means,
' and serve to just ends, or not at all. After such a
' manifestation of the ways by which it is intended the
' King shall govern, I should have renounced any
' place of favour, into which the kindness and industry
' of my friends might have advanced me; when I
' found those, that were better than I, were only fit
' to be destroyed. I had formerly some jealousies:
' the fraudulent proclamation for indemnity increased
' them: the imprisoning of those three men, and
' turning out of all the officers of the army, contrary
' to promise, confirmed me in my resolutions not to
' return. To conclude, the tide is not to be diverted,
' nor the oppressed delivered; but God, in his time,
' will have mercy on his people: he will save and
' defend them, and avenge the blood of those, who
' shall now perish, upon the heaps of those, who, in
' their pride, think nothing is able to oppose them:
' happy are those, whom God shall make instruments
' of his justice in so blessed a work. If I can live to
' see that day, I shall be ripe for the grave, and able
' to say with joy, "Lord, now lettest thou thy ser-
' vant depart in peace &c." Farewel. My thoughts
' as to King and state depending upon their actions,
' no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I,
' if he make the good and prosperity of his people his
' glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the con-
' trary ——— (14).'

(14) Letters &c.
as above, p. 62.

[*G*] *And the November following at Rome.* In a letter from thence to his Father, he says, . . . ' I hope my
' being here, will in a short time shewe, that the Place
' was not ill chosen, and that, besides the liberty and
' quiet which is generally granted to all persons here, I
' may be admitted into that company, the knowledge
' of which will very well recompence my journey. I
' was extremely unwilling to stay in Hamburgh, or
' any place in Germany, finding my self too apt to
' fall too deepe into melancholy, if I have neither bu-
' sinesse nor company to divert me; and I have such
' an aversion to the conversation and entertainments of
' that country, that if I had stayed in it, I must have
' lived as a hermite, though in a populous city. I
' am here well enough at ease, and believe I may
' continue soe, unless some body from the Court of Eng-
' land doth think it worth their paines to disturbe me. I
' see nothing likely to arise here to trouble me. I
' have already visited severall Cardinalls; to morrow
' I intend to pay the same respect to the Cardinal
' Gizi, nephew to the Pope. . . . They are all ge-

' nerally civill, and I ask no more. . . . I doe not
' heare see thoes signes of Ease, Satisfaction, and
' Plenty, that weare in Pope Urban his time, but that
' littell concernes Strangers; the company of persons
' excellent in all Sciences, which is the best thing
' Strangers can seeke, is never wanting ——— (15).'

(15) Letters &c.
p. 700, 701.

In one of his subsequent Letters he gives a very curious
account, and characters, of the severall Cardinalls (16).

(16) p. 711, &c.

[*H*] *But, to all appearance by orders from England, he
was forced, about the middle of the year 1661, to remove
from thence to Frascati.* I heare (saith he in one of

' his Letters to his father) of an Irish Priest, one Plunket,
' nephew to Nicklesse Plunket, who is very busy in
' prating and scribbling. I know not the Man, nor
' what exceptions he can have unto me, unless it be
' for being an Englishman, sometimes employed in
' Ireland: But I apprehend nothing but Orders from
' England to my prejudice: He sayeth, such will
' comme, as shall force me to change my station (17).'

(17) p. 708.

' Heare is, saith he in another Letter (18),
' one Plunket, a young Irish Priest, that gives me
' some trouble, by foolish discourses; amongst others,
' he sayes I am an Atheist, and bred up in your Lord-
' ship's house under a Master, from whom I learnt
' thoes opinions. He was answered, that was very
' improbable, and that my life and conversation gave
' testimony of the contrary; but though that weare,
' it concerned no body here ——— (19).'

(18) p. 709.

(19) He came
afterwards and
made his apology
to Mr Sydney.
Ibid.

' The
' other day, as he goes on, I was informed, that
' Orders had bin sent from the Court here, to the
' Internuntio in Flanders, to make the best enquiry
' he could of me, my birth, person, and quality. To
' whom information was given by one White. . . .
' that I was ever found to be violent against Monarchy,
' a friend unto Roman Catholiques, one that in our last
' troubles, meddled littell with private Businesse; and
' that had made my fortune by the warre, with some
' other things like unto this, part true, and part
' false; but none that I can learne which doth me any
' prejudice. They weare put upon this enquiry by
' the foolish prating of some Priests, who spoke of
' me, as the only Enemy the King had left, and that I
' being taken away, his Majesty might reagne in quiet.
' These are but very slight vapours, and if nothing
' comes from England to my prejudice, I will easily
' blowe them away ———. However, he thought
fit to remove to Frascati; from whence writing to his
Father, he says (20), ' I find myself at present

(20) p. 723;

' as well as I can be, untill the time comme that I
' may conveniently returne into my owne country.
' The Prince Pamphilio, nephew to the last Pope,
' hath given me very convenient lodgings in his Villa
' de Belvedere, which is one of the finest of Italy.
' Here are walks and fountains in the greatest
' perfection; and, though my natural delight in soli-
' tude is very much increased this last year, I cannot
' desire to be more alone than I am, and hope to
' continue. My conversation is with birds, trees, and
' books. In these last months, that I have had no bu-
' sinesse at all, I have applied myself to study a little
' more than I have done formerly: and though one
' who begins at my age, cannot hope to make any
' considerable progress that way; I find so much sa-
' tisfaction in it, that, for the future, I shall very un-
' willingly (though I had the opportunity) put myself
' into any way of living, that shall deprive me of that
' entertainment. Whatsoever hath been formerly the
' objects of my thoughts and desires, I have now in-
' tention of seeking very little more than quietness and
' retirement ———. And again; ' I left Rome,
' where I had made a great deale of acquaintance, to
' avoid the necessity of making and receiving visits,
' and live now as a hermite in a palace.' ' I
' cannot but rejoice a littell to finde, that when I wan-
' der as a vagabond through the world, forsaken of
' my Friends, poore, and knowne only to be a broken
' limbe of a ship-wracked Faction; I yet finde huma-
' nity and civility from thoes who are in the height of
' fortune and reputation. But I doe alsoe well knowe,
' I am in a strange land, how farre thoes civillities doe
' extend, and that they are too acry to feed or cloath a
' man (21).'

(21) p. 720.

to other parts of Italy; as also to Germany, and France [I]. In December, 1663, he dates a letter from Brussels (p). And from Ludlow it appears (q), that a prospect of some Troubles in England had brought him thither; 'thinking convenient to draw nearer home, that if an opportunity should offer, he might not be wanting to [what he thought] his Duty and the publick service.' About that time, he had the offer of a commission in a regiment raised in England for the service of the Emperor; and, if he did not obtain it, he proposed to pass the summer following as a volunteer in Hungary (r). He was far from being in his Father's good graces; and, at times, during his exile, was reduced to great streights and necessities [K]. So obnoxious likewise was he to our court, that some persons are said to have been sent to assassinate him at Augsburg; but he escaped, by being then come to Holland (s). Thus he continued for seventeen years wandring from place to place, in indigence, and not without danger sometimes of losing his life; because it was known that he could not be corrupted, as his own words are (t). But, at last, his Father, the Earl of Leicester, desiring to see him before his death, he obtained leave from King Charles II. for his return, in 1677, as also his Pardon; through the interest of the Earl's grandson, Robert Earl of Sunderland [L], who was then a great favorite at court.

(p) Letters, p. 725.

(r) Letters of State &c. Vol. II. p. 725.

(s) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 172. and Author's Apology, as our above.

His

'preparative) be an entire one, and shall not be much troubled, though I find, if upon the knowledge of my manner of life, they, whoe the last yeare at Whitehall did exercise their tongues upon me, as a very unruly headed man, doe so farre change their opinion of me, on the sudden, as to believe me soe dull and lazy, as to be fit for nothing. When that opinion is well settled, I may hope to live quietly in England, and then shall think it a feasonable time to returne. I have somme inclinations this autume to goe to Naples, and from thence to Sicily, and Malta, to pass the winter in some of thoes places, and returne to Rome in the Springe. It is not usual for me, to look soe many moneths before-hand, nor possible to extend my sight any farther. I must then knowe from my friends at home, whether it be yet time to returne thither; I have ever had it in my thoughts to choose that before any thing; but if it be still inconvenient for me to take that resolution, I must then think of making another pause at Rome, or somme other place, that may prove convenient (22).'

So much of his Letters we thought necessary, upon this subject, to lay before the Reader; as they shew his circumstances, designs, and motions.

[I] And France.] He had the following Licence from the King of France, to come from Germany to Montpellier. 'To all Governors, and our Lieutenants general, &c. greeting. Mr Sydney, Son to the Earl of Leicester, having desired, notwithstanding the war against England, that he might change his place of abode from Germany, to go to Montpellier; To which We having assented, We command you to let him pass freely through your severall jurisdictions, with his domesticks, to Montpellier, without interruption, and to shew him all the favour, and aid him as far as you can. Given at our castle of Vincennes, August 3, 1663.

'Signed LOUIS (23).'

He tells us, that he 'cast himself into unsuspected retirement in the most remote parts of France, [in Gascogne] where he passed above eleven years; and was drawn out of it only by a desire of seeing his aged father before he dyed (24).'

[K] He was far from being in his Father's good graces; and reduced to great streights, &c.] This is abundantly evident from the following extracts from some of his letters to his father. . . 'I though it is long since I heard from your Lordship, and the contents of the last letter I received were such, as gave me litle expectation of having others, or reason to think mine would be acceptable unto you, I esteeme it my duty to continue writing, untill I doe, by somme more indubitable testimony, find, your Lordship hath soe farre rejected me, as to be unwilling to heare of me, or my concerns (25).'

. . . 'I write to your Lordship sometimes, because I am not forbidden: Not often, because I am neither commandyd, nor have reason to think that diligence would be acceptable unto you (26). . . According to my coustume, I give your Lordship this testimony of my being alive; which I think necessary, since your Lordship gives no signe of remembering I am soe (27).'

. . . 'I heare your Lordship hath somme Suspitions concerning me; if I might knowe in what, I doe upon my word promise your Lordship, to let you know my Thoughts punctually, without either dissimulation, or reservation (28).'

And, that he was reduced to great streights and necessities, the following extracts from two of his letters will plainly shew . . . 'I did intend to have sayed no more; but it is a folly to conceal the Evills that oppress me. I have with difficulty writ this; and the troubled thoughts into which the letters received by the last post have cast me, give me not easily the liberty of saying more. The Misfortunes into which I was fallen, by the destruction of our Party, did not shake me. The cheates and thefts of Servants were too ordinary to trouble me. I suffered my Mother's Legacy, to be drawne from me, upon which I might have subsisted a good while. I was not very much surpris'd to find myself betrayed, and robbed of all that with which I had trusted Lady Strangford, but I confesse, that I am sorely troubled to find, that Sir Jo. Temple is going into Ireland; the agreement which he had soe often said should be made with Strangford broken; from which I might expect somme part of what is due unto me, to live upon. The mortgage to the Earl of Tharret to continue upon Andrewes his land, which is the forest mischief that ever fell upon me since I was borne, and that I was soe often promised should be taken off, and put upon Portling lands, as it ought to be: And by all theis meanes together, I find myselfe destitute of all help at home, and exposed to all those troubles, inconveniencies, and mischiefs, unto which They are exposed, whoe have nothing to subsist upon; in a place farre from home, wheare no assistance can possibly be expected, and wheare I am knowne to be of a quality, which makes all lowe and mean wayes of living shamefull and detestable. Theis are part of the evils, with which I finde myself encompassed, and out of which I see noe issue; nor can I make one step, that is not as likely to prove my destruction, as preservation. It will not, I think, be thought strange, that I am sensible of them, since he that is not, must be an Angell, or a Beast: My only hope is, that God will, somme way or other, put an end to my troubles, or my life (29).'

. . . 'Perhaps, sharp-sighted braines might, in a condition like unto mine, find more occasion of trouble then I doe: I finde stupidity an advantage; Nature hath given me a large proportion of it; and I did artificially encrease it, to that degree, that if I weare not awakened with the bitter sense of somme mischiefs, that the Lady Strangford hath brought upon me (which Sir John Temple ever made me hope he would remove) I should rest well enough at ease, in a dull indolence, and never trouble myself with the thoughts of examining, wheare I should have bread for three moneths: This may shewe your Lordship, into what slate Nature and Fortune have brought one that received life from you (30).'

—However his Father remitted him Money now and then (31).

[L] Through the interest of the Earl's grandson, Robert Earl of Sunderland.] Bishop Burnet says (32), 'That it was the Court of France obtained leave for him to return in 1678, when the Parliament was pressing the King into a war. He did all he could to divert people from that war; so that some took him for a pensioner of France: But to those to whom he durst speak freely, he said, he knew it was all a juggle; that our Court was in an entire confidence with France, and had no other design, in this shew of a war, but to raise an army, and keep it beyond-sea till it was trained and modelled.' Such is the Bishop's account; but it appears from a Letter of our Author's to Henry Savile, Esq; then Embassador in France, that it was that Gentleman

(29) Letters &c. Vol. II. p. 717.

(30) p. 720, 721.

(31) p. 721.

(32) History of his own Time, edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 193.

(7) Memoirs, 2vo. edit. Vol. II. p. 119.

(7) Apology, as above, p. 2.

(22) Letters &c. as above, p. 721.

(23) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 152.

(24) Apology, as above.

(25) Letter, dated Dec. 12, 1660. p. 701.

(26) Letter of Dec. 29, 1660. p. 702.

(27) Letter of Jan. 29, 1660. p. 704.

(28) p. 709. Lett. of April 5, 1661.

(u) Memoirs of the Sidneys &c. as above, p. 153.

(w) Ibid. p. 153—155.

His father left him a legacy of five thousand one hundred pounds (u) [M]. In 1678, he stood candidate for Member of Parliament for the burgh of Guilford in Surry; but the Court opposing him, he lost his election; as he did also in the next Parliament (w) [N]. He was so imprudent, as to resort chiefly with the Duke of Monmouth, and other discontented persons [O], which in the end proved his ruin. For, by being one of their companions,

(33) Letters to the Honourable Henry Savile, p. 147, 148.

tleman who obtained leave for him to return. The letter is dated from Nerac in Gasconne, Dec. 18. N. S. 1682 (33), and is as follows. 'I received yesterday, in one and the same packet, three letters from you, of which one had passed through Paris whilst I was there, and that would have spared me a journey of four hundred leagues, if I had then received it. This would have been a convenience unto me; but my obligation unto you is the same, and I so far acknowledge it to be the greatest that I have in a long time received from any man, as not to value *the leave you have obtained for me to return into my country, after so long an absence*, at a lower rate than the saving of my life. You having proceeded thus far, I will, without any scruple, put myself intirely upon the King's word; and desire you only to obtain a pass to signify it, and that his Majesty is pleased to send for me; so as the officers of the ports or other places may not stop me, as they will be apt to do as soon as they know my name, if I have not that for my protection. I have no other business than what solely concerns my person and family. I desire not to be a day in England unknown to the King or his Ministers; and will lose no time in waiting upon the Secretary as soon as I can after my arrival. I think it no ways reasonable that I should stay in England, if the King do not see I may do it without any shadow or possibility of prejudice unto him; and, unless I can satisfy him in that point, I desire no more than to return on this side the seas after the three months, where I intend to finish my days, without thinking any more of living in England (*).'
[M] His father left him a legacy of 5,100 l. He informs us himself (34), that his father dyed within a few weeks after his coming over; and when he prepared himself to return into Gascony, there to pass the remaining part of his life, he was hindered by the Earl of Leicester, his brother, who questioned all that his father had given him for his subsistence; and by a long and tedious suit in Chancery, detained him in England, until he was made a prisoner; when a favourable decree, obtained in Chancery, gave him hopes of being freed from such vexatious business. I reassumed (continues he) my former designe of returning into France; and to that end bought a small parcell of ground, in a friend's name, with an intention of going immediately unto it: this proceeded from the uneasiness of my life, when I found, that not only the reall discontents, that grew to be too common, were ascribed unto me, but sham plots fastened upon me, soe as I could never think my life a day in safety.'

(*) Letters &c. as above, p. 169, &c.

(34) Apology, p. 2.

[N] He lost his election; as he did also in the next Parliament.] He takes notice of his being elected, in one of his letters to Henry Savile Esq; dated October 29 'I am not able, saith he, to give so much as a guess whether the Parliament shall sit the 26th of January or not, and though I think myself in all respects well chosen, am uncertain whether I shall be of it, or not, there being a double return; and nothing can be assured, until the question arising thereupon be determined, unless it be that as I and my Principles are out of fashion; my inclinations going one way, my friendship and alliance with those that are like to give occasion for the greatest contests drawing another, I shall be equally disliked and suspected by both parties, and thereby become the most inconsiderable member of the House.'

[O] He was so imprudent as to resort chiefly with the Duke of Monmouth, and other discontented persons.] That gave the Court an opportunity of involving him in their guilt: Notwithstanding he protests his innocence, and seems to be conscious that no legal advantage could have been taken against him. His own account is in these words. 'In Aprill last [1683] I was told by a person of eminent quality, virtue, and understanding, that I should infaillibly be made a prisoner. I asked upon what pretence: he alleagued some things that were entirely frivolous, relating unto wild persons, whoes faces and names I did not know;

but concluded some or other would be found; and that if I was once taken, it mattered not for what cause; it being impossible to avoid condemnation, before such judges and juries as I should be tried by. About the middell of June the towne was full of rumours of a plot, sayd to be discovered by Keeling, and not long after by West: some persons fled, and a proclamation issued to have them apprehended; my name was in every coffee-house, and severall informations were given me, that I should certainly be seized: I mentioned this to severall persons; but, knowing no reasons why I should absent myself, resolved not to do it; and continued in that minde, though I was told, early in the morning one the 26 of June, that the Duke of Monmouth was retired, and Coll. Rumsy had rendered himself. This concerned me soe littell, that I spent that morning upon my usuall studies, or entertaining such friends as came to see me; and whilst I was at dinner, a messenger came and arrested me in the Kings name, by an order from four Lords of the Privy Councell (35).'
[M] He endeavours to clear himself of that imputation, in the following words: . . . 'but noe man sayd, that any mention was ever made of it in my presence; even the King knowes I am not a man to have any such designe; and I am noe more capable of it then of eating of him, if he were (+) death: I think I may say, I did once save his life; but I am sure I never endeavoured to take it away: if the meetings mentioned were to be taken for conspiracies against his Majestyes life, something must have been there proposed and resolved concerning the wayes, manner, time, place, or persons, by whome it should be effected; of which not one word is pretended, nor that he was so much as named (36).'

But, if the Secret History of the Rye-house Plot, and of Monmouth's rebellion, written by Ford Lord Grey, and lately published (37), is to be credited; Col. Sydney had a greater share in that Plot, than he was willing to own, or imagined could be proved. The share he had in it appears from the following extracts from that History. . . . 'In February at Chester the Duke of Monmouth acquainted me, that my Lord of Essex, Lord Howard, Lord Russell, Colonel Sidney, Mr Hambden, and himself, had been contriving *Insurrections* in several parts of this kingdom, and designed to engage some in Scotland to do the like; that he was to have a meeting, at his return to London, with the persons above named, but believed it would not be long before they disagreed, for he feared my Lord of Essex, Colonel Sidney, and Mr Hambden intended a Commonwealth, which could not be without the destruction of the King; and if that was their intention, my Lord Russell, and himself were resolved to quit them entirely, and to think of saving themselves; for they would both rather lie at the King's mercy for what was passed, than that his life should be indangered, or his liberty taken away, which was next to death (38).'
[M] Col. Sidney addressing his discourse to me [Lord Grey] began with a long prologue of the necessity we were reduced to of taking up arms, and of the lawfulness of it; and from thence descended to a particular account of their severall proceedings and resolutions, since the first time of their meeting (39).'
[M] Col. Sidney said he had heard, when wise men drew their swords against their King, they laid aside the thoughts of treating with him (40).'
[M] I asked Col. Sidney in what hands they had resolved to place the management of the War; he said, they had not resolved that, but he thought it would not be in any others, than those persons who made up our little Council, and one or two more who might be thought on (41).'
[M] My Lord of Essex and Colonel Sidney had undertaken to draw the Declaration (42).'
[M] The Duke of Monmouth told me, he found my Lord of Essex, Colonel Sidney, and all of them, should agree in every thing; and he was confident, that when we were in arms, and the King saw how strong we were in several places, there would be little

(35) Apology, p. 3. We have retained his own manner of spelling.

(+) Dead.

(36) Apology, p. 10.

(37) Lond. 1754. 8vo.

(38) p. 50a

(39) p. 59a

(40) p. 64d

(41) Ibid.

(42) p. 67.

panions, he was looked upon as one of the accomplices in the Presbyterian Plot, in 1683 (x): 'And though (being admitted into his Majesty's presence) he did truly shew ' unto him, that there neither was nor could be any such plot, as matters then stood (y) [P];' yet, on the 26th of June, a messenger came and arrested him; and one of the Clerks of the Council seized his papers. The same day, by a warrant from the Secretary of State, he was committed to the Tower for high-treason. A little while after, all his effects were likewise secured (z). On the 7th of November following he was brought to the bar of the court of King's-bench, and arraigned upon an indictment of high-treason [Q]. The Court, for fashion-like, allowed him a fortnight for his tryal (aa); to which he was brought the 21st of November [R]. The three first witnesses against him were Robert West, Colonel Romsey, and Mr Keeling; whose depositions not being grounded upon their own knowledge, but upon the report of others [S], were only Hearsay Evidence; and consequently invalid in case of Treason. The single Evidence against him was the Lord Howard of Escrick, a man of an abandoned character; 'whose deposition was very ' rhetorical, but nothing at all to the purpose (bb) [T].' So, to corroborate this lame evidence, Col. Sydney's Discourses on Government were produced; as 'a seditious and ' traitorous libel [V], the design of which was, to persuade the People of England, that it is ' lawful,

(x) Account of the Conspiracy by Bishop Sprat, edit. 1686. 8vo. p. 28, 86, 170. &c. and our Author's Apology, p. 2.

(aa) Ibid. p. 5.

(bb) Ibid. p. 7.

' little blood shed, for all would end in an accommodation between the King and a Parliament (43).'

[P] He did truly shew unto him, that there neither was nor could be any such plot, as matters then stood.] His reason for it was, 'because it would cast his Majesty ' into conjunction with the Popish, which they [the ' Nonconformists] did most abhorre.' However, as our Author informs us, 'the sham was continued, as ' appeared by the Meal-tub business: though his name ' was not there found, he was well informed, that if it ' had succeeded, he should have bin involved in it. ' Other wayes were invented to vex and ruin him. ' When he only looked over a balcony to see what ' passed at the election of the Sheriffs of London (44), ' he was indicted for a riot (45).'

[Q] Upon an indictment of high-treason.] The points he was indicted for, were, his ' contriving and intending, to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom of England; to stir up war against the King; to subvert his government; to depose and deprive him; and to bring and put him to death: For ' which purpose, he had, the 30th day of June, 1683, ' and divers other times, as well before as after, met and consulted with divers traitors; promised, that ' he would be aiding and assisting in their treasons; ' had sent one Aaron Smith into Scotland, to invite ' divers evil-disposed subjects of that kingdom to come ' into England, to consult with him and other traitors. And, that in order to persuade the subjects of ' the King of England that it is lawful to make and ' stir up an insurrection and rebellion against him, he ' had composed and written a certain false, seditious, ' and traitorous libell (46), in which, among other ' things, is contained as followeth, viz. "The Power ' originally in the people of England is delegated ' unto the Parliament. He (meaning King Charles II) ' is subject unto the law of God, as He is a man to ' the People that makes him a King, inasmuch as He ' is a King, the Law sets a measure unto that sub- ' jection, and the Parliament judges of the particular ' cases thereupon arising &c."—Col. Sidney makes the following observations upon this indictment. 'The ' meetings to conspire were said to be on the 30th of ' June, and many other days, both before and since; ' whereas he was then, and had been some days before, and ever since, a close prisoner.—He was ' brought into the palace-yard, Westminster, between ' ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, before the ' grand jury was assembled, or the King's counsell ' could know the bill would be found, unless they had ' the faculty of divining, or held such an intelligence ' with the grand jury, as utterly overthrows all justice. ' —Upon his being arraigned, he desired a copy ' of the indictment, leave to make his exceptions, or ' to put in a special plea that he had in his hand ready ' engrossed, which was all rejected: and being threatened, ' that, if he did not immediately plead guilty, a judgment of high-treason should be entered, he was ' forced, contrary to law as he supposed, to come ' to a general issue in pleading not guilty (47).'

[R] To which he was brought the 21st of November.] He complained extremely of the Jury that was impanelled upon that occasion. . . . 'The life, says he, ' I have led might have given me some kind of knowledge of such as reasonably might be thought fit to be ' my judges; but I did not know the face of one, nor ' the names of more than three (48), of the whole pan-

nell, and they last, as did not appear: upon examination I found, that they had not only put in very ' many that weare not freeholders, but picked up a ' rabble of men of the meanest callings, ruined fortunes, ' lost reputation, and hardly endowed with such understanding as is required for a jury in a nisi prius court ' for a business of five pounds (49).'

[S] Whose depositions not being grounded upon their own knowledge, but upon the report of others.] Mr Sydney objected to West's evidence; because he had confessed many Treasons, and was not pardoned. But the Chief Justice Jeffreys replied, That he knew no legal objection against him, and that he was a good witness in my Lord Russel's tryal. What he gave an account of, was only of a general insurrection intended in England; without any thing particular to Col. Sydney, or his indictment. And he declared, that, 'as to him in particular, he ' knew nothing, and did never speak with him till ' since the discovery of the plot. . . . Mr Keeling declared, ' he did not know Col. Sydney (50).'

[T] The Lord Howard of Escrick, . . . whose deposition was very rhetorical, but nothing to the purpose.] Col. Sydney made the following objections against him, and his testimony. 'I have this to say concerning my Lord ' Howard: He hath accused himself of divers treasons, ' and I do not hear that he has his pardon of any: ' He is under the terror of those treasons, and the ' punishment for them: He hath shewn himself to be ' under that terror: He hath said, That he could not ' get his pardon, until he had done some other jobbs, ' till he was past this drudgery of swearing: That is, ' that he having incurred the penalty of High-Treason, ' he would get his own indemnity by destroying others. ' This, by the law of God and man, I think, destroys ' a man's testimony. Besides, he is my Debter, he ' owes me a considerable sum of money I lent him in ' time of his great necessity; he made some covenants ' with me for the payment of that money, which he ' hath broken; and when his mortgage was forfeited, ' and I should take the advantage the law gives me, he ' finds out a way to have me laid up in the Tower. . . . ' Another thing is, when I was a prisoner, he comes ' to my house, and speaks with my servant, and says, ' how sorry he was that I should be brought in danger ' upon this account of the Plot, and there he did in the ' presence of God, with hands and eyes lifted up to ' heaven, swear, he did not believe any plot, and that ' it was but a sham.—[The Earl of Anglesey, the ' Lords of Clare, and Paget, Mr Philip and Mr Edward ' Howard, and Dr Burnet, being produced in Col. Sydney's behalf, unanimously testified, that they heard the Lord Howard declare the same things.]—Col. Sydney depreciated moreover the Lord Howard's character, by alledging, that he endeavoured slyly to get possession of his plate and other goods. . . . 'He was ' desirous to go further (says the Colonel) and he would ' not only pay my debt by his Testimony against me; ' but he would have got my plate and other goods in ' my hands into his hands, and he desired my men, ' as a place of trust, to put them into his hands (51).'

[V] Col. Sydney's Discourses on Government were produced, as a seditious and traitorous libel.] There were only a few extracts of them read (52), though Mr Sydney desired that it might be All read. They were seized, with the rest of his papers, at his house, upon a Table where it was supposed he usually did write. And they were proved to be his hand-writing by several persons with

(49) Apology, p. 6, 7. See also his Petition.

(50) Tryal of Algernon Sidney Esq; printed in 1684. fol. p. 13, 14, 15, 17. and his last Speech. They are both in the State-Tryals.

(51) Tryal, p. 31 & 42.

(52) See Tryal, p. 23.

(17) Apology, p. 2.

(2) Ibid. p. 3, 4.

(43) Secret Hist. as above, p. 69.

(44) Dubois and Papillon, in 1682.

(45) Apology, p. 3.

(46) Discourses of Government.

(47) His Apology, p. 4, 5. and Petition to the King.

(48) Sir Charles Gerard, Mr Burnet, and Mr Hawtry.

‘lawful, may, that they have a right to set aside their Prince, in case it appear to them, ‘that he hath broken the trust laid upon him by the people (cc).’ However, upon this imperfect evidence, the Colonel was brought in guilty of high-treason; and, on the 26th of November, condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered (dd) [W]. Two days before sentence, he sent, by the Lord Halifax (ee), a Petition to his Majesty, wherein he represented the hardship of his Case; and prayed that his Majesty would be pleased to admit him into his presence; and if he did not shew, that it was for his Majesty’s Honour and Interest to preserve him from the said oppression, he would not complain, though he were left to be destroyed (ff). But the King was pleased to refer him to the same Judges of whom he complained (gg). And all the favour he could obtain, was, to have the most ignominious part of his sentence changed into beheading. His Execution was respited for some days [X], the tryal being universally cryed out on, as a piece of most enormous injustice (hh). At length he was beheaded upon Tower-hill, on the 7th of December; at which time he delivered a Paper to the Sheriffs [Y], that was printed about a fortnight after (ii). The next day after his execution, he was buried at Penshurst in Kent, among

(cc) Tryal, as above, p. 12.

(dd) Ibid. p. 62, 67.

(ff) This Petition was printed at the time, upon a half-sheet; and is also inserted in his Apology.

(ii) Ibid.

(ee) Burnet’s History of his own Time, edit. 1753. Svo. Vol. II. p. 238.

(gg) Apology, p. 19.

(hh) Burnet, as above, p. 238.

with whom he had dealings. But Mr Sidney pleaded in his own defence, That ‘Similitude of hands can be ‘no evidence;—that it is nothing. For we know that ‘hands will be counterfeited, so that no man shall know ‘his own hand. . . . But these very papers, such as ‘they are, (added he) do abhor, as much as any one ‘can, such a design [as the plot he was accused of]. ‘Look upon them; you see they are all old ink. These ‘papers may be writ perhaps these twenty years, the ‘ink is so old. But it is a polemical discourse; it seems ‘to be an answer to *Filmer*, &c.—I say first, it is not ‘proved upon me: and secondly, it is not a crime if ‘it be proved.’ Afterwards he proves, that he never published any part of it; and that no man could say he ever printed a sheet in his life. But, to use his own words, he was ‘not heard.’ And therefore had nothing left but to ‘appeal to God and the world.’ He insisted all along, that, at most, it could amount but to *constructive* treason. But Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys affirmed, that it was plain treason within 25 Edw. III. Whereupon the Colonel asked, whether writing was an act? ‘Yes, said Jeffreys, it is *agere* (53).’ . . . It appears from the very beginning and whole drift of the book, that it was intended as an Answer to Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha*; and not writ with a design to raise an insurrection at that time. The beginning of it is in these words: ‘Having lately seen a book, intituled ‘*Patriarcha*, written by Sir Robert Filmer, concerning ‘the universal and undistinguished right of all Kings, ‘I thought a time of leisure might be well employed ‘in examining his doctrine, and the questions arising ‘from it; which seem so far to concern all mankind, ‘that, besides the influence upon our future life, they ‘may be said to comprehend all that in this world ‘deserves to be cared for.’ . . . But, from *names* mentioned in it, it is undeniable, that some parts of it, at least, had not been written twenty years. As for instance . . . ‘Old Audley, Dog Smith, Bishop Duppa, ‘Brownloe, Child, Dashwood, Fox, &c. are to be ‘esteemed fathers of the people of England (54).’ And this other passage, where he names ‘Hide, Ar- ‘lington, Danby, their graces of Cleveland and Portf- ‘mouth, Sunderland, Jenkins, and Chiffinch;’ immediately after mentioning the ‘bawds, whores, thieves, ‘buffoons, parasites, and such vile wretches as are ‘naturally mercenary, that had *too much* power at ‘Whitehall (55).’—However this was the first indictment of high-treason, upon which any man lost his life for writing any thing, without publishing it; and it is hoped will be the last.—Sir John Hawles rightly observes, That the evidence in this case, and almost all the circumstances of the Tryal, were originals: and that Col. Sydney was talked to death under the notion of a Commonwealth’s-man (56).

(53) Tryal, p. 66.

(54) Edit. 1751. p. 52.

(55) Ibid. p. 205.

(56) Remarks on Col. Sydney’s, and other Tryals. Lond. 1689. fol. p. 76. &c.

[W] *Condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered*] At the hearing of this severe sentence, Col. Sydney broke out into these words . . . ‘Then, o God, o God, ‘I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings unto me, ‘and impute not my blood to the country, nor the city, ‘through which I am to be drawn; let no inquisition ‘be made for it: but if any, and the shedding of blood ‘that is innocent, must be revenged, let the weight of ‘it fall only upon those that maliciously persecute me ‘for righteousness sake.’ Whereupon Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys said to him; ‘I pray God work in you a temper ‘fit to go unto the other world, for I see you are not fit ‘for this.’ But the Colonel, holding out his hand, ‘replied, ‘My Lord, feel my pulse, and see if I am

‘disordered; I bless God, I never was in better temper ‘than I am now (57).’ . . . He tells us in his Apology, That ‘the Chief Justice, having performed this exploit, ‘is said to have bragged unto the King, that noe man ‘in his place had ever rendered unto any King of Eng- ‘land such services as he had done, in making it to ‘passe for lawe, that any man might be now tryed by ‘a jury not consisting of freeholders; and that one ‘witness, with any concurrent circumstance (as that ‘of the buying the knife) was sufficient to convict ‘him (58).’

[X] *His execution was respited for some days.*] Bishop Burnet, in his inaccurate way, says (59), that it ‘was ‘respited for three weeks.’ But, if we reckon from the time of his conviction, it was but sixteen days; and, ‘from his sentence, only eleven days.’

[Y] *At which time he delivered a Paper to the Sheriffs.*] It began thus: ‘Men, Brethren, and Fathers; Friends, ‘Countrymen, and Strangers.’—And, after setting forth the Hardship of his Case, and the Insufficiency of the Evidence against him, concluded in these words . . . ‘But I was long since told that I must die, or the ‘Plot must dye. Least the means of destroying the ‘best Protestants in England should fail, the Bench ‘must be filled with such as had been blemishes to the ‘bar. None but such as these would have advised with ‘the King’s Council, of the means of bringing a man ‘to death; suffered a Jury to be packed by the King’s ‘Solicitors, and the Under-Sheriff; admit of Jury-men ‘who are not freeholders; receive such evidence as is ‘above-mentioned; refuse a copy of an indictment, ‘or to suffer the statute of 46 Edw. III. to be read, ‘that doth expressly enact, It should in no case be denied ‘unto any man upon any occasion whatsoever; over- ‘rule the most important points of law without hearing. ‘And whereas the Stat. 25 Ed. III. upon which they ‘said I should be tried, doth reserve unto the Parlia- ‘ment all constructions to be made in points of treason, ‘They could assume unto themselves not only a power ‘to make constructions, but such constructions as nei- ‘ther agree with law, reason, or common sense. By ‘these means I am brought to this place. The Lord ‘forgive these practices, and avert the evils that threaten ‘the Nation from them. The Lord sanctifie these my ‘sufferings unto me; and, though I fall as a sacrifice ‘unto Idols, suffer not Idolatry to be established in this ‘land. Bless thy people, and save them. Defend ‘thy own cause, and defend those that defend it. Stir ‘up such as are faint; direct those that are willing; ‘confirm those that waver; give wisdom and integrity ‘unto all. Order all things so as may most redound ‘unto thine own glory. Grant that I may dye glorify- ‘ing thee for all thy mercies, and that at the last thou ‘hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy ‘truth; and even by the confession of my opposers, ‘for that *Old Cause* in which I was from my youth ‘engaged, and for which thou hast often and wonder- ‘fully declared thyself.’ . . . The Colonel suspecting the Sheriffs might suppress it, gave a copy of it to a friend. It was a fortnight before it was printed: but when it was understood that written copies of it went about, it was at length printed (60). Several Animadversions were made upon it, particularly one, intituled, ‘Reflections upon Col. Sidney’s *Arcadia*; the *Old Cause*, ‘being some Observations upon his last Paper, given ‘to the Sheriffs at his execution.’ Lond. 1684. in four sheets fol.

(57) See the end of his Tryal, p. 67. and his Apology.

(58) p. last but one.

(59) As above, p. 238.

(60) Burnet as above, p. 2:

his noble ancestors (*kk*). His attainder was reversed at the Revolution [*Z*]. Such was the end of the famous Col. Sydney; who met death with an unconcernedness that became Him, who had set up Marcus Brutus for his pattern (*li*). He appears indeed to have been a person of a rough and inflexible temper; and quite an enthusiast for a Commonwealth. He had studied Politics to the bottom, and was thoroughly skilled in the nature of Government. But he shews too great a rancour against certain Persons in the Administration, who were not of his sentiments; and seems even, upon that account, not to have wished well to his Country, as all good men ought to do, in whatever hands it is (*mm*). But, to judge by his writings, he would not have been sorry to have seen it brought to the greatest difficulties, nay to destruction, that he might have had the pleasure of beholding his enemies involved in its ruins. He was naturally passionate (*nn*): and a man of low spirits, and weak body (*oo*). The character given of him by Bishop Burnet, is set down below [*AA*]. He says himself (*pp*), that he 'believed he had burned more papers of his own writing, than a horse could carry.' Nothing of his is extant but his 'Discourses concerning Government [*BB*]; and some Letters to Henry Savile Esq; [*CC*].' But there remain at Penshurst, in his own hand-writing, Treatises in Latin and Italian; as also an Essay on virtuous Love in English (*qq*).

(kk) Memoirs of Algernon Sydney Esq; as above, p. 45.

(mm) Polichrum est bene facere republice, etiam bene dicere haud a' furdum est. Sallust. B. II. Catilin. sub init.

(pp) Tryal, p. 44, 45.

(qq) Memoirs &c. as above, by Ar. Collins Esq; p. 161.

[*Z*] His attainder was reversed at the Revolution.] It was one of the first Acts of the Parliament, which met after the Revolution; being passed Feb. 13, 1688-9. The preamble of that Act runs thus: "Whereas Algernoon Sydney Esq; in the term of St Michael, in the 35th year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles the Second, in the Court of King's-Bench at Westminster, by means of an unlawful return of Jurors, and by denial of his lawful Challenges to divers of them for want of freehold, and without sufficient legal evidence of any Treasons committed by him; there being at that time produced a Paper, found in the closet of the said Algernoon, supposed to be his hand-writing, which was not proved by the testimony of any one witness to be written by him; but the Jury was directed to believe it, by comparing it with other writings of the said Algernoon: And, besides that Paper so produced, there was but one single Witness to prove any matter against the said Algernoon; and by a partial and unjust construction of the Statute, declaring what was his treason, was most unjustly and wrongfully convicted, and attainted, and afterwards executed for high-treason." . . . Therefore it is enacted, that the Records and Proceedings, relating to his conviction, judgment, and attainder, should be cancelled.

[*AA*] The character given of him by Bishop Burnet, &c.] It is in these words: He was 'a man of most extraordinary courage, a steady man even to obstinacy, sincere, but of a rough and boisterous temper that could not bear contradiction. He seemed to be a Christian, but in a particular form of his own: He thought it was to be like a divine Philosophy in the mind: But he was against all publick worship, and every thing that looked like a Church.'—[Upon this the author of Memoirs of Algernon Sidney Esq; cited above, makes the following note: 'This the reader will understand with some allowance. That our Author was an enemy to all the civil establishments of Christianity, is very certain; but it does not follow from thence, that he was against all public worship (61).']—Whereby we are to understand, He was in the same sentiments upon that point as the late Dr Matthew Tindal; who frequently declared, That even his very notions, if any one should endeavour to establish by Authority, he would for that very reason oppose

them to the utmost of his power. His maxim being, That there must be no civil establishment of Religion, but every one is to be left to do what is right in his own eyes.]—But, to proceed with Bishop Burnet's character of Col. Sydney. 'He was stiff to all republican principles; and such an enemy to every thing that looked like a monarchy, that he set himself in a high opposition against Cromwell, when he was made Protector. He had studied the history of government in all its branches beyond any man I ever knew. He had a particular way of insinuating himself into people that would hearken to his notions, and not contradict him (62).'

(62) History, as above, p. 192, 193.

[*BB*] His Discourses concerning Government.] They were first published in 1678. fol. reprinted in 1704. and a third very beautiful edition of them came out in 1751. To which edition are added, 'Memoirs of his Life, and an Apology for himself, both now first published, and the latter from his original manuscript. With an alphabetical Index of the principal matters.' They are very much admired; and the Earl of Orrery gives the following great character of them: 'Harvington (63) has his admirers, he may possibly have his merits, but they shew not in his style. A later writer, of the same republican principles, has far excelled him; I mean Algernon Sydney, whose discourses concerning government are admirably written, and contain great historical knowledge, and a remarkable propriety of diction; so that his name, in my opinion, ought to be much higher established in the temple of literature, than I have hitherto found it placed (64).' There are some chasms in them, and are very probably those sheets which were taken to be produced at his tryal.

(63) Author of Oceana.

(64) Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr Swift; edit. 1752. 8vo. p. 218.

[*CC*] And some Letters to Henry Savile Esq;] The title of them is, 'Letters of the Honourable Algernon Sydney, to the Honourable Henry Savile Ambassador in France. In the year 1679 &c. Now first printed from the Originals in Mr Sydney's own hand.' Lond. 1742. 8vo They relate chiefly to the Proceedings of Parliament and the Popish Plot.—Several of his Letters, often cited in this article, are inserted in the Letters and Memorials of State of the Sidney family, published by Arthur Collins Esq; C

SYNGE [EDWARD], the late most excellent Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland, was in a particular manner of an episcopal family [*A*], being the son of a Bishop [*B*], the nephew of

[*A*] Was in a particular manner of an episcopal family.] The original name of the family was Millington (1), but changed afterwards into Syngé, or Singe, on account of a sweetness of Voice, and skill in vocal Musick, which some of the Millingtons were possessed of; and the same talent, as we are informed, continues in that family to this day (2).

[*B*] Being the son of a Bishop.] His father was Edward Syngé, born at Bridgnorth in Shropshire, and from thence removed into Ireland by his eldest brother George Syngé, afterwards bishop of Cloyne; (of whom an account is given in the next note;) under whose care he spent his younger days at the school of Droghedah: and, growing up, was sent to the university of Dublin, where he became exemplary for a diligent application to his studies. He had early some ecclesiastical prefer-

ments in the cathedral of St Patrick's, Dublin. Afterwards he became vicar of Inishonane in the county of Cork (3), and was promoted to the Deanery of Elphin. During the usurpation, he constantly used the Common-Prayer in all the public offices of his ministry; being secured from prosecution by his interest with Dr Gorge, the then Auditor-general. After the Restoration, he was advanced to the bishoprick of Limerick, and consecrated January 27, 1660. On the 21st of December, 1663, he was translated to the united bishopricks of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. He died December 22, 1678. He was a learned and zealous Preacher, very much admired and approved of by all that heard him; and, besides an easy, familiar, correct style to recommend his Sermons, he had one peculiar excellence in his manner of speaking or delivery; that every one of his

(3) Mr Harris is mistaken, when he says, that he had some preferments in the county of Downegall. Vol. I. p. 569. Memoirs communicated to us.

(77) Burnet, 38 above, p. 239.

(mm) Burnet, 88 above, p. 217.

(nn) At least, it is what I should hold him at his tryal, p. 34.

(61) p. 28.

(1) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 167.

(2) Sir James Ware's Works, as published by W. Harris Esq; Vol. I. p. 570.

of another [C], and the father of two Bishops [D]. He was the second and youngest son of Edward, Bishop of Cork &c. and was born April 5, 1659, at Inishonane, a village within ten miles of Cork (a). His father was then Vicar of the parish, and lived there in the time of the Usurpation, using constantly the Common-Prayer, notwithstanding the severe prohibition to the contrary. The father living at Cork from the time he was promoted to that See, the son was educated in the Diocese-school there. From thence he was admitted a Commoner in Christ-Church, Oxford; where he took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. Soon after that, he went to Cork to visit his father; on whose death, which happened about that time, instead of returning to Oxford, he chose to finish his studies in the university of Dublin. There he was admitted *ad eundem*, and at the usual time took the degree of Master of Arts. In what years he was ordained Deacon and Priest, we cannot learn. His first preferment was two small parishes in the diocese of Meath, Laracor and Augher, both together of about the yearly value of 100 l. Some time after, he exchanged these for the Vicarage of Christ-Church in the city of Cork, of about the same value, but one of the heaviest Cures in Ireland. This he served for above twenty years: the greatest part of them without an assistant; his scanty income not allowing him to pay one. During these years he preached Himself twice every Sunday, catechised, and discharged all the other duties of his function. Some benefices of no note, consistent with his great Cure, were at different times given him by the Bishops of Cork and Cloyne, which at last increased his income to about 400 l. a year. In this situation, an offer was made him by the Government, in the year 1699, of the Deanery of Derry. But though this was a Dignity, and double in value to all he had, he declined it. His motive was filial piety: He would not separate himself from an aged Mother, who could not, or would not remove with him. Continuing at Cork, he was chosen Proctor for the Chapter, in the Convocation called in 1702-3. Soon after, the late Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, gave him the Crown's title to the Deanery of St Patrick's in Dublin. This title the Chapter disputed, claiming a right of election in themselves; and, to assert this right, they chose Dr John Stearne, then Chancellor of the Cathedral, who died Bishop of Clogher, their Dean. The title of the Crown being then thought defective, as since on a full discussion it has been found, Dr King, Archbishop of Dublin, proposed an Accommodation, which took place with a full consent of the Government, and the approbation of the Crown-lawyers. By this, Dr Stearne continued Dean, and the Archbishop gave the Chancellorship to Mr Syngé. This brought him to Dublin, without any addition of income, or ease from labour. For, the Chancellor of St Patrick's, as such, has the care of the Parish of St Werburg, one of the most noted in Dublin. This great Cure he served for eight years, preaching almost constantly to a crowded audience. In this time he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. A new Convocation being summoned in 1713, he was chosen Proctor for the Chapter of St Patrick's. On Dr Stearne's promotion to the see of Dromore, Dr King, Archbishop of Dublin, appointed him his Vicar-general: And he continued so, till he was made Bishop of Raphoe in 1714 [E]. His distinguished zeal for the late Revolution, and the Hanover succession, which had effectually obstructed his preferment in the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, were the cause of his immediate advancement, as soon as that succession happily took place. In 1716 he was made Archbishop of Tuam [F]; presently after a Privy-Counsellor; and in the years 1716, 1717, 1718,

(a) This article is chiefly composed from Memoirs communicated by the Right Reverend Father in God, Edward Syngé, Lord Bishop of Elphin.

(4) J. Ware, and W. Harris, as above, Vol. I. p. 569, 570.

congregation thought the discourse particularly addressed to himself, and that the preacher was privately instructing him in his duty, and persuading him to the practice of it (4).

[C] *And nephew of another.* Namely, of George Syngé, Bishop of Cloyne in the last century. This Dr George Syngé was elder brother of Edward mentioned in the last note, and born at Bridgnorth in Shropshire, in the year 1594; being descended from an ancient and good family. In 1609, he was admitted a Commoner in Balliol-college in Oxford, where he diligently applied himself to his studies for eight years, and in 1616 commenced Master of Arts. Thence passing into Ireland, he was, on the merit of his many eminent virtues, received with singular humanity by Christopher Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh; who appointed him his Chaplain, constituted him Vicar-general of his diocese, and caused him to be promoted to the deanery of Dromore. On the 11th of November, 1638, he was consecrated Bishop of Cloyne. Upon the breaking out of the Irish rebellion in 1641, he was forced to fly to Dublin, and remain some time there for his own safety. In February, 1644, his Majesty appointed him one of his Privy-Council for Ireland; and, on the vacancy of the Archbishoprick of Tuam in 1646, nominated him to that See; of which the national troubles hindered his having any enjoyment. The year following he returned to his native town of Bridgnorth, where he died in 1653, and was buried in the church of St Mary Magdalen in that town. He was a prelate of singular gravity and great learning, especially in polemic Divinity, and in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. He was tall of stature, of a graceful presence, and polite

conversation; charitable to the poor, beneficent to all, and in a constant exercise of hospitality and generosity second to none (5).

[D] *And the father of two Bishops*] Namely of Edward, (the present Lord Bishop of Elphin) educated in Trinity-college, Dublin, of which he was fellow; consecrated by his own father, [assisted by the Bishops of Elphin, Killala, and Achonry] Bishop of Clonsfert and Kilmacduah, June 7, 1730; translated to Cloyne, March 21, 1731; thence to Leighlin and Ferns, February 8, 1733 (6); and again to Elphin in May, 1740—The other son of our worthy Prelate, who is a Bishop, is Nicolas Bishop of Killaloe.

[E] *Till he was made Bishop of Raphoe in 1714.* He was promoted to that See, by letters patent, dated the 2d of November, 1714, and was consecrated in the church of Dunboyn, in the diocese of Meath, the 7th of the same month. He laid out, in improvements on the castle, or episcopal house of Raphoe, 280 l. of which he made proof to the satisfaction of Primate Lindsay, and had an allowance of it, and was paid two thirds of that sum by his successor, pursuant to the statute of 10 William III. c. 6. (7)

[F] *In 1716 he was made Archbishop of Tuam.* He was translated to that See, by letters patent dated the 8th of June, 1716. And, very soon after, voluntarily and generously gave up the quarter-archiepiscopal parts, which his predecessors had enjoyed for a long time. These were originally that portion of Oblations, which, before the Institution of Parishes, was reserved to the Bishop for his maintenance; the other three parts being employed for the support of the inferior Clergy, the repairing the fabricks of Churches, and the Sustainance

(5) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 167. J. Ware, and W. Harris, as above, Vol. I. p. 578, 579.

(6) Ware, and Harris, Vol. I. p. 646, 582, 452.

(7) Walter Harris's improved edition of Sir James Ware's works, Vol. I. Dublin, 1739. fol. p. 283.

1718, 1721, appointed one of the Keepers of the Great Seal in the absence of the Lord High Chancellor (b). This learned Prelate, in the course of his Ministry, composed and published several very excellent Treatises for the promotion of Religion, Piety, and Virtue; of which an account is given below [G]. He died at Tuam, July 24, 1741, with

(b) From the same Memoirs. See also The Works of Sir James Ware, with continuation by W. Harris Esq; Vol. II. p. 115, 116.

of the poor. After the institution of parishes, the Tythes were distributed for a time in the same way. But when Bishopricks came to be endowed with lands and other firm possessions, then the Bishops, to encourage a quick foundation of Churches, and to establish a better provision for the residing Clergy, did tacitly recede from their Quarter part.—This portion the Archbishop of Tuam, and his suffragan Bishops, were originally intitled to, as well as the rest, in their respective Bishopricks, to make up a sufficient revenue for the support of the dignity of their places. At the Reformation, the Conaught clergy became more poorly provided for than in any other part of the kingdom; which was partly occasioned by lay-impropriations, partly for want of a settled form of tything, and partly by the Quarter-Episcopals, which gave the Bishops a fourth part of the Tythes of most of the parishes in their dioceses; and that, with the Impropiator's right to two parts, left the Clergy but a fourth, a poor and miserable maintenance. The Bishops of that province were not much better provided for; and without the Quarter-Episcopals would have been in as mean a condition as the rest of the Clergy. The Archbishopric of Tuam, for instance, was reduced to 160l. *per annum*.—In 1636, the then Archbishop of Tuam, jointly with the Bishops of Elphin, Clonsfert, and Killala, petitioned K. Charles I. to grant them such lands as they could by good proof, or strong probability, shew to have belonged to their Sees; or which they had an equitable right to; and that were withheld from them by unjust pretences: to the end they might be enabled to maintain themselves with their own lands, without the episcopal Quarter part of Tythes, any great addition of charge to the King, or the plurality of commendams. This petition, through the hearty concurrence of the Lord Deputy Wentworth, met with a favourable reception. But the ensuing rebellion, in 1641, hindered the final and happy settlement of that affair.—Good Archbishop Synge, at the meeting of the next parliament after his consecration, took care to have an act passed, in 1717, for divesting his See for ever of the said Quarter-episcopal part, and for settling the same on such Rectors, Vicars, or Curates, as do personally discharge the respective cures within the dioceses of Tuam and Enaghdone. He also procured a clause in that act, to enable him to demise a share of the demesne lands of the Archbishoprick, in the same manner as he by law could demise other lands, not demesne, belonging thereto, at the rent of three fourths of the full yearly value (8).

[G] *Composed and published several very excellent treatises.* The following is an exact list of them. 1. A peaceable and friendly Address to the Nonconformists, written upon their desiring an Act of Toleration without the Sacramental Test. Dublin, 1697. 4to. 2. A Defence of the peaceable and friendly Address to the Nonconformists, against the Answer lately given to it. Dublin, 1698. 4to. 3. Plain Instructions for the Young and Ignorant, comprized in a short and easy Exposition of the Church-Catechism, adapted to the Understanding and Memory of those of the meanest capacity. Lond. 8vo. 4. Some short and plain directions for spending one Day well, by which (if every day carefully observed) a Man may be much enabled, through God's grace, to spend his whole Life well. Lond. 8vo. 5. An Answer to all the Excuses and Pretences, which Men ordinarily make for their not coming to the holy Communion. To which is added, A brief Account of the End and Design of the holy Communion, the Obligation to receive it, the Way to prepare for it, and the Behaviour of ourselves both at and after it. With Prayers and Meditations suitable to the occasion. Fitted for the meanest capacities, and very proper to be given away by such as are charitably inclined. Lond. 8vo. 6. An Essay towards making the Knowledge of Religion easy to the meanest Capacity. Being a short and plain Account of the Doctrines and Rules of Christianity. Lond. 8vo. 7. A Gentleman's Religion: in three Parts. The 1st contains the Principles of Natural Religion. The 2d and 3d the Doctrines of Christianity, both as to Faith and Practice. With an Appendix, wherein it is proved, That nothing contrary to our Reason can possibly be the Object of our Belief: But that it is no just Exception against some of the Doctrines

of Christianity, that they are above our Reason. The first Part was published by itself; and the second and third Parts were added in the second edition. Lond. 1705. 12mo. 8. A Defence of the established Church and Laws, in answer to a book, intitled, 'A Vindication of Marriage, as solemnized by Presbyterians in the North of Ireland.' Dublin. 1705. 12mo. 9. A brief Enquiry into the Original and Power of Ecclesiastical Synods. Lond. 1705. 8vo. Written at the instance of Dr Wake, then engaged in the controversy with Dr Atterbury upon that subject. Lond. 1705. 8vo. 10. The Wisdom of being Religious. A Sermon preached at the Castle-chapel in Dublin, Feb. 20, 1703-4. 8vo. 11. Some Rules for the Conduct of Human Life, shewing the way of living; 1. Wisely. 2. Harmoniously. 3. Peaceably and Quietly. 4. In business. 5. In much business. 6. In the intervals of business. 7. In Travel. 8vo. 12. A true Churchman fet in a just and clear Light: Or An Essay towards the right Character of a faithful Son of the Established Church. To which is added the learned Mr Chillingworth's Demonstration of the Apostolick Institution of Episcopacy. Lond. 1709. 13. The divine Authority of Church-government and Episcopacy stated and asserted upon Principles common to all Christians; in a Sermon preached in the College-chapel, at the consecration of Peter Brown, late Provost of the said College, and Bishop of Cork and Ross, on Sunday April 2d, 1710. Dublin, 1710. 12mo. 14. A Sermon preached at St Andrew's church, Dublin, before the House of Commons, October 23d, 1711. Dublin, 1711. 4to. 15. Dr Synge's Defence of himself against the unjust Aspersions thrown on him, in a late pamphlet, intitled, "A Reply to a Vindication of a Letter published in a pamphlet, called *Partiality detested*." Dublin, 1711. 4to. Which was answered the same year by William Percival, Archdeacon of Cashel. 16. The value of a good Name; the Way and Duty of getting and preserving it; together with the Sin of depriving another of it, in a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, Nov. 1, 1713. 8vo. 17. Eternal Salvation the only End and Design of Religion. A Sermon. 1714. 12mo. 18. The Rule of Self-Examination, or the only way of banishing Doubts and Scruples, and directing the Conscience in the satisfactory Practice of all Christian Duties. 1715. 19. A plain and easy Method, whereby a Man of a moderate Capacity may arrive at full Satisfaction in all Things that concern his Everlasting Salvation: To which is added, A Paraphrase on St Athanasius's Creed. 1715. 20. Unanimity in the present time of Danger, recommended in a Sermon preached before the Lords Justices of Ireland, in Christ-Church, Dublin, on Sunday Feb. 5, 1715. Dublin, 1716. 8vo. 21. The Happiness of a Nation and People. In a Sermon preached at Christ-Church, Dublin, before the Government and House of Lords, May 29, 1716. Dublin, 1716. 8vo. 22. A modest Enquiry into the Danger of the Church. Dublin, 1716. 23. An Abstract of the Church Catechism, briefly containing the Substance of all that is necessary to Salvation. Dublin, 1717. 24. A Convert's Vindication, in a Letter to his Friend of the Church of Rome. Dublin, 1718. 25. A Sincere Convert distinguished from an Hypocrite.—And a Sincere Convert's Vindication of himself. 26. The Reward of converting Sinners from the Errors of their Ways. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St Bridget, Dublin, Feb. 8th, 1718, at the Annual Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity-Schools in Dublin. Dublin, 1719. 4to. 27. Universal Benevolence. A Sermon. Dublin, 1721. 12mo. 28. A Sermon against Persecution on account of Religion, preached before the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant, and the House of Lords, in Christ-Church, Dublin, on Monday, October 23d, 1721. Dublin, 1721. 12mo. 29. An Account of the Laws now in force in Ireland for encouraging the Residence of the Parochial Clergy, and erecting of English Schools; with the good use that may be made of them. With an Appendix, shewing how the Fund of First-fruits settled in Trustees by Queen Anne has been applied. Dublin, 1723. 8vo. 30. *De Religionis Christianae Fundamentalibus*. 31. A brief Discourse of the Fundamentals of Christianity; and

(8) Harris, as above, Vol. I. p. 619—621.

with the character of a gentleman of true piety, an excellent scholar, and a great divine; and lies buried in the church-yard of that cathedral.

and the Use that is to be made of them. With an Appendix, in which, from the Principles laid down or suggested in the Discourse, an Answer is given to three important Questions; the determination whereof would much conduce to the restoring Communion between different Churches. 32. The Case of the Poor of Ireland stated and considered upon the common Principles of Christianity. 33. Short and plain Directions for all that go to Service. 34. Free-Thinking in Matters of Religion stated and recommended. Lond. 1727. 8vo. 35. Religion tried by the Test of sober and impartial Reason. 1713. 36. The Sin of Schism most unjustly and groundlessly charged by the Non-Jurors upon the present established Church of England. 37. Catholick Christianity; or an Essay towards lessening the Number of Controversies among Christians. 38. A Charitable Address to all who are of the Communion of the Church of Rome. Dublin, 1728. 8vo. This was answered by Dr Cornelius Nary. 39. An Answer to two Objections made against the foregoing Tract. Dublin, 1729. 8vo. 40. A Defence of the Charitable Address to the Roman Catholicks, in reply to Dr Nary's Answer. Dublin, 1729. 8vo. To which Dr Nary writ a Rejoinder. 41. Observations on Dr Nary's Rejoinder. 42. The Abstruse Philosophy of Transubstantiation considered. 43. The Authority of the Church in Matters of Religion. Dublin, 1733. 44. A short Dissertation upon eating Blood. Dublin, 1733. 45. The Root and Spring of true Virtue and Piety. A Sermon preached at Tuam. Dublin, 1733. 12mo. 46. The Way to Eternal Salvation plainly pointed out. A Sermon. Dublin, 1734. 47. A Help to the devout Performance of private Prayer. Dublin, 1735. 48. A Persuasive to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, in a Letter to a sober Gentleman of the Church of Rome. Dublin, 1736. 49. The true Nature of an Oath; a Letter to a sober Quaker, occasioned by the Act of Parliament, whereby it is enacted, That the solemn Affirmation of the Quakers shall be of like force with an Oath taken in the common Form of Law. Dublin, 1736. 50. Honesty the best Policy: An Essay concerning the true Way of rendering a Nation happy, and its Government firm and lasting.

Dublin, 1738. 51. An Essay on Foolish Questions: Another on contending for the Faith. Being the Substance of two Visitation-Sermons on Matt. xiii. 25. Dublin, 1738. 52. St Paul's Description of his own Religion opened and explained. 1721. 53. Sober Thoughts for the Cure of Melancholy, especially that which is Religious. Dublin, 1738. 54. Advice to a young Divine concerning Preaching. Dublin, 1738. 55. Two Tracts; the one, Directions to a sober Christian, for the acceptable offering up the Lord's Prayer in his private Devotions; the other, Sober Thoughts on the Doctrine of Predestination. 56. A brief and plain Abridgment of the Christian Religion. 57. A Discourse of Confirmation, in a Dialogue between the Minister of a Parish and a young Servant-maid, containing proper Instructions for such persons as are to be confirmed: Humbly offered to the consideration of all Parents, and others who have the Care of educating Youth. Dublin, 1739. 58. The Necessity and true Nature of Repentance. A Sermon. Dublin, 1740. 59. A Sincere Christian and Convert from the Church of Rome, exemplified in the Case of Daniel Herley, a poor Irish Peasant.

Our learned Author wrote likewise, in 1713, 1714, 1715, some Letters, in answer to Dr Peter Brown, Bishop of Cork, his once famous Books about Drinking to the Memory of the Dead, or against Healths in general.

He also published Two Letters concerning the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords of Ireland. They were writ at the time when it was questioned, and before a British Act of Parliament took it away. They were very well liked (9).

These several Treatises are written in a polite, sensible, easy, and rational manner: and have been so well received by the Public, that many of them have passed through several Editions. The 21st Edition, for instance, of the "Answer to all the Excuses which Men make for not coming to the Communion," was published in 1752, as was also the 13th of his "Essay towards making the Knowledge of Religion easy," in 1754. And some of the other pieces are come to a seventh and eighth Edition. C

(9) This List is taken from the Memoirs, as above communicated to us: and from Mr Harris's edition of Sir James Ware's works, Vol. III p. 297. &c.

T.



ALBOT [CHARLES], Duke of Shrewsbury, well deserves a place in these memoirs, as a patriot Statesman. He was born on St. James's Eve, 1660, and, in respect to his family [A], King Charles II. stood his God-father, being the first to whom that monarch did this honour after his Restoration (a). He lost his father when he was seven years of age (b), and being brought to enquire into the popish religion (in which he had been bred) by the discovery of the popish plot in 1679, he applied to Dr Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who having soon reconciled him to the Church of England, he attended the

(a) Life of Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury, p. 4.

Doctor for the first time at the public worship in Lincoln's-Inn Chapel, on Sunday the 4th of May that year (c). However, this change of his religion had not, it seems, a suitable influence upon the moral part of his conduct. His Lordship, among other excellent endowments, was particularly distinguished by a very handsome person, which procuring him an easy access to the Ladies (d), he indulged himself in some excesses with the sex. This reaching the ears of his Converter, Doctor Tillotson, gave occasion to the most elegant and polite letter, that was ever penned by that eloquent Divine [B]. As it was his loyalty that apparently

(c) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 56. Edit. 1753.

[A] *In respect to his family.*] This family (1) is said to have been in England before the Conquest, but the first mentioned in our records, is *Richard Talbot*, who is declared to have great possessions in the time of the Conquest (2). From him, after several descents, sprung *Gilbert Talbot*, who flourished in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I, and having married *Guenthlian*, daughter of *Rhese ap Griffith*, Prince of Wales, his descendants relinquished their paternal arms, a bend of ten peeces argent and gules, and bore a lion rampant, or, in a field gules, within a bordure engrailed of the first, which were the arms of the said Rhese and his ancestors, Princes of Wales (3). Gilbert's great grandson, *Richard*, was summoned to Parliament by the title of *Lord Talbot*, July 5, ann. 1330. Edward III, whose grandson of the same name had issue Gilbert, his son and heir, who dying without male issue, his younger brother became heir to Gilbert's only daughter. This younger brother was the famous Sir John Talbot, who makes such a figure in our history for his heroic achievements, especially in France, under Henry V. (4), and was Earl of Shrewsbury, May 20, 1442, in the 20th year of the reign of Henry VI, and in the 24th of that King, ann. 1446, was Earl of Wexford, and created by Patent Earl of Waterford in Ireland. From this great Earl was descended lineally Edward the eighth Earl of Shrewsbury, who dying Jan. 14, ann. 1616, without male issue, the titles came to the heirs of Sir Gilbert Talbot of Grafton, second son to John the second Earl of Shrewsbury, of this house. This Sir Gilbert Talbot being twice married, was immediately succeeded by the eldest son of the first marriage, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knight, of Grafton, who dying without issue male, his younger brother by their father's second marriage became Sir John Talbot of Grafton, Knight, who being twice married, was succeeded by his eldest son of the first marriage (5), Sir John Talbot of Grafton, whose grandson, George Talbot, by the death of Edward the eighth Earl of Shrewsbury, without issue male, in the 15th year of the reign of James I, became the ninth Earl of Shrewsbury, to whose son, John the tenth Earl, succeeded his son and heir, Francis the eleventh Earl, Father to the Subject of the present article, who was the twelfth Earl, and both first and last Duke of Shrewsbury.

[B] *Doctor Tillotson wrote a letter to him.*] It was in these terms.

' My Lord,
' It was a great satisfaction to me to be any ways
' instrumental in the gaining your Lordship to our reli-
' gion, which I am really persuaded to be the truth.
' But I am, and always was, more concerned, that your
' Lordship should continue a virtuous and good man,
' than become a Protestant; being assured that the ig-
' norance and errors of men's understanding will find a
' much easier forgiveness with God, than the faults of
' the will. I remember that your Lordship once told
' me, that you would endeavour to justify the sincerity
' of your change by a conscientious regard to all other
' parts and actions of your life. I am sure you cannot
' more effectually condemn your own act, than by be-
' coming a worse man after your profession to have em-
' braced a better religion. I will certainly be one of
' the last to believe any thing of your Lordship that is
' not good; but I always feared I should be one of
' the first, that should hear it. The time I last waited
' upon your Lordship, I had heard something that af-
' flicted me very sensibly, but I hoped it was not true, and
' was therefore loth to trouble your Lordship about it.
' But having heard the same from those, who, I believe,
' bear no ill will to your Lordship, I now think it my
' duty to acquaint you with it. To speak plainly, I
' have been told, that your Lordship is of late fallen
' into a conversation, dangerous both to your reputa-
' tion and virtue, two of the tenderest and dearest
' things in the world. I believe your Lordship to
' have a great command and conduct of yourself; but
' I am very sensible of human frailty, and of the dan-
' gerous temptations to which youth is exposed in this
' dissolute age. Therefore I earnestly beseech your
' Lordship to consider, besides the high provocation of
' Almighty God, and the hazard of your soul, when-
' ever you engage in a bad course, what a blemish
' you will bring upon a fair and unspotted reputation;
' what uneasiness and trouble you will create to your-
' self from the severe reflections of a guilty conscience;
' and how great a violence you will offer to your good
' principles, your nature, and your education, and to
' a mind the best made for virtuous and worthy things.
' And do not imagine you can stop when you please.
' Experience shews us the contrary, and that nothing is
' more vain, than for men to think they can set bounds
' to themselves in any thing that is bad. I hope in
' God no temptation has yet prevailed on your Lord-
' ship

(1) He died March 16, 1667, a wound received in a duel with George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. See that Duke's article.

(2) Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot, &c. 9. Edit. 1737. vo.

(3) The pedigree of this family being drawn out at length in the Peerage of England, Vol. II. Edit. 1756. we shall only mention a few of the principal heads of it.

(4) Lillie's Pedigree of the Nobility. MS. p. 7. penes Johan. Com. de Egmont.

(5) Register of the Order of the Garter by Anstis, Vol. I. p. 217.

(6) It has been observed of this noble Earl, that he was victorious in forty several battles and dangerous skirmishes. MS. in Bibl. John Anstis Armig.

(7) The present Earl Talbot is descended from the second marriage. See Lord Chancellor Talbot's article.

apparently first prompted a dislike to the religion of his Ancestors, so this principle being embellished (to speak in the courtly phrase of these times) with a turn to gallantry, a sweet temper, and fine address, rendered him very acceptable to the gay Court of Charles. And at the coronation of King James, he was pitched upon to bear the *curtana*, or pointless sword (*e*). In this reign, he had also the command of a regiment of horse; but when that unfortunate prince broke into the constitution, by assuming an arbitrary and dispensing power, the Earl resigned his regiment, and went to the Prince of Orange, having first borrowed 12000*l.* to support him, part of which was from Father Peters (*f*). Bishop Burnet of Shrewsbury was one of the nobles chiefly trusted by his Highness, and on whose advice he governed all his motions, and drew his declaration (*g*). On the Prince's landing in the West, the Earl was sent by him to take possession of Bristol, and he was principally concerned in promoting the association to revenge any attempt that should be made upon his Highness's person. He was afterwards appointed, with the Earls of Oxford and Clarendon, to treat with the Lords sent by King James, to know what the Prince demanded, and was primarily consulted in all affairs of the Revolution. During the debates about settling the nation, some methods being proposed, which gave the Prince great uneasiness, the Earl of Shrewsbury was one of the three Lords to whom he chose to explain himself distinctly. When the Prince and Princess were declared King and Queen of England, the Earl was sworn of the Privy Council, and made sole Principal Secretary of State (*b*): he was also one of the Commissioners appointed to hear and determine the claims exhibited, to be performed at the Coronation, in which he bore one of the three swords, April 11, 1689: and on the 18th he was constituted Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire, and was also Lord Lieutenant of Herefordshire (*i*). But the Court afterwards taking some measures he did not approve, he resigned the Secretary's place (*k*) in December, 1690, and was succeeded by the Lord Viscount Sidney (*l*), but was sworn into the other department of that office on the 4th of March, 1693, in the room of the Earl of Nottingham. On the 25th of April following, 1694, he was elected Knight of the Garter (*m*), and on the 30th of that month advanced to the dignities of Marquis of Alton and Duke of Shrewsbury (*n*). May 11, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Anglesey, as he was also of Flintshire and Denbysire on the 31st of that month. On the 5th of November, 1695, King William did him the honour to dine with him at his seat at Heythrop in Oxfordshire (*o*), and the same year, as also in 1697, he was one of the Lords Justices of England during his Majesty's absence abroad [*C*]. In May 1699, he resigned the seals of Secretary of State (*p*), on account of his ill state of health, occasioned by an unlucky fall from his horse in a fox-chace, when the creature happened to give him a blow upon the breast in rising, which brought on him such a spitting of blood, and shortness of breath, as made him incapable of going through the business of his post. However, on the 25th of October following, he was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household (*q*), as a place of easier management; but the discharge of blood increasing, he was advised by his physicians to go to a warmer climate, as the only means of effecting his recovery (*r*). Hereupon he resolved to resign his staff and key as Chamberlain, and prepared to go abroad. This happening at the juncture when his friends, the Earl of Orford, the Lord Somers and Halifax, were harassed by the Parliament (*s*), gave a handle to such as would not believe his illness, to report him for a deserter, who was leaving the Kingdom out of cowardice (*t*) [*D*].

(e) Between the Earls of Derby and Pembroke. Account of that Coronation.

(g) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, p. 712. Vol. I. Folio Edition.

(b) The Earl of Nottingham was prevailed on in a few days after to accept the other department in this office on that occasion.

(k) Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot, as before.

(n) He was installed at Windsor for the 5th of June following. Peerage by Collins, as before.

(p) He was succeeded by the Earl of Jersey on the 14th of that month. Salmon, under this year.

(q) Gazette, No. 3543.

(s) See Gen. Hist. of England.

(t) His Life, as before.

(f) His Life, page 5; the writer of which says, that a boat for the purpose was provided privately by Mr Ruffel, then one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to King James, and afterwards Earl of Oxford.

(i) Gen. Hist. of England.

(l) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year.

(m) Id. under the year 1693.

(o) Id. ibid. However, it is certain that he had lately made this purchase; the house in all its branches was not intirely finished. MS. penes me.

(r) Particularly Sir Thomas Millington spoke to King Will am to advise him to go to Montpellier. His Life.

ship so far, as to be guilty of any loose act. If it has, as you love your soul, let it not proceed to an habit. The retreat is yet easy and open, but will every day become more difficult and obstructed. God is so merciful, that upon your repentance, and resolution of amendment, he is not only ready to forgive what is past, but to assist us by his Grace to do better for the future. But I need not enforce these considerations upon a mind so capable of, and easy to receive, good counsel. I shall only desire your Lordship to think again and again, how great a point of wisdom it is in all our actions to consult the peace of our minds, and to have no quarrel with the constant and inseparable companion of our lives. If others displease us, we may quit their company; but he that is displeas'd with himself, is unavoidably unhappy, because he has no way to get rid of himself.

My Lord, for God's sake and your own, think of being happy, and resolve by all means to save yourself from this untoward generation. Determine rather upon a speedy change of your condition, than to gratify the inclinations of your youth in any thing but what is lawful and honourable; and let me have the satisfaction to be assured from your Lordship, either that there has been no ground for this report, or that there shall be none for the future; which will be the welcomest news to me in the world. I have only to beg of your Lordship to believe, that I have not done this to satisfy the formality of my profession; but that it proceeds from the truest affection and good-will, that one man can possibly bear to another. I pray God every day for your Lordship, with the same constancy and fervour, as for myself, and do most ear-

nestly beg, that this counsel may be acceptable and effectual. I am &c.

[*C*] He was one of the Lords Justices in 1697.] It is said, that the year before, Lord Peterborough promised Sir John Fenwick his life, if he would accuse the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Lord Orford of having a design to bring in King James, and that the first mentioned Lord wrote a book, with the assistance of Dr D'Avenant, and put one Smith's name to it (6), against the Duke, which lost Lord Peterborough, with all honest men, the House of Commons, voting the first a scandalous design to make a difference between the King and his best friends (7), and the House of Peers ordering the second to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

[*D*] Leaving the kingdom out of cowardice.] The Writer of his life tells us, that he retired to his friend, Mr Mackey's house, at Dover, for two or three days, till the yacht could be got ready, that was to transport him. And that he there received the King's surprizing order from a Secretary of State, to take Paris in his way to Montpellier, and to visit the French King. Accordingly he went to that Monarch at Versailles, who received him coolly, and entertained him with nothing but *bagatelles* [trifles]; that in coming from the King, he met the Count de Lauzun, who, after the usual civilities, asked him if he would not see the Chevalier St George: to which the Earl answered, that if he was to see him, he should chuse rather to see him there than in England. The same Writer assures us, that he even never visited the Earl of Middleton, who was married to his mother's sister, and with whom he had been for many years in the most intimate and affectionate friendship (*).

(6) It was entitled, Memoirs of Secret Service, by Matthew Smith of the Inner Temple, Esq.

(7) The House ordered the Passage-office to be searched, to see if a pass had slipped his office at the assignation, but all proved clear. Mackey's Characters, p. 65.

(*) His Life, p. 12. where this Writer says, that when it was afterwards told him, that the Earl of Jersey had employed people to know if he had seen the Earl of Middleton, he answered, that he hoped he [Jersey] was so well served, as to know he did not.

He had scarce got to Montpellier, when the King of Spain dying, his Grace concluded we should be drawn into a new war, and therefore hastening out of France, he retired to Geneva, where he passed his time very agreeably for a year; but the fogs from the lake bringing a return of his disorder, obliged him to cross the Alps to Italy. Naples was the place he had designed for his residence; but King Philip having got possession of that kingdom, his Grace went to Rome, took a very handsome palace near the Capitol, and lived there above three years (u). On Queen Anne's accession to the throne, having resigned the Chamberlain's place (w), he received letters both from the Duke of Marlborough and Earl Godolphin, offering him the place of Master of the Horse to her Majesty; and entreating him to come and share in the administration with them (x): but his health would not permit him to think of a return to England; and public business at that time. His enemies there, who had before represented his distemper as a meer state trick, now gave out that he was a Roman Catholic again, and the English Papists, joining in the cry, said, his journey to Rome was to reconcile himself to their Church. But this was so far from being a true state of the case, that the more he saw of Popery abroad, the more he was confirmed in the Protestant Religion and interest [E]; inasmuch, that by exposing the follies of the former, he converted the Earl of Cardigan and his brother from it, even at Rome (y). He conversed indeed indifferently with all sorts of people, especially the *Literati*, and improved his knowledge in painting and architecture, to which last he applied assiduously; and made a very good collection of the first (z). His evenings he generally passed at the Princess *Carpigni's*, where he first saw his Dutchess; she was the widow of a Count belonging to the late Queen of Sweden, and daughter to the Marquis *Paliotti* of Bologna in Italy (aa). As she had a great many engaging qualities, and he of a generous, as well as amorous temper, there grew a strict friendship between them, which at length concluded in a marriage [F]; but was not celebrated till he got into a Protestant country, and she had made an abjuration of the Romish Faith, at Augsburgh in Germany, to which place she followed him, after he had made the tour of Lombardy, Venice, Padua, and Verona. The ceremony being completed, they left Augsburgh, and passing, in their way to England, through Cologne to Francfort (bb), his Grace communicated his marriage in a letter from thence to the Duke of Marlborough [G], then in Flanders. This great general arriving, November the 1st, at Francfort, in order to proceed to Vienna, was entertained, with his retinue, at dinner by the Duke of Shrewsbury, who, on the 22d of that month, arrived at the Hague, and landed in England with the Duke of Marlborough, December 30, 1705. On his arrival, meeting with a cool reception from his old friends, the Whigs, he retired first into Worcestershire and Shropshire, and from thence to his purchase at Heythrop, near Woodstock, in Oxfordshire (cc). During this retirement, the other party left no stone unturned to get so considerable a man on their side, knowing the great regard the Queen had for him, and the reputation he had with the people. And representing to him the ingratitude of a party to whom he had been so useful, he was at last prevailed upon to come to Court, and April 15, 1710, was made again Lord Chamberlain of the Household by Queen Anne, and sworn again of her Privy Council. Also May 10, 1712, his Grace was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of Shropshire. Afterwards he entered into all the measures of the ministry for obtaining a peace (dd); and to give the finishing stroke to it, he accepted of going Ambassador extraordinary to the French court, in order to complete it, on the 23d of November (ee). However, as he was neither to be flattered nor cajoled, and insisting on several beneficial articles of commerce, which the French would have declined, he soon found a coldness in that court towards him, and thereupon solicited his return, which however he did not presently obtain. When he came to England, he had hardly time to settle his private affairs before he was sent out of the way (as the Writer of his Life relates) Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in September the same year. The uncommon reception he met with at Dublin, where the Recorder complimented him with the great share he had in the Revolution, and the Peers and Clergy complimented him on the great share he had in making the peace, was the genuine effect of party infatuation. However, no man in his post could behave with more care for the Protestant Interest, and the liberties of that country [H], tempering, as much as possible, the

(u) His Life, as before.

(w) He was succeeded in it by the Earl of Jersey. Salmon, under the year 1702.

(y) The Duke's mother, Anna Maria, was daughter to Robert Earl of Cardigan. Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 50.

(aa) Her name was Adelhida. She was descended by her mother from Sir Robert Dudley, the supposed son of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the great favourite of Queen Elizabeth; of which Sir Robert, see an account in the article of Sir Henry Wotton.

(cc) His Life.

(dd) He was the first to treat with Mesnager, whom Prior brought back with him to London. Id.

(9) Ibid. This gentleman, however, followed his sister afterwards to England, where he was executed for the murder of one of his servants. See Matthew Tindal's article.

(10) His Life.

[E] *The more he was confirmed in the Protestant Religion and interest.* He often said, that all Englishmen ought to travel, to value the more their so happy constitution; for that the more we saw of the soppery of the Romish Religion, and the oppression in despotic governments, the more we should support that easy and happy government in Church and State we are under at home. He abhorred the processions made to the Madonnas, and the worshipping of our Saviour in the shape of a wafer erected on a throne as an earthly King. He was so strict, that he would never enter into their Churches to see any curiosities during the time of any service whatsoever, to avoid any indecency from himself, or scandal to others (8).

[F] *Concluded in a marriage.* The story which passed current in England, that his Grace was bullied into this marriage by two of the Lady's brothers in Italy, is said to be intirely false and groundless. Since he was gone from her above six months before the marriage; and the Marquis Paliotti, her brother, who was said to

be the person that bullied him, he never saw till six weeks after his marriage; when he came to meet them at Cologne, in their way to England from the Palatine court at Dusseldorp, to which Paliotti then belonged (9).

[G] *He communicated his marriage to the Duke of Marlborough.* His Grace, it is said, discovered, by the stile of this letter, that the Duke of Shrewsbury had done a thing, for which he wanted to make an apology; and his friends in England believed he was ashamed of it, since the notice they had of it, was by his letter to Mr *De la Faye*, one of the Clerks of the Secretary's Office, who took care of his letters (10).

[H] *He maintained the Protestant Interest, and the liberty of that country.* Though he was now under the influence of a Tory-Administration, yet the Writer of his Life observes that did not bias him to either party, of which he gives the following instances. He could have had Sir Richard Leving (set up by the Tories) chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, instead of Mr Broderick, set up by the Whigs; but he would, neither

(x) His Life, as before.

(z) Many of these adorned his elegant house at Heythrop, near Woodstock.

(bb) During his stay here, he received a letter from Sir Rowland Gynn, inviting him to take the court of Hanover in his way, which he declined. His Life, page 15.

(cc) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year, who also observes, that he arrived at Calais, in his way to that court, on the 27th of Dec. following, but did not take the character of Ambassador before the conclusion of the peace, any more than the Duke d'Aumont did in England. Not making his public entry at Paris till June 11, 1713. The peace had been proclaimed, May the 9th preceding.

(8) His life, ubi pra.

(ff) His Life, ubi supra, p. 54.

(gg) His Dutches was also made one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline. Peerage of England.

(bb) Many of these are mistaken in the Atalantis.

(ii) Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot, p. 7.

(kk) His Life.

(kk) Peerage, Vol. II. p. 58.

rage and animosities of both parties. The consequence of which was, as might be expected, that the Whigs feared to trust him, and the Tories suspected him: so that when he returned to England, they had the insolence to print a Satire, and cry it about the streets, before he was on ship-board, intituled *Polyphemus, or Ireland's Eye*, alluding to his single eye (ff). His coming over was occasioned by the great variance between Oxford and Bollingbroke, and the illness of the Queen, who in the last extremity, took the staff from Oxford, and delivered it, two days after, on her death-bed, to the Duke of Shrewsbury. So that at the Queen's death, he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord High-Treasurer of Great Britain, and Lord Chamberlain, three great places never before in the hands of one person at the same time. His Grace signed the Proclamation for proclaiming King George I, and was one of the Lords appointed by his Majesty to govern the nation till his arrival. After which, on September 26, 1714, he was made Groom of the Stole and Privy Purse (gg); and, on the appointing of a new Privy Council, he was sworn into it. He was also constituted Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire; and on the 17th of October, declared Lord Chamberlain of the household to his Majesty, in whose favour he stood very well to the last. But his disorder turning into an obstinate asthma, he grew to be frequently out of order, and resigned the Chamberlain's key some months before his death, the immediate cause whereof was a fever, which coming upon his asthma, carried him off on the 1st of February, 1717-18, at his seat at Isleworth, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. On the Monday before he died, he sent for all his servants into his room, and telling them, that let his Physicians say what they would, he was sure he must die soon, desired, if death should carry him off suddenly, they would do that justice to his memory, to declare, as he did, that he died in the communion of the Church of England, of which he had been above thirty years an unworthy member. On Tuesday he received the Sacrament, from the hands of William Talbot, Bishop of Salisbury, his relation, and Dr Chark, his parish Minister. He preserved his judgment, and senses, to the last minute. Even on the day he died, he bid the Dutches and his Physician go to dinner, and come and chat with him when they had done; but before dinner was over, he expired.

As to his Lordship's character, the Writer of his Life assures us, that he was one of the finest gentlemen of the age he lived in, very handsome in his person, of an admirable address, and the charmingest way of speaking; he was the kindest master to his servants, and the justest to his creditors, that ever was known. He was a nobleman of great gallantry, when young, among the Ladies (bb). He might have had many great matches in his own country, and some he liked well enough in that view, if he had not found the Ladies facile. He was always a Courtier as long as he was persuaded the Court acted for the interest of his Country; but whenever a step was taken there, which he thought against that interest, he went out of the great offices with as much ease as he shifted his cloaths. This resolution to join implicitly with no party, brought him under a misfortune which generally attends a true Patriot Spirit, not to be thought steady to any. But though his conduct did not always escape such misrepresentations as are the ordinary effect of mistake or malice, yet, in general, he had the good opinion of all; so that King William used to say, that *the Duke of Shrewsbury was the only man of whom the Whigs and Tories both spoke well* (ii).

Although his heir at law differed from him in Religion, and was a distant relation; yet for the honour of the family, he left the whole Estate to go together, which from four thousand pounds a year, and in debt, he brought to eight thousand, out of debt (kk). By his will, it was not to be alienated from the honour; and an Act of Parliament has been since obtained for that purpose [I]. On his decease, the titles of Duke and Marquis being only granted to him and his heirs male, became extinct; but the Earldom of Shrewsbury devolved on Gilbert Talbot, the eldest surviving son of Thomas Talbot of Longford, only son of John the tenth Earl of Shrewsbury. But this Gilbert being in Holy Orders, in the Romish Church, died without issue in 1743, whereby the honours descended to his brother George, whose son of the same name, born December 11, 1719, is the present Earl of Shrewsbury, who, November 21, 1753, married Elizabeth, daughter of the honourable John Dormer of Peterly, in the county of Bucks, Esq; (ll).

neither by bribery nor influence, break in upon that liberty, which ought to be sacred in a Parliament's choice of their Speaker. In the same spirit, when General Stewart, at his Levee one morning, speaking of an election with joy that the Tories had carried, made use of the word *we*, the Duke took him up short, and 'bid him not speak in the plural number, for he came not there to be of any party, but to administer justice impartially to all; to serve his Queen, and to protect the subjects in their liberty.' Moreover, when the election for the city of Dublin came on, and the Tories, as a mark of distinction, wore laurels in their hats, he ordered the yeomen of the guards to deny entrance to every body without distinction, that should come to court with that, or any other badge of dissention. And when the Papists,

who were very numerous at Dublin, joined with the Tories to mob the Whigs, he tacitly permitted the guards to disperse them.

[I] *The estate was not to be alienated from the honour.*] However, he left a handsome provision for his Dutches, bequeathing to her, 1200 l. a year (11), and his house and furniture in Warwick-Street, with 2000 ounces of his plate, for life. His house at Isleworth, finely furnished, he left to his heir, as also his elegant seat at Heythrop: and appointed George Earl of Cardigan, Dr William Talbot, then Bishop of Sarum (12), Sir John Stanley, and Mr Ardern, his Steward, trustees, to see his will executed, with an allowance of 100 l. a year each for their trouble: he also left some other small legacies among his servants.

(11) Which was what his mother had for her jointure.

(12) Afterwards Bishop of Durham, and grandfather to the present Earl Talbot.

TALBOT [CHARLES], Lord High-Chancellor of Great Britain, was descended from a branch of the same family with the preceding Nobleman [A], whose Patriot Spirit he imbibed, with the advantage of a steadier application and greater abilities. He was born in 1684, and after a suitable foundation of Classical Learning at School, was removed to Oxford, and admitted a Gentleman Commoner of Oriel-College in Michaelmas term (a), 1701. He proceeded Bachelor of Arts in 1704 (b), at three years standing, a privilege allowed to him as the son of a bishop [B]; and the third of November, the same year, he was elected a Fellow of All-Souls College in that University (c). But he voided this preferment in a few years (d), by entering into a marriage with Cecil, daughter and heir of Charles Matthews, of Castle-Munich in the County of Glamorgan, Esq; [C]. From his first admis-

(a) From the books of the College.

(c) Register of Admission of the Fellows of All-Souls, who have placed a Bust of him in their new elegant Library among other eminent persons, who have been Ornaments of the College.

(15) Collins's Peerage, ubi supra.

(16) MS. petrae me ipsam.

(17) See article of Sir Leoline Jenkins, remark [A], who was related to this Judge.

(18) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I.

(19) He accepted this Post purely in respect to the King, who gave him the Patent without paying any fees for it. The salary was only 80 l. per ann. when paid, and it cost him twice as much every year he served, out of his own estate, at the rate of an ordinary and frugal expence. Dedication of his Works to the Society of Grey's Inn, and the other Societies of the Law.

(20) In the last mentioned Dedication he expresses himself thus. I have resolved to tender myself a sacrifice to them [the Laws] as cheerfully, and I hope, by God's assistance, as constantly, as old Eleazer did for the holy Laws of his Nation.

(*) Mr Wood is mistaken in this, if we may believe the Judge himself, who tells us that he was detained a prisoner for fifteen years together. Preface to his Reports.

(†) He tells us himself, that in the times of the Attorneyships of Master Noye and Lord Banks, they were pleased often to make use of him. Dedication to his Works.

[A] Descended from a branch of the same family with the preceding Nobleman.] Having already observed (1), that the Chancellor was sprung from John Talbot of Grafton, by a second marriage, it is our business now to deduce the descent therefrom; in which we shall, for the reason before assigned (2), be very concise, as follows. The issue of this second match, was John Talbot of Salwarp in Worcestershire, whose son, Sherington Talbot of Salwarp and Lacock in Wiltshire, had by a second marriage four sons, of whom the third son, William, was Grandfather to the Chancellor (3).

[B] The son of a Bishop.] His Grandfather marrying Mary, the daughter of Thomas Doughty of Whittington in Worcestershire, Esq; had issue, besides two daughters (4), an only son, William, who was born at Stourton-Castle in Staffordshire, a feat of his Father, a little before the Restoration of King Charles II, and was admitted a Gentleman Commoner of Oriel-College, in the beginning of the year 1674, at the age of fifteen; and the year following spoke a good speech in the *Encenia* (5). He took the degree of A. B. Octob. 16, 1677 (6), and proceeded to A. M. June 23, 1680 (7), after which he took Holy Orders, obtained a Benefice, and married the daughter of Mr Crispe, an eminent Attorney at Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire. After the Revolution, by the interest of his Kinman, Charles Talbot, then Earl of Shrewsbury, he was promoted to the Deanery of Worcester, April 23, 1691, in the room of Dr Hicke, ejected for refusing to take the oaths to the new government. In June following, he was diplomated Doctor of Divinity by Archbishop Tillotson (8); and distinguishing himself in the pulpit, he was more than once called to preach before Queen Mary (9). Upon the demise of Dr Fell, he was advanced to the Bishopric of Oxford, to which he was consecrated September 24, 1693, with leave to hold his Deanery in Commendam (10). He held this See till 1715 (11), when he succeeded Dr Earnet in that of Salisbury (12), and upon the Death of Dr Crew, he was translated thence (13), on the 23d of September, 1722, to the Bishopric of Durham, of which County he was Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum. He continued in this See till his death, which happened on the 10th of October, 1730. After the decease of his first wife, without issue, he entered into a second marriage with Catharine, daughter of Alderman King of London, who brought him eight sons and several daughters. Of those who lived to maturity, besides Charles, the Eldest, the subject of the present article, were, 2. Edward, who was born in the city of Worcester, and bred at Oriel-College in Oxford, where, after taking his first degree in Arts, he was chosen Fellow, October 30, 1712. He proceeded A. M. October 14, 1714, and resigned his Fellowship, October 20, 1715, apparently on account of his marriage with Mary, daughter to the Reverend Mr Martin. He died, in 1720, Archdeacon of Berkshire, having issue an only daughter, Catharine. 3. Sherington Talbot, who being bred to the army, became Captain of an independent company of foot, afterwards Lieutenant Colonel, and thence Colonel of a regiment of foot, February 17, 1747. He married a daughter of — Midget, who died September 6, 1749, and has issue two sons, William and Charles, both living in 1756. 4. Henry, a Commissioner of the Salt duty, who married first a daughter of — Lloyd, by whom he has issue a daughter, Elizabeth; and marrying secondly Catharine, daughter of Sir Hugh Clopton of Stratford upon Avon in Warwickshire, hath by her, who died May 17, 1754, no issue. He is still living a Widower. The Bishop's daughters were Henrietta Maria, married to Dr Charles Trimuel, late Lord Bishop of Winchester; and Catharine, married to Exton Sayer, LL. D. who being bred to the Civil Law at Trinity-hall in Cambridge, became a Fellow of that College, and an Advocate in Doctors Commons (14), and after his mar-

riage, was made Chancellor of Durham, Surveyor of his Majesty's Land Revenues, &c. and died Member of Parliament for Toinefs in 1731. His Lady survived him, and died in August 1734 (15). The Bishop was of a magnificent taste and temper, which often run him into difficulties, through expence, from which he was as often extricated by his most worthy son; the Chancellor (16).

[C] He married the heir of Charles Matthews.] She was, by her mother's side, great grand-daughter, and heiress of David Jenkins, Esq; of Hensol in the same County. This was the famous Judge Jenkins, who was descended of an ancient and honourable family (17), and being one of the Justices of South Wales, distinguished himself by his learning and eminency in his profession, and for his steady adherence to the cause of King Charles I. It being a part of his Character, that he could neither be flattered by promises, nor intimidated by threats (18). Such a character is of great use and service to the public, by raising a spirit of emulation. We shall therefore exhibit the principal articles; which constituted it, in the following succinct account of this very worthy Judge. He was born at Hensol, in the parish of Pendylwin, in Glamorganshire, became Commoner of St Edmund's-Hall, Oxon, in 1597; and after taking the degree of A. B. went to Grey's-Inn, studied the Common Law, and when Barrister, had good business in his profession. In the first of Charles I. being a Bencher, he was elected Summer Reader, but refused to read. Being afterwards made one of the Judges for South Wales (19), he continued in that office till the Rebellion broke out, at which time he either imprisoned divers persons in his Circuit, or condemned them to die, as being guilty of High Treason for bearing arms against the King. At length being taken Prisoner at Hereford, when that city was surprized by the Parliament forces, December 18, 1645, he was carried up to London, and sent to the Tower, whence being brought to the Bar in Chancery, he denied the authority of that Court, because their seal was counterfeited, and consequently the Commissioners thereof constituted against law: whereupon being committed to Newgate, he was impeached of Treason, and brought to the Bar of the House of Commons; but denying their authority, and refusing to kneel, he was fined for that contempt 1000 l. remitted to Newgate, and thence removed to Wallingford Castle. About that time he used his utmost endeavour to create a breach between the Parliament and the Army, but without effect. In 1650, an Act passed for his trial in the *High Court of Justice*, so that expecting to be hanged, he resolved to suffer with the Bible under one arm, and Magna Charta under the other (20). 'But, proceeds my Author, *Harry Martin*, as it is said, urging to his fellows, that *sanguis martyrum est semen ecclesiarum*, and that this way of proceeding would do them mischief, they thought good not to take away his life (*). He was afterwards sent to Windsor-Castle, where remaining till January, 1656, he was set at liberty, and then lived a while in Oxford, where he became a constant auditor of the Sermons of Dr Edward Hyde at Halywell, then lately ejected from his Rectory of Brightwell, near Wallingford. After the Restoration, he was designed to be made one of the Judges in Westminster-Hall; but refusing to comply with the usual demands of the perquisites on that occasion, which he thought too much after all his sufferings, he retired to his Estate in Glamorganshire, then restored to him. He died at Cowbridge, in that County, Dec. 6, 1667, aged eighty-one or more, and was buried at the west end of that Church. He died as he lived, preaching with his last breath to his Relations, and those that were about him, loyalty to his Majesty, and obedience to the Laws of the Land. He was a Person of great abilities in his profession, and was often consulted by Sir John Banks, and William Noye (†), in their Attorney-

(Register of that University. In 1701, or following year. For he was born in 1684, and his name is not upon the College books for that year. In the preceding article, ask [A], (5). Ibid. note (1). O'Brien's Magazine, Vol. V. p. 176, under Lord Talbot's article. Idem, ibid. informs us at the eldest of his two daughters, Catharine, was first married to Walter Littleton of Chesham, and secondly to Lambert Black, late Bishop of Exeter; and Francis, the other daughter, was married to Samuel Jewkes of Woburn, in Wiltshire. Mr Wood says was not his own composition. Ath. Oxon. vol. II. ch. 965. Fasti Oxon. vol. II. col. 205. Ibid. col. 13. Athen. Oxon. 3 before. See twelve of his Sermons published in 1731, 2vo. In some of which he asserts the notion of Dr Samuel Clarke upon the Trinity. He was strongly attached to that Divine; and I heard him once sorely lament that he could not give the Doctor the best preferment he had in his disposal, by reason of his refusing to subscribe the articles. (10) Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. p. 229. (11) When he was succeeded in it by Dr (afterwards) Archbishop Potter. (12) Le Neve, p. 520. (13) His Successor at Salisbury was Dr Hoadly, which made way for Dr Chandler to succeed him in it. (14) From a MS. penes n. r.

(e) It is said, that this was done through the influence of Lord Chancellor Cowper, to whose advice it was owing that he undertook the study of the law, though *extremum rediisse pudet* was his own modest apology for not attempting it. The Honour of the Seals; or Memoirs of the Noble Family of Talbot; attempting to do justice to the life, character, and Deserts of the late Lord Chancellor. Edit. 1737.

(b) He took this office with a design of resigning it to his Brother Edward; but his Father, the Bishop, leaving that See before this brother was qualified for the place, the Chancellor held it till this time. From private information, he was succeeded in it by Dr Tho. Tenison. See Archbishop Tenison's article.

(21) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 328, 329, 330.

(22) This, when published, was referred to a Committee of Complaint, who ordered the Printer and Publisher to be tried at the King's-Bench. Wood, ubi supra.

(23) That is, Henry Parker, under whose article, in Athen. Oxon. see more of this tract.

(†) It is a half-length, holding in his left hand his *Lex Terræ*, which stands at the head of these Editions. The title of which is, *Jenkinsus Redivivus*: or, The Works of that grave, learned, truly loyal, and courageous Judge, David Jenkins.

tion in the University, he applied himself to the study of the Law, with a design to make it his profession. In which view, he was admitted a member of the Society of Lincoln's-Inn, and in a short time called to the Bar considerably before his course of reading was expired (e). He soon made a distinguished figure in his profession, and growing into the general esteem of the publick, he was chosen, in 1719, Member of Parliament for Tregony in Cornwall. On the death of Sir Clement, Knight, he was made Solicitor-General, April 23, 1726, and became likewise one of the Representatives in Parliament for the city of Durham [D], his Father being then Bishop of that See. On the 29th of November, 1733, his Majesty King George II. delivered to him the Great Seal, and he was thereupon sworn of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and likewise constituted Lord High-Chancellor, and created a Baron of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Lord Talbot, Baron of Henfol in the County of Glamorgan (f). Upon these promotions, he resigned the following year the Chancellor (g) of the Diocese of Oxford, which had been given him by his Father, when Bishop of that See (b); and in August, 1735, the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law was conferred upon him by that University (i). He was now grown to be the delight and honour of his Country, both in his judicial and ministerial capacity. But the glory and happiness Britain promised herself under the impartial Administration of this great and good man, was, like all other exquisite pleasures, of a very short duration; for, after an illness of five days continuance, he expired (k) on the 14th of February 1736-7, at his house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, in the fifty-third year of his age (*). When he became sensible that his dissolution approached, he prepared for it with the utmost calmness and serenity, setting his house in order, and becoming a true pattern of dying, as he had always done of living, like a Christian. His Corpse was conveyed to his Estate at Barrington in Gloucestershire, and interred in the chancel of that Church on the 23d of February, in a grave of free-stone cemented (l).

ships. He was also a vigorous maintainer of the rights of the Crown, a Heart of Oak, and a Pillar of the Law. Sole Author in Defence of his Sovereign's Rights, England's Laws, and the People's Liberties, when they were invaded and trampled under foot by restless base men (21). His Writings are these: 1. His *Recantation* (or rather *Protestation*) delivered at Westminster, April 10, 1647, to Miles Corbet, Chairman of the Committee for Examinations: a half-sheet. 2. *Vindication while he was a Prisoner in the Tower* (22); April 29, 1647: one sheet in 4to. 3. *The Army's Indemnity, with a Declaration, shewing how every Subject of England ought to be tried for Treason*; written June 10, 1647: in one sheet 4to. 4. *Sundry Acts of Parliament, mentioned and cited in the Army's Indemnity, set forth in words at large*; printed in 1647, 4to. 5. *Apology for the Army, touching the eight Queries upon the late Declarations and Letters from the Army touching Sedition, falsely charged upon them*. 6. *Discourse touching the Inconveniencies of a long continued Parliament, and the Judgment of the Law of the Land in that Behalf*: one sheet and a half. 7. His *Declaration while Prisoner in the Tower*; March 17, 1647: one side of a sheet. 8. *A Scourge for the Directory and revolting Synod, which hath sitten these five Years, more for 4 s. a Day, than for Conscience Sake*: one sheet. 9. *A Cordial for the good People of London: in a Reply to a Thing, called An Answer to the Poisonous Seditious Paper of David Jenkins*. By H. P. Barrister (23) of Lincoln's-Inn: three sheets. 10. His Plea delivered to the Earl of Manchester and the Speaker of the House of Commons, sitting in the Chancery at Westminster; February 14, 1647: one Sheet. 11. Answer to the Imputation put upon his Plea in Chancery; February 1647: one sheet. 12. Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of the two Houses of Parliament; February 21, 1647: one sheet. 13. *Lex terræ*, The Law of the Land.—To which are added, some seeming Objections of Mr William Pryne, scattered in diverse books, answered, and the Truth thereof more fully cleared; all printed separately in 1647, 4to. And the whole thirteen were printed together at London, in 1648, in 12mo, and went by the name of *Judge Jenkins's Works*. They were also published in the same manner, in 1681; and again, 1683, in 12mo. To these Editions is prefixed, a Print of him (†), underneath which are these Verses, made by John Birkenhead:

Here Jenkins stands, who thundering from the Tower,
Shot the bold Senate's Legislative Power:
Six of whose words twelve Reams of Votes exceed,
As Mountains moved by grains of Mustard-seed.
Thus gasping Laws were rescued from the snare.
He that will save a Crown, must know and dare.

14. *A Preparative to the Treaty [with the King] tendered to the Parliament, Assembly of Divines, and Treators, &c.*

printed in 1648. 15. *A Proposition for the safety of the King, &c.* To which is annexed, 16. *A Reply to the Pretended Answer to it*. 17. *Rerum Judiciarum Centuriæ Octo*; Lond. 1661, fol. in English (‡). In the Preface he shews the use of this Collection to the Students of the Law; in which view, having recommended (24) Fitzherbert, Stamford, Lord Broke and Dyer, Croke and Plowden, he observes, that many things in them being grown obsolete, and gone into disuse, and many other points distracted by variety of opinions, it imports, the Student before these, and as soon as he has acquired the rudiments of the Law, diligently to read over the solemn judgments and resolutions of the Judges, to prevent being imposed on by false opinions. For this purpose, continues he, I have written observations upon *Perkinson, St Germain, Breke, the old Tenures, Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium, and the old Natura Brevium* (25), these being the books generally read in the first place, after Littleton. I have also compiled a book of Reports in several divisions, after the example of *Fitzherbert* and *Lord Broke*, and have brought them down to our own times, and have made observations upon all the year-books, and upon the rules of Law. So that the Student, by their assistance, may safely steer through the straits of the Law, without any danger of striking upon the Rocks of Error. He then concludes in these terms, Amidst the sound of drums and trumpets, surrounded with an odious multitude of Barbarians, broke with old age, and confinement in prisons, where my fellow-subjects, grown wild with rage, detained me for fifteen years together, I bestowed many watchful hours upon this performance. To the Preface is annexed, several judgments of the Sages of the Law against innovations. Of these, the fourteenth runs thus: 10 Edward IV. 4. *The Common Law has been from the beginning of the world, for it is Common Reason*; which is here singled out from the rest, because this rule was remarkably always followed, and expressly avowed by the Lord Chancellor Talbot from the Bench, whenever any thing repugnant to it was offered from the Bar (§).

[D] Member for Durham.] At this time he was one of the Voters for the *Excise Scheme*, which made so great a noise, and created so much disturbance in the nation (26), the Populace being drawn even into insurrections on the occasion in various parts, by the arts and industry of the Anti-courtiers, whose whole aim and design therein appeared not long after to be nothing more than to displace the Minister, Sir Robert Walpole (27). This, no doubt, was discerned and detested, among many others, by the Solicitor General, who without being biased on one hand by their misrepresentations; or, on the other hand, by any undue regards to the obligations of his Post, or the hopes of future favours, followed the pure convictions of his own heart, after a thorough consideration of the matter, and voted strictly according to his conscience (28).

(f) His Pate bears date Dec 1733, in the venth year of the reign of George II. Page of Englan Vol. V. p. 31

(g) In August this year, 1733, he was chosen Governor of Charter-House

(i) From the University Regist of Degrees.

(k) The immediate cause of his death was said to be an inflammation of the lung; but upon opening his body, there was found a growing polyp in his heart.

(*) See a copy the inscription on his coffin, The Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 21.

(l) Idem, p. 2

(‡) Some other pieces came out under the Judge name, in the view of recommending them thereby to the public; but they were disowned by him.

(24) He also commends Hubbard and Coke, especially, says he, if some things were expunged in the latter, in which he seems to bridle the Sovereign, and give the reins to the people.

(25) As also upon the books written by Sir Henry Finch, lately the King's Serjeant at Law and the Law Lexicon and Vocabulary, and Dyer

(§) A second Edition of the Centuries came out in 1734. Soon after Lord Talbot was made Chancellor.

(26) The noise of which would still have tingle in our ears, had not the like been since practised by a subsequent Minister in greater favour with the people.

(27) Who, however, with equal art defeated their purpose, by dropping the bill.

(28) Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 13.

His Lordship was so much the darling of his Country, that his character has been attempted by several hands; among others, by the Author of the *Craftsman* (*m*), which being evidently extorted by the meer force of truth, it will not be amiss to give the substance of it. Having mentioned the importance of the Chancellor's Office, both in the judicial and political capacity, and shewn, that by the first the properties of all the people of England are, in a great measure, in his power; he then observes, that the Lord Chancellor, as Keeper of the Great Seal, is not only the second person in the Kingdom, next the Royal Family, but hath, or ought to have, a great influence at the Council Table upon all important deliberations, and no Grant, Patent, or Treaty, can be made without his sanction. In both these respects, he is called in law *The Keeper of the King's Conscience*; and *no body ever discharged that high trust with more capacity and uprightness, than the late excellent Peer, whose death we now lament*. His determinations, with regard to private property, met with almost universal approbation; and I don't remember that he ever put the seal to any Grant, Patent, or Treaty, which gave the least offence to the Nation. He rose by merit to the head of his profession, and not only supported himself in it with dignity, but adorned it, and acquired every day new praise and esteem. His prudence, moderation, and patience, in the execution of his office, even amidst the highest provocations, make one shining part of his character, and are hardly to be paralleled by any instances of those who have sat before him upon that bench. Yet, notwithstanding this amiable disposition of mind, he discovered such courage and resolution upon all occasions, as could not be shaken by the tricks of the wealthy, the applications of the powerful, or the tears of the distressed. His only aim was right and equity, which he constantly pursued, on whomsoever the weight of his decrees might happen to fall. He was a great enemy to the chicanery of his profession, and rendered the Court of Justice more easy, as well as less expensive, by preventing all unnecessary delays, especially when they appeared to be merely vexatious, and discountenancing the artifices of those who endeavoured to keep the evil day from themselves, at the expence of their injured Prosecutors. *I could give some late notable instance of this, if particular circumstances were proper in a general character*. In a word, he possessed all the great talents of his most renowned Predecessors, without any of their frailties, and hath left a noble example to all his Successors; so that he was not only a blessing to the age in which he lived, but may possibly derive the same happiness to his posterity, by exciting those, who follow him in that high office, to an emulation of his virtues. The great increase of business in the Court of Chancery since the seal was put into his hands, is an evident proof of that confidence, which the Suitors reposed in him, and will do immortal honour to his memory, though it proved fatal to his life; for the constant fatigue of his employment was one of the principal causes of his death (*n*), and therefore he may be truly said to have fallen *a Martyr to the Public Good*. But I must not forget to mention, that he had no mean, or selfish attachment to any *Party*, besides that of his *Country*, and seemed resolved to contribute all in his power towards restoring it to a flourishing condition. Under the influence of such a man, we had reason to hope for a complete coalition of *Parties*; or, at least, for a re-union of all such as wish well to their King and Country, which neither weak, nor wicked and corrupt men will ever have it in their power to accomplish (*o*). I shall leave the display of his private virtues to those who had the honour of his acquaintance [*E*], and will only observe, that no man ever left a more general good character as a Christian, a Father, a Master, and a Friend, than the late

(*m*) A periodic weekly Paper, well known, to be undertaken, and supported by, at least, an assumed Spirit of Patriotism, in opposition to the then Ministry.

(*n*) His constitution was delicate and tender, and though pliable, yet far from being robust.

(*o*) It was generally said, that had the Chancellor lived a little longer, he would have had the lead in the Ministry.

Lord

[*E*] I shall leave the display of his private virtues to others.] Accordingly this was attempted by a Person, who observes, that his Religion was his governing principle; it was well-grounded, and active; his piety was rational and manly. He was a sincere Son of the Church of England, and ready to maintain her in her just rights, and legal possessions. He was an enemy to persecution, and had a diffusive, general, and Christian Charity, which made him a friend to all mankind. He had a great regard for such of the most worthy of the clergy, as were distinguished for their Learning (*), Sincerity, Moderation, and Charity.

He was a careful and indulgent father, and as no man ever deserved more of his children, no man could be more affectionately beloved by them; there was something so peculiar in this respect, that none seemed to know how to be in such friendship with his sons, as my Lord Chancellor. The harmony which subsisted in his house, was a very great pleasure to all who beheld it; like the precious ointment, to which the Psalmist compares such a union, it did not only refresh and invigorate the superior parts, but ran down to the skirts of his clothing; it was visible among all his domestics; his servants were united in an affection to their Lord, and a friendship for one another; they were kept in their duty, not by any rash and rigorous commands, but by a certain regard to decency and order, that reigned throughout the family; every one was so easy in his situation, that he was insensible of his dependance, and treated as a humble friend. As to Lord Talbot's private Donations, proceeds the same Writer, we have been

assured of the truth of the following particulars. There was found in his Lordship's scrutoire, in his own handwriting, a list of no less than one hundred and fifty persons, who were annual Pensioners of his unbounded Charity. And the poor of all the neighbouring villages surrounding his estate at *Barrington* were, by his Lordship's order, supplied with physick in sickness, and the indigent aged, who were past their labour, provided with necessaries of life. At the same time, the labour of the industrious husbandman always met with encouragement; and, in a word, from his bounteous hand the hungry were sure to be fed, and the naked to be clothed.

As no riches could exceed his desert, so no man ever possessed them, who knew the *right use* of them more. Every line written by Mr Pope was verified in Lord Talbot's conduct (29). He had, in all respects,

(29) Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 25, 26, 32, 33.

The sense to value riches, with the art
T' enjoy them, and the virtue to impart,
Not meanly, nor ambitiously pursued,
Not sunk by sloth, nor rais'd by servitude;
To balance fortune by a just expence,
Join with œconomy, magnificence,
With splendor, charity, with plenty, health;
O teach us, TALBOT, Thou'rt unspoil'd by wealth!
That secret, rare between th' extremes to move
Of mad good-nature, and of mean self-love,

Who

(*) Of this we have a remarkable instance in Mr Stackhouse, who having published Proposals for printing his Body of Divinity by subscription, was invited to dine with his Lordship, who, after subscribing largely himself, recommended it to several of the most eminent Counsel then at his table, who thereupon followed his Lordship's example: so that our Divine returned with about a hundred Guineas in his pocket. From the information of the Author himself.

Lord Chancellor. He died full of glory, but, to the great misfortune of his Country, not full of years; and the general sorrow which his death has occasioned, will do his noble family more honour, than the highest titles, or the most sumptuous monuments (p). By his Lady, who died in 1720, he had five sons; 1. *Charles-Richard* Talbot, who died unmarried, in 1733, aged twenty-four (q). 2. *William*, the present Earl Talbot, of whom hereafter. 3. *John* Talbot, who from Eton-School was admitted a Fellow-Commoner at Trinity-Hall in Cambridge (r). He removed here to Lincoln's-Inn, and applied himself to his Father's profession, was called to the Bar, and was made Recorder of Brecknock in Wales, for which Town he was chosen a Member in the Parliament summoned to meet June 13, 1734. On the 4th of April, 1740, he was made Second Justice of the Counties of Chester, Flint, Denbigh, and Montgomery, which promotion vacating his seat in Parliament, he was re-elected for the same Town, and was constantly chosen for that Borough, till the last Parliament of the late King George II, when he was elected for Ilchester in Somersetshire (s). He was also Steward to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, and so continued to his death (t), which happened September 22, 1756 (u). He was twice married; first to a daughter of Sir Matthew Decker of Richmond in Surry, who dying without issue, he married, secondly, the eldest daughter of the Lord Viscount Chetwynd of Ingstre in Staffordshire, by whom he has left several children of each sex (w). The Chancellor's fourth son, *Edward*, died an infant (x). The fifth, *George*, being also bred at Eton-School, was there entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College in Oxford (y), where he proceeded regularly to the degree of A. M. as a Grand Com-pounder, June 10, 1737 (z), after his Father's death, who had given him the place of *Clerk of the Custodies of Ideots and Lunatics* (aa). But entering into the Church, he accepted the Living of Guyting in Gloucestershire (*), and July 9, 1659, on account of his exemplary character, was created LL. D. by his University at the installation of their present Chancellor, the Earl of Westmoreland (bb). On the 17th of January, 1760, he married a sister of the present Lord Folkstone (cc), and still continues only a private Clergyman, having declined the Bishopric of St David's, which was offered to him, on the death of Dr Ellis, January 17, 1761 (dd). We have a sermon of his in print, which was preached on the opening of the Infirmary at Gloucester.

The present Earl Talbot was bred at Eton, and thence entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Exeter-College, under the tuition of Mr Upton, late Prebendary of Rochester (ee), and had the honorary degree of LL. D. conferred upon him in June, 1736 (ff). He was seated at *Hensol* in Glamorganshire in the life-time of his Father, and was representative for that County in the Parliament which first met on business, January 23, 1734-5 (gg). He was created an Earl by the title of Earl Talbot, March 21, 1761 (hh), and on the 24th of that month, was appointed Lord Steward of the Household to his Majesty, and sworn of the Privy-Council (ii). In February, 1733-4, he married Mary, daughter, and sole heir of Adam Cardonell, Esq; Secretary to John Duke of Marlborough, whom he attended in all his glorious Campaigns. By this Lady, who is still living, he has a daughter, *Cecil*, born in July, 1735, and married on the 6th of August, 1756, to George Rice, Esq; Member in the last, and present, Parliament for the County of Carmarthen in Wales (kk). The Earl had also a Son *William*, born November 5, 1739; but he died shortly after (ll).

Who is it copies Talbot's better part,
To ease th'oppress'd, and raise the sinking heart?
Where'er he shines, O Fortune gild the scene,
And Angels guard him in the golden mean.
At BARRINGTON shall English bounty stand,
And Hensol's honour never leave the land.
His glories in his progeny shall shine,
To propagate the virtue still divine (30).

There was likewise the following Elegy in Latin, printed on occasion of his much lamented death.

*Magnis saepe viros cecinit cum Musa, repente
Obstrepuit miseræ turba maligna lyraë.
Scilicet arguitur carmen, quia displicet heros,
Et mala, quæ jaçtat fama, Poeta luit
At Vos securi Talbotum dicite Vates!
In quo nil Livor, quod male rodant, habet.
Jure humana a se qui nulla aliena putavit (31),
Delicium humanæ gentis habendus erat.
Partium in hoc non est studio locus; omnibus idem,
Ut vixit charus, flebilis interiit.*

TANNER (THOMAS), late Bishop of St Asaph, a very learned Man, especially in the History and Antiquities of the British nation, was born January 25, 1673-4, at Market-Lavington in Wiltshire, being the eldest son of the Rev. Mr Thomas Tanner, Vicar of that parish (a). In November, 1689, he became a Student in Queen's College in Oxford [A]; and being admitted Clerk of the same House in 1690, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1693. Thence he removed to All-Souls College, in January 1694, of which he was then made Chaplain; and elected Fellow, November 2, 1696 (b). He had distinguished himself, ever since his coming to the University, by his diligence and learning, particularly in the study of Antiquities (c); which was cultivated with great zeal and success by many of his contemporaries, especially by Mr Edmund Gibson, his intimate acquaintance, and Fellow-Collegian at Queen's College, afterwards the late most worthy Bishop

[A] He became a Student in Queen's College in Oxford.] Dr Thomas Lamplugh, then Archbishop of York, an acquaintance of his father's (1).

(p) Craftsman, in the Vol. for the year 1737.

(q) Peerage of England, as before.

(r) Under the tuition of Dr Dickins, Professor of Civil Law in that University, by the advice of Dr Exton Sayer, above mention'd.

(s) General Evening Post, &c. and Lond. Mag.

(t) MS. penes me.

(u) Under Mr Upton, the same who had been tutor to his brother, the present Earl Talbot.

(aa) Court Kalendar, or Register.

(*) The whole profits of which, after paying his Curate, he distributes among the poor of the parish. From private information.

(bb) Court Kal.

(dd) Upon his refusal, it was given to Samuel Squire, D. D. Dean of Bristol, April 4, 1761. Lond. Mag. for May that year.

(ff) University Register.

(gg) Collins's Peerage.

(ii) Gazette, No. 10090.

(ll) From the information of the Family.

(30) viz. Charity. Pope's Epistle to Lord Bathurst on the Use of Riches.

(a) Wood, Athen. Edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 984. and Essay towards a History of the County of Norfolk, by Francis Blomefield, Vol. II. p. 458. & Præfat. ad Bibliothecam Britannico-Hibernic. p. 12.

(s) Peerage of England.

(t) This place was given him by the late Dr Joseph Butler, then Dean of the Church, and afterwards Bishop of Durham, both which preferments he owed to the interest of the Chancellor.

(x) Honour of the Seals, &c. p. 21.

(z) From the University Register.

(cc) Lond. Mag. for that month.

(ee) From the information of Mr R. Skinner of CCC. in Oxford.

(bb) Gazette, No. 10089.

(kk) Peerage of England, as before. This Gentleman, who is sprung from the Royal Race of Owen Tudor, is also Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum for that County, and one of the Lords of Trade, Court Calendar for this year 1761.

(31) Alluding to his motto, *Humani nihil alienum.*

(b) Wood, & Blomefield, *ibid.*

(c) See his Epitaph below.

(1) Præfat. ad Bibliothecam &c. ut supra.

of London. And our Author gave an early specimen of his great knowledge therein [B], by publishing his *Notitia Monastica*, in 1695 [C], when he was but about twenty-two years of age (d). The learned Dr John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, having soon after made him his Chaplain, collated him, March the 6th, 1700-1, to the Chancellorship of Norwich; which place he adorned by his universal acquaintance with the Municipal and Ecclesiastical Laws, and occasioned his being frequently consulted by persons in the most eminent Stations [D]. He marrying about the same time Rose, eldest daughter of the Bishop, his Lordship made him, on the 24th of November, 1703, his Commissary in and throughout the Archdeaconry of Norfolk; and, January 1, 1706-7, Commissary also in and throughout the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, and town of Bury St Edmund's. In June 1706, he was instituted to the Rectory of Thorp near Norwich, being presented to it by Duncan Dee, Esq; Common Hunt of the City of London (e). He had taken his Master of Arts degree in 1696; and, in Act-term, 1710, he took that of Doctor in Divinity. By his father-in-law, Bishop Moore, then Bishop of Ely, he was collated, in 1713, to a Prebend in that Church, and installed the 10th of September (f). And Dr Green, Bishop of Norwich, collated him, December 7, 1721, to the Archdeaconry of Norfolk (g), which he was installed into the 26th of the same month. Quitting in 1723 his Prebend of Ely, he was made Canon of Christ's-Church in Oxford, and installed February 3, 1723-4. In the year 1727, the lower House of Convocation shewed their proper respect for his Learning and Abilities, by unanimously chusing him their Prolocutor, however contrary to his inclination (h). And his Majesty further expressed his regard for him, by promoting him to the Bishopric of St Asaph, to which he was consecrated January 23, 1731-2. But he did not long enjoy this dignity; for he died at Christ's-Church, December 14, 1735; and was buried in the Cathedral there, where a monument is erected, containing a just and true character of this worthy Prelate (i) [E]. He had three wives, 1. Rose, eldest daughter of Bishop Moore, which died March 15, 1706, aged twenty-five, by whom he had only a daughter, that died February 17, 1703, aged fourteen months (k). 2. Francis, daughter of Mr Jacob Preston, citizen of London: she died June 11, 1718, aged forty. By her he had two daughters, who died young; and his son and heir, the Rev. Dr Thomas Tanner, Rector of Hadley and Monks-Ely in Suffolk, and Prebendary of Canterbury; who hath married Mary, third daughter of Dr John Potter, late Archbishop of Canterbury. 3. In May 1733, his Lordship married to his third Lady, Mrs Elizabeth Scottow of Thorp, aforementioned, a very considerable fortune. She surviving him, was remarried to Robert Britiffe, Esq; late Recorder of Norwich. What our learned Prelate published, or left ready for the press, is set down below in the note [F]. He made large collections for the History and Antiquities of his native County of Wilts; but as he happened to be preferred at some distance from it, he was by that means hindered from prosecuting and finishing that work (l). Another much larger Collection of his, which he bequeathed to the Bodleian

(d) See Preface to the second edition of *Notitia Monastica*, &c. p. 42.

(e) From Memoirs communicated to us. See also Blomefield.

(f) From the same Memoirs, and Dr Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 381.

(h) Dr Br. Willis's Survey, as above, p. 454.

(i) Fr. Blomefield, as above, p. 459.

(l) See Nicolson, as above, p. 26. and Books and Treatises relating to the Antiquities of England, at the beginning of Camden's Britannia, under Wiltshire.

[B] Gave an early specimen of his great knowledge.] In 1693 he published Proposals for printing all J. Leland's works; but laid that work by, for want of encouragement (2).

[C] By publishing his *Notitia Monastica* in 1695.] It was printed at Oxford in 1695. 8vo. under this title, '*Notitia Monastica; or a Short Account of the Religious Houses in England and Wales.*' As for an account of the second, and greatly improved Edition; see below, note [F]. This Book, as Bishop Nicolson observed (3), 'does not only afford us a short history of the Foundation and chief Revolutions of all our Religious Houses, but presents us also with a catalogue of such Writers (noting the places where we may find them) as will abundantly furnish us with such further particulars [concerning the Monasteries] as we shall have occasion for.'

[D] And occasioned his being frequently consulted by persons in the most eminent stations.] The late Archbishop Wake, after his translation to Canterbury, and even the very learned Bishop Gibson, desired frequently his Thoughts on the Difficulties they met with in the discharge of their respective great offices; and received the most satisfactory Answers from him (4). But it is not so proper in this cavilling age to make any of them public.

[E] Where a monument is erected, &c.] The inscription on it is as follows.

M. S.
Thomas Tanner, S. T. P.
 Qui natus *Laingtonia* in *Agro Wiltoniensi*
 In Collegium *Reginense* admissus,
 Deinde *Omniū Animarum* Capellanus,
 Mox *Socius* cooptatus est.
 Optinarum ibi artium Cultor,
 Antiquitatis præsertim studio ita trahabatur,
 Ut in Patriæ Fastis, monumentisque eruendis,
 Nemo illo diligentior,
 Nemo in explicandis peritior haberetur.
 Hinc maturè evocatus
 Ad munus *Cancellarii* *Diocesis Nordwicensis*,
 VOL. VI. No. 326.

Audus est insuper Præbenda Eliensi.
 Academia denuo restitutus,
 Hanc Ædem Canonicus ornavit.
 A Clero interim Prolocutor renunciatus,
 Ad Episcopatum tandem evedus est Asaphensem.
 Vir erat
 Ad omne Officium summa Fide et Diligentia,
 Rara Pietate,
 Humanissima erga omnes voluntate,
 Liberalitate in Egenos effusissima.
 Obiit 14^o die Decembris Anno { Domini 1735.
 { Ætatis 62 [5].

[F] What our learned Prelate published, or left ready for the press, &c.] We do not find that he published any thing himself, but, I. His *Notitia Monastica*, already mentioned. II. The second edition of *Wood's Athens*, very much corrected and enlarged; with the Addition of above 500 new Lives from the Author's original Manuscript. Lond. 1721. two vols fol. Mr Wood, at his death, intrusted our learned Author with his papers, as appears by the following extracts of a letter from Dr Charlott to Archbishop Tenison (). . . . 'I desired him to lose not a minute in vain complaints and remonstrances, but proceed directly to settle his Papers, that were so numerous and confused. He then asked, "who he could trust?" I advised him to Mr Tanner of All Souls, for whose fidelity I could be responsible. His answer was, "he thought so too, and that he would in this, and all the other particulars, follow my advice." . . . I was extremely glad to find him in so good a temper, and having discouraged him about several things, I told him I never expected to see him again, and therefore took my last farewell, telling him, I should hear contently by Mr Tanner. After I came home, I repeated all that I had said, in a long letter to him, being somewhat jealous of him, and sent it by Mr Tanner. He kept his word punctually, . . . made his will, went into his study with his two friends, Mr Bisse and Mr Tanner, to sort that vast multitude of papers, notes, letters, — about two bushels full he

(5) From his Epitaph in Dr Richardson's Continuation of Godwin de Præfulibus, p. 646. that in Blomefield being incorrect.

(6) Published by T. Hearne, in the Appendix to his edition of *Joannis Confratris & Monachi Glastonensis Chronica*, &c. Oxon. 1725. 8vo.

(1) Upon the signature of Dr Landon, then Dean of Lincoln.

(2) Fr. Blomefield, as above, p. 423.

(3) Ibid.

(4) English Hist. Library. Edit. 1714. fol. p. 145.

(5) From private Memoirs.

Library [G], consisted of originals and copies of Charters, Grants, Deeds, and other Instruments relating to the History of these Nations, which had occurred to him during the whole course of his life. Of these he was freely communicative; and kindly assistant to all lovers of the Antiquities of Britain, as is acknowledged with honour and gratitude by several Authors [H]. For many years he was a very useful member of the Society of Antiquaries at London, and one of its principal ornaments. He gave many charitable Legacies; among the rest, 100*l.* to the corporation for the relief of widows and orphans of the poor clergy: And his public and private virtues are still in remembrance [I].

‘ he ordered for the fire, to be lighted as he was expiring, which was accordingly done, he expressing both his knowledge and approbation of what was done, by throwing out his hands. . . . He has given his books and papers to the university, to be placed next his friend Sir W. Dugdale’s MSS. which are very valuable to any of his temper. His more private papers he has ordered not to be opened these seven years, and has placed them in the custody of Mr Bisse and Mr Tanner, of whose care, I am told, he makes me overseer. The Continuation of his *Athenæ Oxon.* in two fol. which he had carried on to the 19th of October last (Dr Merret and Dudley Loftus being the two last) he gave the day before he died with great ceremony to Mr Tanner, for his sole use, without any restrictions.’ III. He drew up Catalogues, of Fr. Junius’s MSS. of Dr. Richard James’s, and of Gerard Langbaine’s: all which are in the Bodleian Library (7).

What he left ready for the press, was, 1. ‘*Notitia Monastica: or, An Account of all the Abbies, Priories, and Houses of Friars, heretofore in England and Wales; and also of all the Colleges and Hospitals founded before A. D. MDXL.*’ being a large work founded upon his little book with the same title, above mentioned. It was published by his brother, the Rev. John Tanner, A. M. Vicar of Lowestoft in Suffolk, and Precentor of the Cathedral Church of St Asaph. Lond. 1744. fol. The Editor compiled the Preface, from that of the first edition, and the many references and useful hints left by the learned Author for improving it. He moreover digested several parts, which he found unfinished: Peterborough, in particular, and seven other places in Northamptonshire; the latter part of Yorkshire; and all Wales, are of his doing (8). Upon the whole, this is the most useful Repository for the Monastical History of these Kingdoms that could have been contrived; and the learned world is greatly obliged to the industrious Author, for his great pains therein. 2. Another work left by Bishop Tanner ready for the press was, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica; sive, de Scriptoribus qui in Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia ad sæculi XVII. initium floruerunt, literarum ordine juxta familiarum nomina dispositis Commentarius, &c.* or an Account of the English, Scotch, and Irish Writers; compiled not only from Leland, Bale, and Pitts, but also from numberless other Authorities, both printed and MS. (9), and published at London, 1748. fol. a work of XL years labour and application. The learned Dr Wilkins, Rector of Hadley and Monks-Eley in Suffolk, and Prebendary of Canterbury, fitted

* *Leland de Scriptoribus &c.* is included in this work, and printed from a new copy taken from the original by our Author, in a much more correct manner than it had been by

it for the press, and prefixed a long Preface, in which is included *Boston of Bury* *. 3. He left *Boston of Bury* ready for the press (10); which is included, in the Preface just now mentioned. 4. He supplied, from the Author’s own manuscript, many considerable Passages, all the quotations, and a learned Preface, that had been omitted by B. R. in his edition of *Robert Hegge’s Legend of St Cuthbert, with the Antiquities of the Church of Durham* (11).

[G] *Another much larger collection of his, which he bequeathed to the Bodleian Library.* It consists of many volumes, bound up; and marked, for distinction-sake, with the several names of Appleton, Atley, Bristol, Hobart, Jackson, Jernegan, Willoughby, &c. As he was removing them by water, some of the boxes, in which they were inclosed, happened unfortunately to fall into the Thames, whereby some of the books were damaged.

[H] *As is acknowledged with honour and gratitude by several Authors.* Particularly by Archdeacon Knight; in the Introduction to his Life of Dean Colet (12), where he ‘gratefully owns, that he had received good assistance from his special Friend, the Reverend and learned Dr Tanner, Chancellor of Norwich.’ And, in his Introduction to his Life of Erasmus (13), he says, that ‘to the improvement of it, his learned Friend Dr Tanner had in many instances shewn his wonted readines.’

Mr. Fr. Blomefield acknowledges also, with great thankfulness, how much his Lordship had assisted him in his History of Norfolk (14). ‘It is well known, says he, and it would be the greatest ingratitude in me, to forbear acknowledging it, how much I have been assisted in this work, by that Right Reverend Prelate, the late Bishop of St Asaph, whose Kindness was so great, as not only to help me to the sight of vast Numbers of Records, and Manuscripts concerning this County, but also to fix my method, and revise my Collections when put together, town by town, as I compiled them. . . . Gratitude therefore obliged me to dedicate it to his Memory, not doubting but that will ever be valued by all the Learned.’

[I] *And his public and private virtues are still in remembrance.* The character given of him by the learned Dr W. Richardson (15), is in these words. ‘Vir in Antiquitatibus Britannicis versatissimus, morum simplicitate primæva venerabilis, et propter virtutes tum domesticas tum publicas suis merito charissimus.’ And by others he is stiled, ‘a Prelate of great Learning, exemplary Piety, and universal Benevolence (16).’

Antony Hall; whose edition of this book is full of the greatest errors, as well as large omissions (17).

TAYLOR (JEREMY), Bishop of Downe and Connor in Ireland, and one of the best Divines and Writers, in the last century, was born at Cambridge (a) [A]. Being of very pregnant parts, he was admitted at thirteen years of age in Gonville and Caius College, where he continued till he had taken his Master of Arts degree (b) [B]. Afterwards entering into holy orders, he occasionally supplied three or four times his chamber-fellow Mr. Riffden’s turn, at the Lecture in St Paul’s Church, London: wherein he acquitted himself with such applause above his years, that Archbishop Laud, the great Judge and Patron of Learning, having notice of it, and observing the smartness of his discourses, the quickness of his parts, and the sweetness and modesty of his temper and behaviour, got him elected Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford in 1636 (c) [C], thinking it would be an

[A] *Was born at Cambridge.* None of the Memorialists of our Prelate’s Life mention in what year he was born: but, in all probability, it was between the years 1600, and 1610. David Lloyd says, that his Father was a Barber (1).

[B] *Where he continued till he had taken his Master of Arts degree.* Sir James Ware says, that he was Fellow of that college (2). But it seems to be a mistake.

[C] *Got him elected Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford.* Ant. Wood observes (3), that this Election was ‘against the Statutes of that College, in these two respects. First, because Mr Taylor had exceeded the age, within which the said statutes make candidates capable of being elected; and, secondly, that he had not been of three years standing in the University of Oxon, only a week or two before he was put in. However,

(7) Catal. MSS. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, Vol. I. p. 249, 258, 268.

(8) See Preface, p. 42, 43.

(9) See Bishop Nicolson’s Engl. Hist. Library, as above, p. 157.

(b) Dr George Ruff’s Funeral Sermon on Bishop Taylor.

(c) D. Lloyd, as above; and Wood Athen. Edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 400.

(1) Memoirs, as above.

(2) Hist. of the Bishops of Ireland, in Sir James Ware’s Works, with improvements by Walter Harris, Esq; Edit. Dublin, 1759. fol. Vol. I. p. 209.

(10) Blomefield, as above, p. 459.

(11) Nicolson, p. 104.

(12) p. 12, 13.

(13) p. 17.

(14) Introd. p. 1.

(15) Continuation ad Godwini Comm. de Præfulibus, p. 646.

(16) G. Magaz.

(17) J. Aubrey’s Hist. of Surrey, with Dr R. Rawlinson’s Additions, Vol. III. p. 241.

(a) Memoirs, &c. by D. Lloyd. Edit. Lon. 1668. fol. p. 702.

(3) Athen. ut supra.

advantage to the world, if a person of such excellent parts had better opportunities of study and improvement afforded him, than a course of constant preaching would allow of. And thankfully did our Author make the best use of the glorious opportunity that was put in his power. Soon after, endeavours were used by some Romish emissaries to seduce him to Popery; but a Sermon he preached at St Mary's on the 5th of November, 1638 [D], convinced them that they were mistaken in their man. Archbishop Laud made him his Chaplain, and gave, or procured, him the Rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandshire [E]. Undoubtedly he would have given him greater preferment, had not the national troubles so soon ensued. Upon taking Uppingham, he did not immediately leave the University, but continued there a year or two longer, for his further improvement. About 1640, he quitted it and his Fellowship; and marrying, settled at his Rectory, where he was much admired for his excellent casuistical Sermons (d). On the 1st of November 1642, he was created Doctor in Divinity at Oxford (e); being then Chaplain in ordinary to King Charles I, and a frequent Preacher before him and the Court, whilst they were in that city. In the station of a Chaplain, he attended his Majesty in several campaigns: where, though he had not the command of time and books, yet he laid the foundation of many Treatises in defence of the Church of England [F]. Upon the decline of the King's cause, his living being sequestred, he retired into Wales, where he met with a kind reception from Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, of Golden Grove in Caermardhynshire: through whose favour and protection, he was permitted to exercise his Ministry, and keep school, for the support of himself and his children. In this solitude he began to write his excellent Discourses [G], which are enough of themselves to furnish a Library; and have rendered his

‘ However, he being a person of most wonderful parts, and like to be an ornament thereunto, he was dispensed with, and thereby obtained in that house, much of that Learning, wherewith he was enabled to write casuistically.’

[D] *Soon after, endeavours were used by some Romish emissaries to seduce him to Popery, &c.* For this we have Ant. Wood's authority; whose account is in these words. . . . ‘ About the same time he was in a ready way to be confirmed a member of the Church of Rome, as many of that persuasion have said, but upon a Sermon delivered in St Mary's Church in Oxon on the 5th of November (Gunpowder-treason day), ann. 1638, wherein several things were put in against the Papists by the then Vicechancellor, he was afterwards rejected with scorn by those of that party, particularly by Fr. à *Sancta Clara*, his intimate acquaintance; to whom afterwards he expressed some sorrow for those things he had said against them, as the said *Sancta Clara* hath several times told me (4).’ . . . But, as Walter Harris, Esq; justly observes (5), Ant. Wood ‘ gives for it only the Word of Francis à *Sanza Clara*, a Franciscan Frier, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr Taylor's; who doubtless would be vain enough to boast of such a conquest. But his learned Writings against Transubstantiation, and his Dissuaves from Popery, will for ever defend his Memory from such groundless aspersions.’ . . . We therefore very properly say, that *endeavours* only were used to seduce him to Popery: for, that he remained notwithstanding firm in the Protestant Religion, not only the Sermon here referred to, but the rest of his Works abundantly testify; there being in them the severest strokes against Popery, and all along a fund of sound sense, quite free from superstition. The Sermon here mentioned was printed at Oxford, in 1638. 4to. It is on Luke ix. 54.

[E] *And gave, or procured, him the Rectory of Uppingham in Rutlandshire.* That living is in the gift of the Bishops of London. Either therefore Archbishop Laud had the gift of it for that turn, by way of option: or else procured it for his Chaplain, Mr Taylor, from Dr Juxon, then Bishop of London.

[F] *Yet he laid the foundation of many Treatises in defence of the Church of England.* Namely,—I. ‘ Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacie, by divine Institution, Apostolical Tradition, and Catholique Practice. Together with their Titles of Honour, Secular Employment, Manner of Election, Delegation of their Power, and other appendant Questions, asserted against the *Arians*, and *Acephali*, new and old. Published by his Majesty's command.’ Oxford, 1647, and 1647. 4to.—II. ‘ A Discourse concerning Prayer *ex tempore*, or, by pretence of the Spirit, in justification of authorized and set-forms of Liturgy;’ Lond. 1626, and 1647. 4to. occasioned by *The Directory for Prayer, &c.*—III. ‘ An Apology for authorized and set-forms of Liturgie, against the Pretence of the Spirit; 1. for *ex tempore* Prayer; and 2. Forms of private Composition.’ Lond. 1649. 4to.—IV. . . . He also wrote, about the same time, ‘ The

‘ Titles and Collects, according to the matter of each Psalm;’ printed with the *Psalms of David*, published by Christopher Lord Hatton. Oxford, 1644. 8vo. and ‘ Devotions for the help and assistance of all Christian people;’ which are at the end of the same book (6).

[G] *In this Solitude he began to write his excellent Discourses.* Which were as follow.—V. ‘ The Golden Grove: or, A Manual of daily Prayers and Litanies, fitted to the Daies of the Week; together with a short Method of Peace and Holiness.’—VI. Festival Hymns according to the Manner of the ancient Church.—VII. *Θεολογία Ἐκκλησιαστικῆ*. A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying. Shewing the Unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's Faith, and the Iniquity of persecuting differing opinions.’ Lond. 1647. 4to. In this book he pleads with great freedom for Liberty of Conscience. ‘ The sum of it, as he saith himself (7), is nothing but the sense of these words of Scripture; That since we know in part, and prophesy in part, and that now we see through a glasse darkly, we should not despise or contemn persons not so knowing as ourselves, but him that is weak in the faith we should receive, but not to doubtful disputations; Therefore certainly to charity, and not to vexations, not to those which are the idle effects of impertinent wranglings. And provided they keep close to the foundation, which is Faith and Obedience, let them build upon this foundation matter more or less precious, yet if the foundation be intire, they shall be saved with or without lesse. And since we profess ourselves Servants of so meek a Master, and Disciples of so charitable an Institute, Let us walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love; for this is the best endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, when it is fast tyed in the bond of peace. And although it be a duty of Christianity, that we all speak the same thing, that there be no divisions among us, but that we be perfectly joynd together in the same mind, and in the same judgement; yet this Unity is to be estimated according to the unity of faith, in things necessary, in matters of Creed, and Articles fundamentall; for as for other things, it is more to be wished than to be hoped for.’ &c. . . . ‘ These, and thousands more to the same purpose, are the Doctrines of Christianity, whose sense and intendment (saith he) I have prosecuted in the following Discourse, being very much displeas'd that so many opinions and new doctrines are commenced among us; but more troubled, that every man that hath an opinion, thinks his own, and other men's salvation is concerned in its maintenance; but most of all, that men should be persecuted and afflicted for disagreeing in such opinions, which they cannot with sufficient grounds obtrude upon others necessarily, because they cannot propound them both infallible, and because they have no warrant from Scripture so to do.’ . . . And much more to the same purpose he hath, in this excellent, and long, Dedication, which contains no less than forty-eight pages.

(e) Wood, Fasti, Vol. 11. col. 29.

(6) Wood, Ath. Vol. 1. col. 254.

(7) In the Epistle Dedicatory, p. 6. 7, &c.

1 Cor. 13.

Rom. 14.

Eph. iv. 2, 3.

(d) Dr Ruff's Sermon, as above. See also below, note.

(4) Ubi supra.

(5) In his additions inserted among Sir James Ware's Works, as above, p. 209.

his name immortal, on account of the exactness of wit, profoundness of judgment, richness of fancy, clearness of expression, and general usefulness to all the purposes of a Christian,

The Discourse is divided into *Twenty-two* Sections. In the first he treats, 'Of the nature of Faith, and that its duty is compleated in believing the Articles of the Apostles Creed.' In the second, of Heresy, and the nature of it, 'and that it is to be accounted according to the strict capacity of Christian Faith, and not in opinions speculative, nor ever to pious persons. 3. Of the difficulty and uncertainty of Arguments from Scripture, in Questions not simply necessary, not literally determined. 4. Of the difficulty of expounding Scripture. 5. Of the insufficiency and uncertainty of Tradition to expound Scripture, or determine Questions. 6. Of the uncertainty and insufficiency of Councils Ecclesiasticall to the same purpose. 7. Of the fallibility of the Pope, and the uncertainty of his expounding Scripture, and resolving Questions. 8. Of the disability of Fathers, or Writers Ecclesiasticall, to determine our Questions, with certainty and truth. 9. Of the incompetency of the Church in its diffusive capacity to be Judge of Controversies, and the impertinency of that pretence of the Spirit. 10. Of the authority of Reason, and that it, proceeding upon the best grounds, is the best judge. 11. Of some causes of Error in the exercise of Reason, which are inculcate in themselves. 12. Of the innocency of Error in opinion in a pious person. 13. Of the deportment to be used towards persons disagreeing, and the reasons why they are not to be punished with death, &c. 14. Of the practice of Christian Churches towards persons disagreeing, and when Persecution first came in. 15. How farre the Church or Governours may act to the restraining false or differing opinions. 16. Whether it be lawful for a Prince to give toleration to several Religions. 17. Of compliance with disagreeing persons, or weak Consciences in general. 18. A particular consideration of the Opinions of the Anabaptists. 19. That there may be no Toleration of Doctrines inconsistent with piety or the publique good. 20. How far the Religion of the Church of Rome is Tolerable (8). 21. Of the duty of particular Churches in allowing communion. 22. That particular men may communicate with Churches of different persuasions, and how farre they may do it.'

(8) He gives many substantial reasons, why it cannot be tolerated.

(9) P. 53, 54.

Our learned Author delivers himself with great freedom, in several parts of this Book, upon many important points; particularly about the Athanasian Creed (9). '... If I should be questioned, says he, concerning the Symbol of *Athanasius*, I confesse I cannot see that moderate sentence and gentleness of charity in his Preface and Conclusion, as there was in the Nicene Creed. Nothing there but damnation and perishing everlastingly, unless the Article of the Trinity be believed, as it is there with curiosity and minute particularities explained. . . . Besides, if it were considered, concerning *Athanasius* Creed, how many people understand it not, how contrary to naturall reason it seems, how little the Scripture sayes of those curiosities of Explication, and how Tradition was not cleare on his side for the Article itselfe, much lesse for those formes and minutes, . . . and after all this, that the Nicene Creed itselfe went not so farre, neither in Article, nor Anathema, nor Explication, it had not been amisse if the final judgement had been left to Jesus Christ. . . . This Treatise hath been very much admired and praised by all Lovers of Liberty and Toleration; and as much condemned by persons of different sentiments. Therefore, Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in the university of St Andrew's, animadverted upon it, in his *Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience*, &c. Lond. 4to. We are told, that in the writing of this Book, the Author made use of a like stratagem as J. Hales did in writing his *Treatise concerning Schism*, to break the Presbyterian power, and so countenance divisions between the Factions, which were then too much united against the loyal Clergy. For, in that book, he insists on the same topics of Schism and Heresy, of the incompetency of Councils and Fathers to determine our Ecclesiasticall Controversies, and of scrupulous Consciences; and urgeth far more cogent Arguments than Hales did, but still he had prepared his antidote to prevent any dangerous effect of his discourse. For the judicious reader may perceive such a reserve (though it lye in ambushade, and is compacted in a narrow compass) as may easily rout those troops, which began too soon to cry Victo-

ry, and thought of nothing else but dividing the spoil (10). But, to proceed to the rest of our Author's Works he published.—VIII. 'The great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life, according to the Christian Institution, described in the Life and Death of Jesus Christ. In three parts.' Lond. 1645. 4to. Reprinted afterwards several times in folio. The sixth edition is intitled, *Antiquitates Christianæ*: or, The History of the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus: and printed with *Antiquitates Apostolicæ*: or, the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Holy Apostles of our Saviour, &c. written by William Cave, D. D. (11).—IX. 'Twenty-five Sermons preached at Golden Grove; being for the Winter Half-year; beginning on Advent-Sunday, and continuing till Whitfunday.'—X. 'Twenty-seven Sermons preached at Golden Grove; being for the Summer Half-year, beginning on Whitfunday, and ending on the 25th Sunday after Trinity.' In the edition of 1664, there were added seven Sermons; and in that of 1667, three more: which, with the Sermon on November 5, above mentioned, were, in the edition of 1678, called 'A Supplement of Eleven Sermons, preached since his Majesty's Restoration.' And the general title of the whole Volume, is, *Επιτάφιος*. 'A course of Sermons for all the Sundays in the year; fitted to the great Necessities, and for the supplying the want of Preaching in many Parts of this Nation. With a Supplement of Eleven Sermons preached since his Majesty's Restoration.' fol.—XI. 'A short Catechism for the Institution of young Persons in the Christian Religion. With an explication of the Apostolical Creed.' Composed for the use of the Schools in Wales. Lond. 1652. 8vo.—XII. 'A Discourse of Baptisme, its Institution and Efficacy upon all Believers. Together with a consideration of the Practise of the Church in Baptizing Infants of believing Parents: And the Practise justified.' 1652. 4to.—XIII. *Clerus Domini*: or, a Discourse of the divine Institution, Necessity, Sacredness, and Separation of the Office Ministerial. Together with the Nature and Manner of its Power and Operation.' Written by the special Command of King Charles I. Inserted afterwards into his *Course of Sermons for all the Sundays in the Year*.—XIV. 'The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living: in which are described the Means and Instruments of obtaining every Vertue, and the Remedies against every Vice, and Considerations serving to the resisting all Temptations. Together with Prayers containing the whole Duty of a Christian. And the Parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions, and furnished for all Necessities.—The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying: in which are described the Means and Instruments of preparing ourselves and others respectively for a blessed Death; and the Remedies against the Evils and Temptations proper to the State of Sickness: Together with Prayers and Acts of Vertue to be used by sick and dying Persons, or by others standing in their attendance. To which are added, Rules for the Visitation of the Sick, and Offices proper for that Ministry.' 1659. 8vo. Both Parts are dedicated to Richard Earl of Carbery; and they have gone through so many impressions, that the nineteenth edition was printed in 1703.—XV. 'The real Presence and spiritual of Christ in the blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.' Lond. 1654. 8vo.—XVI. 'Unum Necessarium: or, the Doctrine and Practise of Repentance rescued from popular errors,' &c. Lond. 1655. 8vo.—XVII. 'Two Answers to the Bishop of Rochester's [Warner] two Letters, concerning the Chapter of Original Sin in the *Unum Necessarium*.' Lond. 1656. 12mo.—XVIII. 'Vindication of the Glory of the divine Attributes, in the question of Original Sin.' Lond. 1656. 12mo. XIX. 'A farther Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin.' Lond. 1656. 8vo.—He also wrote, whilst in Wales,—XX. 'New and easy Institution of Grammar, for the use of the Youth in Wales.' Lond. 1647. 8vo. This is commonly said to be Dr Taylor's, but some have ascribed it to his Usher, William Wyatt.—XXI. 'Measures and Offices of Friendship; in a Letter to the most ingenious and excellent Mrs K. P.' [i. e. Mrs Katherine Philipps, the celebrated *Orinda*, wife of James Philipps of the Priory of Caerdigan, Esq;] Lond. To the second edition of which, in 1657, were subjoined,—XXII. 'Two Letters to Persons changed in their Religion.'—XIII. 'Three Letters to a Gen-

(10) Wood, Ath. ut supra, col. 402. and T. Long, in the Preface to *Mr Hales's Treatise of Schism examined, and censured*. Lond. 1678. 8vo. and D. Lloyd, as above. p. 703.

(11) See above the art. CAVE (WILLIAM).

tlewoman

tion, wherewith they abound. But after he had spent some years in this agreeable retirement, a severe illness happening in his family, and depriving him, in two or three months, of three of his sons, young men of great hopes, it so sensibly affected him, that he could no longer live with any comfort in the place. Coming therefore to London, he officiated for a while in a private congregation of Loyalists, to his great hazard and danger. At length, he became acquainted with Edward Lord Conway, a person of great honour and generosity, who invited him into Ireland, and afforded him a pleasant and commodious retreat at Portmore (f), a seat adapted for study and contemplation. There he continued till King Charles the Second's Restoration; when he came over to England, to bear a part in the universal triumph (g). On the 24th of April, 1660, he was one of the persons that subscribed the declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, which adhered to the late King, in and about the city of London (h). And, in consideration of his Merit and Learning, being promoted to the sees of Down and Connor in Ireland, by letters patent, dated January 19, 1660-1, he was consecrated the 27th of the same month in St Patrick's Church in Dublin: A little before which he had been made a Privy-councillor for that Kingdom. And June 21, 1661, the King granted him also the Administration of the Bishopric of Dromore, by way of additional reward, for his sufferings in defence of the Church of England, of which he had been one of the most undaunted Champions. He discharged his episcopal office with the utmost care and faithfulness; and gave excellent Rules and Directions to his Clergy, of which he taught them the practice by his own example. The University of Dublin manifested their particular regard for him, by desiring to have him for their Vice-chancellor [H]; which honourable office he kept to his dying day (i). Having laudably behaved in every station of life, he died at Lisnegarvy, or Lisburne, August 13, 1667, and was buried in the choir of the Church of Dromore, which he had rebuilt at his own expence. He left by will to the poor of the parishes of Dromore, Lisburne, and Ballintobber, 10 l. each. He was esteemed a person of great learning and eloquence; of a piercing wit, and deep judgment; an ornament to the pulpit; exceeding humble and humane; so charitable to the poor, that, except moderate portions to his three daughters, he spent all his income on alms and publick works (k). One, who differed from him both in opinion and practice (l), is forced to own that he was 'a man of admirable wit, great parts, had a quick and elegant pen, was of abilities in critical learning, and of profound skill in antiquity, &c.' But his character is given to greater

(f) In the county of Antrim.

(g) Dr Russ's Sermon, as above, and Wood, Athen. col. 409, 401.

(i) Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 401, and Sir James Ware's Works, with additions by Walter Harris Esq; Publ. 1739. Vol. I. p. 209, 210.

(k) Walter Harris's Additions, ibid.

' a woman that was tempted to the Communion of the Romish Church.'—XXIV. ' A Discourse of Confirmation.'—These three last, with *Unum Necessarium*; Two Answers to Bishop Warner; and A Dissuasive from Popery, were printed together, in 1674, under the title of, *Συμβολα Θεολογικα*. Or, A Collection of Polemical Discourses; wherein the Church of England is defended in many material points, &c. Lond. fol. — And Nos 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 15, 21, with the Sermon, mentioned in note [D], had been collected, in 1657, in one Volume, folio, under this title, ' A Collection of Polemical and Moral Discourses.'—XXV. ' A Collection of Offices, or Forms of Prayer, fitted to the needs of all Christians, taken out of the Scriptures and ancient Liturgies of several Churches, especially the Greek. Together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David, after the King's translation, with Arguments to every Psalm.' Lond. 1658. 8vo. This last part is the same as N^o IV. above.—XXVI. ' The Ephe- sian Matron.' Lond. 1659. 12mo.—XXVII. ' Certain Letters to Henry Jeanes, concerning a passage of his [Jeanes's] in the explication of Original Sin.' Oxford, 1660. Published by Jeanes.—XXVIII. ' *Ductor Dubitantium*: or, The Rule of Conscience in all her generall Measures; serving as a great Instrument for the determination of Cases of Conscience. In four Books.' Lond. 1660. two Vols. fol. Dedicated to King Charles II. The Preface is dated from his Study in Portmore in Kilultagh, October 5, 1659. We are informed (12), that this book is the substance of some Sermons, preached by him at Uppingham, before his sequestration.—XXVIII. ' The Worthy Communicant: or, A Discourse of the Nature, Effects, and Blessings, subsequent to the worthy receiving of the Lord's Supper. With some Cases of Conscience occurring in the Duty of him that ministers, and him that communicates.' Lond. 1660. 8vo. To the second edition, the same year, were added, Devotions fitted to every part of the Ministration.—XXIX. ' Letter concerning Praying with the Spirit, &c. Prefixed to *A Discourse of Praying with the Spirit, and with the Understanding also*. In two Sermons, preached at Hillsborough, anno 1659, on 1 Cor. xiv. 15. by Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor. Lond. 1660. 4to.—XXX. ' Rules and Advices to the Clergy of the Dioceses of Down and Connor, &c. Dublin, 1661. 8vo.

—XXXI. ' A Discourse of artificial Beauty in point of Conscience between two Ladies.' Lond. 1662. 8vo. Reprinted in 1701, and called Several Letters between two Ladies: wherein the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of artificial Beauty in point of Conscience are nicely debated.—XXXII. ' A Dissuasive from Popery. Part I. The Second Part of the Dissuasive from Popery: in Vindication of the first Part. And further Reproof and Conviction of the Roman Errors.' Lond. 1664. 4to. A. Wood thinks (13), this Dissuasive from Popery, to be different from one of our Author's which he had mentioned before (14). But it is one and the same. The words *to the People of Ireland*, which had made him think they were different, is in the beginning of the First Part, though not mentioned in the Title-page of either part. This work was animadverted upon, by Edward Worsely, a Jesuit, in a piece intitled, *Truth will out; or a Discovery of some Untruths smoothly told by Dr Jer. Taylor in his Dissuasive from Popery*: And also by John Sarjeant, in one of the Appendices to his *Sure-footing in Christianity*.—XXXIII. ' A succinct Narrative of the Life of Dr John Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh; at the end of his Funeral Sermon, preached by our Author, July 16, 1663. Inserted among his Sermons.—XXXIV. ' Contemplations on the State of Man in this Life, and that which is to come.' Lond. 1684. 8vo.—XXXV. ' Moral Demonstration, proving that the Religion of Jesus Christ is from God.' Lond. 1687. 8vo. Put at the end of one of his *Letters to a Gentlewoman that was tempted to the Communion of the Romish Church*: And which was then reprinted, with some other Tracts of our learned Author. It had been printed before, with one of the editions of his *Ductor Dubitantium*—XXXVI. ' A Discourse upon the Beatitudes,' was left by him unfinished. [H] *By desiring to have him for their Vice-chancellor.*] And recommending him for that purpose to their Chancellor, he took the oath of office before Sir Maurice Eustace, Knight; then Lord Chancellor of Ireland; and made an eloquent Latin Speech to the University, upon his admission (15). There is extant of his, ' *Via Intelligentie*. A Sermon preached to the University of Dublin: Shewing by what means the Scholars shall become most Learned and most Usefull.' Lond. 1662. 4to.

(13) Athen. col. 405.

(14) Col. 403.

(15) W. Harris, ubi supra.

advantage, and more at length, by his successor, Bishop Rust [I]; the conclusion of which is in these words. ' This great Prelate had the good-humour of a Gentleman, the eloquence of an Orator, the fancy of a Poet, the acuteness of a Schoolman, the profoundness of a Philosopher, the wisdom of a Chancellor, the sagacity of a Prophet, the reason of an Angel, and the piety of a Saint. He had devotion enough for a Cloister, learning enough for an University, and wit enough for a College of Virtuosi. And had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor Clergy that he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world.'

[I] *But his character is given to greater advantage, and more at length, by his successor, Bishop Rust.*] The chief part of it is in these words . . . ' He was none of God's ordinary works, but his Endowments were so many and so great, as really made him a Miracle. Nature had befriended him much in his Constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuity; and there was so much of salt, and fineness of wit, and prettiness of address in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of Harmony, and he never spoke but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words, and his very tone and cadences, were strangely musical. But that which did most of all captivate and enrich, was the gaiety and richness of his fancy. For he had much in him of that natural Enthusiasm, that inspires all great Poets and Orators; and there was a generous ferment in his blood and spirits, that set his fancy bravely at work, and made it swell and teem, and become pregnant, to such degrees of luxuriance; as nothing but the greatness of his wit and judgment could have kept it within due bounds and measures. And indeed it was a rare mixture, and a single instance hardly to be found in any age. For the great Trier of Wits has told us, that there is a peculiar and several complexion required for wit and judgment and fancy; and yet all these might have been found in this great personage in their eminency and perfection. But that which made his wit and judgment so considerable, was the largeness and freedom of his spirit. For truth is plain and easy to a mind disentangled from superstition and prejudice. He was one of the *Ἐλευθεριοί*, a sort of brave Philosophers, that Laertius speaks of, that did not addict themselves to any particular sect, but ingenuously sought for truth among all the wrangling schools. And they found her miserably torn and rent to pieces, and parcelled into rags by the several contending parties, and so disfigured and mishapen, that it was hard to know her; but they made a shift to gather up her scattered limbs; which, as soon as they came together, by a strange sympathy and con-naturalness, presently united into a lovely and beautiful body. This was the spirit of this great man; he weighed men's reasons, and not their names, and was not scared with the ugly vizars men usually put upon persons they hate, and opinions they dislike; nor affrighted with the anathemas and execrations of an infallible chair; which he looked upon only as bugbears to terrify weak and childish minds. He considered, that it is not likely any one party should wholly engross truth to themselves; that obedience is the only way to true knowledge (which is an argument that he hath managed rarely well in that excellent sermon of his (16), which he calls *Via Intelligentiæ*;) that God always, and only teaches, docible and ingenuous minds, that are willing to hear, and ready to obey according to their light; that it is impossible a pure, humble, resigned, God-like, soul should be kept out of heaven, whatever mistakes it might be subject to in this state of mortality; that the design of heaven is not to fill men's heads, and feed their curiosities, but to better their hearts, and mend their lives. Such considerations as these made him impartial in his disquisitions, and give a due allowance to the reasons of his adversary, and contend for truth, and not for victory. To these advantages of nature, and excellency of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction; for there were very few kinds of learning but he was a *mythes* and a great master in them. He was a rare Humanist, and hugely versed in all the polite parts of Learning, and thoroughly concocted all the antient Moralists, Greek and Roman Poets and Orators; and was not unac-

(16) See note [H].

quainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian. But he had not only the accomplishments of a Gentleman, but so universal were his parts, that they were proportioned to every thing. And though his spirit and humour were made up of smoothness and gentleness, yet he could bear with the harshness and roughness of the schools, and was not unseen in their subtilties and spinosities, and upon occasion could make them serve his purpose. And yet it is believed he thought many of them very near akin to the famous Knight of the Mancha, and would make sport sometimes with the romantic sophistry, and fantastick adventures of school-errantry. His skill was great both in the Civil and Canon Law, and Casuistical Divinity; and he was a rare conductor of souls; and knew how to counsel and to advise; to solve difficulties, and determine cases, and quiet consciences. . . . He understood what the several parties in Christendom have to say for themselves; and could plead their cause to better advantage than any advocate of their tribe; and when he had done, he could confute them too, and shew that better arguments than ever they could produce for themselves, would afford no sufficient ground for their fond opinions. We shall add only his great acquaintance with the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers, and the Doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin Church; which he has made use of against the Romanists, to vindicate the Church of England from the challenge of innovation, and prove her to be truly antient, catholic, and apostolical. But religion and virtue is the crown of all other accomplishments, and it was the glory of this great man to be thought a Christian; and whatever you added to it, he looked upon as a term of diminution. And yet he was a zealous Son of the Church of England; but that was, because he judged her (and with great reason) a Church the most purely Christian of any in the world. In his younger years he met with some assaults from Popery, and the high pretensions of their religious orders were very accommodate to his devotional temper. But he was always so much master of himself, that he would never be governed by any thing but reason, and the evidence of truth; which engaged him in the studies of these controversies; and to how good purpose, the world is by this time a sufficient witness. But the longer and the more he considered, the worse he liked the Roman cause; and became at last to censure them with some severity; but I have so great an opinion of his judgment, and the charitableness of his spirit, that I am afraid he did not think worse of them than they deserve. He was a person of great Humility; and notwithstanding his stupendous parts and learning, and eminency of place, he had nothing in him of pride and humour, but was courteous and affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, yea to the impertinencies of the meanest persons. His humility was coupled with an extraordinary Piety; and it is believed he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven. His solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable portion of his life. . . . But he was not only a good man God-ward, but he was come to the top of St Peter's gradation, and to all his virtues added a large and diffusive Charity. And whoever compares his plentiful incomes with the inconsiderable estate he left at his death, will be easily convinced, that Charity was steward for a great proportion of his revenue. But the hungry that he fed, and the naked that he clothed, and the distressed that he supplied, and the fatherless that he provided for; the poor children that he put apprentice, and brought up at school, and maintained at the University, will now sound a trumpet to that Charity, which he dispersed with his right hand, but would not suffer his left hand to have any knowledge of it.'

TEMPLE [Sir WILLIAM], an eminent Statesman (*), and polite Writer, was sprung from a younger branch of the same stock with the late Sir Richard Temple, Lord Viscount and Baron Cobham, who carried up his original as high as to Leoric, or Leofric, Earl of Chester, in the time of King Ethelbald, anno 710 (a); from whom descended the first Earl of Leicester, Leofric, chiefly instrumental in raising Edward the Confessor to the throne, as well as his successor, Harold [A]; and was ancestor to Edwin, sometimes stiled Earl of Leicester and Coventry, who is said to have assumed the surname of Temple, from the manor of Temple in the hundred of Sparken-hall, standing in Welleborough in Leicestershire (b). This stock was divided into two branches by Nicholas Temple, living in 1372, in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Edward III, who had two sons, Robert and Thomas, of whom Robert, the elder, was seated at Temple-hall near Bosworth in Leicestershire (c), and by the gift of his father having lands at Burton under Needwood in Staffordshire, his son, stiled Richard Temple of Burton, siding with Richard III, forfeited most of his estate, and died in 1507, being ancestor to the family of Temple-hall. From Thomas, the youngest son of Nicholas, descended Peter, who became Lord of the manor of Stow in Buckinghamshire, whose posterity settling there, were ancestors to Viscount Cobham, above mentioned. Peter's youngest son, Anthony, was father of Sir William Temple, who being educated at Eton-school, became Fellow of King's College in Cambridge, A. M. and master of the Free-school at Lincoln. He was intended for the law, but having a turn to philosophy, he wrote two treatises upon that subject in very elegant Latin (d). One of which being printed in 1581, with a dedication to Sir Philip Sidney, that Gentleman took him into his patronage, prevailed with him to leave the College, and attend him as his Secretary, when he was made Governor of Flushing and Ramekins. Sir Philip died in the arms of this Secretary, to whom he bequeathed thirty pounds per ann. for life, having also taken care to recommend him to the Earl of Essex, who employed him as his Secretary till his tragical end, in 1600; a stroke which proved fatal to Mr Temple, who not only fell with the Earl from the prospect he had of making his fortune, but was persecuted by Secretary Cecil, from whose resentment being obliged to retire into Ireland, he accepted of the Provostship of Dublin-College, in 1609, at the solicitation of Archbishop Usher (e), and in the Parliament of 1613 was its representative. He was knighted May 4, 1622, by the Lord St John, having been made, January 31, 1609, a Master in Chancery, in which he was continued, April 16, 1625, by King Charles I. He died in January 1626-7, in the seventy-third year of his age, and was buried in his College-chapel at Dublin (f), leaving, besides three daughters, two sons, John and Thomas; the eldest of whom, Sir John Temple, was father to the subject of the present article, Sir William Temple, Bart. who was born in London in 1628, and being first sent to school at Penshurst in Kent, under the care of his uncle, the celebrated Dr Hammond, then Minister of that parish, was removed thence, at ten years of age, to Mr Leigh, schoolmaster of Bishop Stortford in Hertfordshire. Having attained a competency of Greek and Latin there at the age of fifteen, he returned home (g); being hindered, by the disorders of the time, from going to the University, so that he was seventeen years old when he went to Cambridge, where he was placed under the tuition of the learned Dr Cudworth, then Fellow of Emanuel-College (h). His father, being a Statesman (i), seems to have designed his son for the same way of life. In which view, after two years spent at Cambridge, chiefly in acquiring a competency of French and Spanish, the two most useful languages for the purpose, he was sent abroad to compleat the plan of his education. He began his travels into France, in 1648, and chusing to pass through the Isle of Wight, where his Majesty was then Prisoner, he met there with Mrs Dorothy Osborn, second daughter to Sir Peter Osborn of Chickland in Bedfordshire, then Governor of Guernsey for the King; who being then on a journey with her brother to their father at St Maloes, our young Traveller joined them, and there began an honourable amour with the young Lady, which at the end of seven years concluded in a happy marriage. In the interim, Mr Temple passed two years in France, and having learned that language perfectly, he soon after made a tour into Holland, Flanders, and Germany, in which he acquired a compleat mastery of the Spanish. He returned in 1654, and marrying Mrs Osborn, passed his time privately with his father, two brothers, and a sister, then in Ireland, all happy in that perfect harmony, which has been so often taken notice of in their family. As he rejected all solicitations for accepting any employment under the Usurper, the five years he lived here, were spent chiefly in his closet, improving himself in history and philosophy (k). But at the Restoration, in 1660, being chosen a Member of the Convention in Ireland, while every body was trying to make their court to the King, he opposed the Poll-bill with such a spirit, as made a great deal of talk [B], and brought him into more conversation and business, than he had been used to in that country. In the succeeding Parliament, in 1661, he was chosen, with his father, for the County of Caslow, and often turned the house, in their warmest debates, by never entering into any of their parties

(*) Especially for foreign affairs.

(a) Lord Cobham had the pedigree distinct from King John's time, when they were possessed of great estates. Collins's Peerage.

(b) This estate being sold out of the family, Sir William, as well as his father, often endeavoured to purchase it, but in vain.

(d) The title of one is, Pro Mollidupetti de unica methodo definitionis-commentatio. The other is, Nonnullarum e Phisicis et Ethicis explicatio, &c. He also published Epistola de Rami dialectica et Analysis Anglica triginta Praeiorum &c. Lon. 1611. 8vo.

(f) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 122, 123, and Lodge's Peerage of Ireland.

(g) He used to say, he was beholden to his master for all he knew of Greek and Latin. His Life, p. ix. prefixed to his Works, Edit. 1757. in four Vols. 8vo.

(i) See the account of him in Rem. [1].

(k) During this space he had five children, which he buried at Dublin. His Life, as before, p. x.

(b) This manor was given by the old Earls of Leicester to the Knights Templars, who usually gave the name of Temple to their Lands, and they granted it to one whose family was called Temple, of great account and livelihood in those parts. Burton's Leicester-shire.

(a) His Grace had declined the offer of it. See his article. It was a very troublesome and difficult province, on account of the unsettled state of the College at that time; and many years afterwards we find the Archbishop intimating, that Mr Temple was not able to manage it. See P. 114, 115, among the Letters in the Appendix to the Archbishop's Life by Dr Parr. (b) See Dr Cudworth's Article, and Carter's Hist. of Cambridge, under this College.

(1) Irish peerage by Lodge, under the family of Temple.

[A] Leofric the first Earl of Leicester. This earl married the famous Godina, who rode naked through Coventry in the day-time, to regain the citizens their privileges, which they had forfeited by offending their lord her husband, and to free them from the taxes by which they were oppressed. Leofric died August 31, 1057, and was buried in the monastery which he had founded at Coventry, and which he had endowed with twenty-four lordships, besides enriching it with a prodigious quantity of silver utensils, so that it was one of the most magnificent houses of the kind then in England (1).

[B] He opposed the Poll-bill, &c.] Though he and many others thought it to the height of what the nation could bear, the lords justices, whilst it was debating, sent a message to the house to desire it might be doubled, which (among a great many that disliked it) Sir William Temple only opposed, though the rest afterwards joined with him: the lords justices, hearing whence the difficulty arose, sent some to reason with him: his answer was, that he had nothing to say to it out of the house, where they chose a time to pass it in his absence (2).

(2) His Life, p. x. ubi supra.

or factions. In 1662, he was chosen one of the Commissioners to be sent from that Parliament to the King, and took this opportunity of waiting on the new Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Ormond, then at London. He returned into Ireland soon after, but with a resolution of quitting that Kingdom, and removing his family to England. On his return, he observed a very different countenance in the Duke of Ormond (now at Dublin) (*l*) from what he had found before, and soon grew to have such a share in his kindness and esteem, that the Duke *complained of him*, as the only man in Ireland that had never asked him any thing: and when Mr Temple mentioned his design of carrying his family to England, his Grace said, he should at least give him leave to write in his favour to the two great Ministers, the Lord Chancellor [Clarendon], and the Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State; and the Duke did it so much to his advantage, that it was this recommendation which gave Sir William the first entrance into their good graces, and to the good opinion of the King (*m*), which he made no other use of, than to tell Lord Arlington, that if his Majesty had any employment abroad, which he thought such a man as he capable of serving him in, he should be very happy in it; but desired it might not carry him into the northern climates, to which he had a great aversion. Lord Arlington replied, he was sorry for it, because there was at that time no other undisposed of, but that of going Envoy to Sweden (*n*). However, in 1665, about the beginning of the first Dutch war, the same Lord sent him a message to come immediately to his house, which he did, and found his Lordship's business was to tell him, the King had occasion to send one abroad upon an affair of the greatest trust and importance, and that he had resolved to make him the first offer of it; but that he must know presently, whether he would accept of it or no, without telling him what it was, and be content to go in three or four days, without saying more of it to any of his friends: after a little consideration, he told that Lord, he took him to be his friend, and since he must consult with no one else, would be advised by him. His Lordship said, his advice was, that whether he liked it or no, he should not refuse it, as an entrance into his Majesty's service, and the way to something he might like better (*o*). The business was to go with a secret commission to the Bishop of Munster, with which he set out on August 2, and executed it so greatly to the satisfaction of King Charles II. [*C*], that upon his return from that Prelate's Court to Brussels, his Majesty sent him a commission to take the character of Resident there, with a Patent for a Baronet (*p*). Brussels being the place he had wished for in his travels so many years before, Sir William, April 1666, sent for his family (*q*); but before their arrival, was posted again into Munster. For upon the Bishop's listening to terms of accommodation with France, our Resident having wrote two letters in vain to dissuade him from that alliance, went in disguise on the same errand to Munster [*D*], where, though he came too late to fix that Prince in his first alliance, yet he engaged him for five or six thousand of his best troops into Spanish service. This done, he returned to Brussels, where he passed a year with great pleasure and satisfaction. Two months after the conclusion of the peace with the Dutch at Breda, our Resident's sister, who lived with him at Brussels, taking a strong fancy to see Holland, he was willing to give her that satisfaction, and went thither *incognito*. But while he was at the Hague, he made a private visit to M. *De Witt*, in which occasional interview, he laid the foundation of the great intimacy and confidence that grew afterwards between them (*r*). In the spring of 1667, a new war broke out between France and Spain, which bringing Brussels in danger of falling into the hands of the former, Sir William sent his Lady and family into England, but staid there with his sister till Christmas following, when the King sent for him to come over privately to England, and taking the Hague in his way, there to make *De Witt* another visit (*s*). He did so, and then, pursuant to his instructions,

(*l*) The Duke was declared Lord Lieutenant in Oct. 1662, but did not arrive in Ireland till July 1663. See his article, where this last date is omitted, for which we must ask the Reader's pardon.

(*n*) His Life, p. xi.

(*o*) Letter to his father of Sept. 6, 1665, which is the first in the Collection of his Letters.

(*p*) He says, the officers were more easy than he expected in his Patent- fees. Letters to Mr Godolphin, April 1, 1666. In which he mentions that Gentleman's visit to his Lady at Sheen.

(*r*) Letter to his brother, Sir John Temple, Octob. 10, N. S. 1667.

(3) His perfect knowledge of the Latin (which he had retained) was of no small advantage to him, the bishop conversing in no other language.

(4) The four first of his letters, viz. to his father, alderman Backwell, lord Arlington, and the duke of Ormond.

[*C*] *He executed his commission to the King's mind.*] He went, without either train or character, to Coesvelt, where the Bishop then was, and in three nights (for he kept close in the day-time) perfected and signed the treaty (3), and then returned to Brussels, where alderman Backwell made the first and great payment of the subsidies the King was to give the Bishop, and soon after received the news that the Bishop was in the field, by which this negotiation began first to be discovered; but no body suspected the part he had in it, and he continued privately at Brussels, till it was whispered to the marquis Castel Rodrigo, their governor, that he came upon some particular errand, (which he was then at liberty to own) who thereupon sent to desire his acquaintance, to which he easily consented, and, in some private conferences, the marquis representing to him the mutual necessity of a conjunction between England and Spain, upon advice that the French were marching to the assistance of the Hollanders; these overtures the court of England thought fit to entertain, and therefore appointed him resident (4).

[*D*] *He went in disguise on the same errand.*] He passed for a Spanish envoy, having twenty Spanish guards to attend him. Thus he went first to Dusseldorp, where the duke of Newburgh, though in the French interest, gave him a guard to Dortmund; but, on his arrival there, the gates being shut, he was forced to go to a village about a league's distance, which being full of Branden-

burg troops, he was obliged to eat and lodge in a barn upon straw, with his page for a pillow. The page heard one of the Brandenburg soldiers ask some of his guards after an English envoy who was expected, the fellow said he was upon the road, and would be at Dortmund in a day or two. He was next day entertained, at a castle of the bishop of Munster, by one Gorges, a Scotch lieutenant-general in that prelate's service, with what he calls a very episcopal way of drinking. Coming into the great hall, where stood many flagons ready charged, the general called for wine to drink the King's health. They brought him a formal bell of silver, that might hold about two quarts. He took it, pulled out the clapper, and, giving that to Sir William, to whom he intended to drink, had the bell filled, drunk it off to his Majesty's health, and then asking Sir William for the clapper, put it on, turned down the bell, and rung it out to shew he had played fair, and left nothing in it: this done, he took out the clapper, desired Sir William to give it to whom he pleased, then gave his bell to be filled again, and brought it to Sir William: he, being never used to drink, and seldom would try, had commonly some gentleman with him that would serve for that purpose, when it was necessary; and so he had the entertainment of seeing this health go current through about a dozen hands, with no more share in it than just what he pleased (5).

(*m*) Sir William always preserved a grateful remembrance of this favour, kept a correspondence with his Grace, and warmly defended him against the attempt of Lord Essex to displace him from the Government of Ireland. Temple's Letters and Memoirs, Part III.

(*q*) His Life, p. x. He lent his house at Sheen to my Lord Lisle. Letter to that Lord from Brussels, Aug. 1666.

(*s*) Letter to his father from London, January 2, N. S. 1668, in which he takes notice, that his sister accompanied him to London, and resolved to return with him to the Hague, when his brother Harry resolved also to be of the party.

(5) His letter to his father of May 10, N. S. 1666.

proposed those overtures that produced the Triple Alliance; to perfect which, immediately after his arrival at the English Court, he returned, January 16, 1668, N. S. in five days, with the character of Envoy extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Holland (t), where the conferences being opened two days after, he brought that treaty to a perfect conclusion in five days more. The ratifications of this alliance being exchanged on the fifteenth of February (u) following, he repaired to Brussels, and a treaty being set on foot between France and Spain at *Les-la-Cocqelle*, he set out for that place on the 24th of April, in quality of his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary, and Mediator. He arrived there on the 27th, and it was chiefly owing to his assistance (v), that the Spaniard was brought to sign the articles of that peace on the 2d of May. This service being compleated, he returned to Brussels on the 9th of that month, without any other thoughts than to remain in that city in his former station of Resident. But upon his arrival there, he met with letters from the Earl of Arlington that brought him the King's orders to continue in the equipage of an Ambassador, in order to serve his Majesty in the same quality in Holland: where, upon occasion of the late alliances, his Majesty was resolved to renew a character which the Crown of England had discontinued since King James's time (*). Sir William being now left at liberty to return to England as soon as he pleased, embraced the opportunity, and returning by the way of Holland, left most of his domestics and equipage at Utrecht. Upon his arrival at London, he was received with all possible demonstrations of favour, both by King and Court. If he had been forward to press his fortune (and he was put in mind of it enough by his friends (†)) he would not have slight the advantage of coming home with so general an opinion of great merits: but he thought himself sufficiently rewarded by the honour of serving his Majesty (x). The Spanish Ambassador, and Baron d'Isola, the Emperor's Envoy, as well as other of his friends, would needs have asked the Peerage for him, and it was with difficulty enough, that he prevented it; but it was what he never coveted, and was resolved, if it were ever offered him, it should either begin with his father, or his son (y). All difficulties being removed for his departure to Holland [E], he set out, and arrived at the Hague with his new character of the King's Ambassador, in the latter end of August, 1668 (z). He was received and distinguished by all the marks of regard and esteem they could express for his character and person, and by the good opinion he had gained, was able to bring the state into such measures, as M. De Witt said, he was sure was not in the power of any other man to do. He lived in confidence with that great Minister, by order from the King, and in constant and familiar conversation with the Prince of Orange, then eighteen years old. He likewise compassed the chief design of his embassy, in engaging the Emperor and Spain in the measures that were then desired (aa). But in the interim happened Madam's journey to England, so well known to have changed them all (bb). And though Sir William had observed a disposition in the Court before, to complain of the Dutch upon small occasions, very unlike what he left it in; yet he suspected nothing till Lord Arlington, in September 1669, hurried him over, by telling him, as soon as he received his letter, he should *put his foot in the stirrup*. When he came to his Lordship, whom he always saw first, he found he had not one word to say to him, and after making him wait a great while, only asked him several indifferent questions about his journey; and he was received next day as coldly by the King. The secret soon came out, and Sir William Temple was pressed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland. But he excused himself from having any share in it; which so much provoked the Lord Treasurer *Clifford*, that he refused to pay him an arrear of two thousand pounds, due from his embassy. All this passed without unkindness from the King (cc); but my Lord Arlington's usage, so unlike the friendship he had professed, was resented by our Ambassador, who now retired to his house at Sheen near Richmond in Surry [F] (dd); and in this interval of his leisure and retreat, he writ his

Observations

[E] All difficulties being removed for his departure.] The chief of these were some new regulations in the Exchequer concerning foreign employments, which brought down the equipage-money of ambassadors from 3000l. to 1500l. in France and Spain, and to 1000l. in all other courts; and their allowance from 100l. a week to 10l. a day in France and Spain, and to 7l. a day in other places. This was pretended to be only a necessary scheme of parsimony; but Sir William took it as aimed at him in spite, and resented it the more, because he found, by the short experience of his last embassy, this would not defray the expence of another with any honour to the King or himself; and though, says he, *I do not pretend to make my fortune by these employments, yet I confess I do not pretend to run it neither.* He had therefore several times resolved to refuse this embassy, unless it were upon the old terms; but at last yielded to the solicitations and arguments of Lord Arlington, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and especially Sir Robert Long, who observed, that, after a year or two of this embassy, he could not fail of being either secretary of state, or sent ambassador into Spain, 'which, says Sir William, are both certain ways of making any man's fortune (†).'

[F] He returned to Sheen.] How he passed his time there, appears from a letter, dated November 22, 1670, to his father, in which he writes thus (7): 'Sir,

I must make my humble acknowledgments for so great a present as you have been pleased to send me towards that expence I have resolved to make at Sheen; and assure you no part of it shall either go any other way, or lessen what I had intended of my own. I doubt not but to compass what I told you of my Lord Lisle, for enlarging my small territories there; when that is done, I propose to bestow 1000l. upon the conveniencies of the house and garden, and hope that will reach all I care for; so that your 500l. (8) may be laid out rather for ornament than use, as you seem to desire, by ordering me to make the front perfectly uniform.' His father having shewn a dislike of his hasty resolve to retire absolutely from public affairs, and throwing up all his pretensions from the Court, in this letter he lays before him the whole grounds of that resolution, submitting the whole with great duty and respect to his father's censure. These it should seem had brought the old gentleman into his way of thinking; for, in another letter to his father, dated September 14, 1671 (9), wherein he gives him an account of the safe arrival in England of his wife and family: 'All people, says he, are full of the poliicks and expectations of what will be next, which you must expect to hear from Gazettes, and no more from me, who shall not so much as enquire or care to know, but return to my corner at Sheen,

(t) His brother Henry went over with him, as did also Lord Stafford, by way of education for state-business. Temple's Letters, Vol. I. p. 70.

(u) Sir Leoline Jenkins was the other mediator. Gen. List. of England.

(x) After resigning all public business, he declared with much satisfaction, that he never had acted either for Honours, Places, or Money. Memoirs, Part III. sub finem.

(y) A son of Sir Charles Wootley accompanied him in this embassy for education, and Sir William received his father's acknowledgment for his kindness to the young gentleman. His Letters, Vol. III. p. 83.

(z) Who made him a present of the plate belonging to his Embassy, and he put off his house and a good part of the furniture to Sir George Downing, who succeeded him. Letters, Vol. II. p. 310, 311.

(dd) His Life, p. xiv. as before. The Writer of which tells us, p. xv. he had purchased this house some time before, probably soon after his first coming with his family to England, since he appears to be possessed of it before his first employment abroad, in 1665. See his first Letter to his father at the head of his Letters.

(8) He afterwards tells his father, that, in acknowledgment of this present, he had sent over for his Spanish horse, and intended to send a groom with him to Dublin.

(9) Ibid. p. 3021

After leaving Sir William, he all embraced with much satisfaction and joy, and I say upon that occasion, *A Breve comme un freres.* Letter to Lord Arlington from the Hague, Jan. 4, N. S. 1668.

Letter of Lord Arlington, dated May 8, N. S. 1668.

He esteemed Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir John Trevor, and Sir Robert Long, as his best friends.

Letters to his father from London, July 22, 1668.

Gen. Hist. of England.

The Duke of Buckingham, and some other courtiers of wit and humour, began now to ridicule Sir William's formal gravity, as well as his political capacity, Sir William, as appears from the course of his Letters, being remarkable for understanding the ceremonies of business, and placing a great stress upon them, as of service in procuring success to any negotiations.

Letter to his father from London, July 22, 1668.

Vol. II. of Letters, 1685.

(22) His Life,
p. xvi.

(ff) The other point, of withdrawing the English troops from the French service, was compassed, by private engagements, to suffer them to wear out, without sending any recruits, and send no new ones while the states were permitted to make what levies they pleased in his Majesty's dominions.

(*) Letter to Lord Bolingbroke. See his article.

(10) His letters, Vol. I. p. 125.

(11) In his Essay on the gardens of Epicurus, he boasts of having had the honour of bringing over four sorts of grapes into England.

(2) He was author of a book, entitled, The Ambassador greatly esteemed. He translated this treatise of Sir William's into French.

(13) In Vol. II. p. 316.

(14) In the second volume of his works, edit. 1757, in 4 vols. 370.

Observations on the United Provinces; and one part of his *Miscellanies* (ee), in the time of the second Dutch war. However, about the end of the summer, 1673, the King growing weary of that war, sent for Sir William, who was always wanted upon that occasion, to go into Holland, and conclude the peace; but powers having been sent at this time from thence to the Marquis de Frefno, the Spanish Ambassador at London, Sir William was ordered to treat it with him, and it was concluded in three days, and the point of the flag carried, that had been so long contested (ff). In June, 1674, he was again sent Ambassador into Holland [G], with offer of the King's mediation between France and the Confederates, then at war, which was not long after accepted, and Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, were declared Ambassadors and Mediators, and Nimeguen (which Sir William had proposed) was consented to, at last, by all parties to be the place of Treaty. During his stay at the Hague, the Prince of Orange, who was fond of speaking English, and of their plain way of eating, constantly dined and supped once or twice a week at his house, who thereby grew so much in the Prince's esteem and confidence, as gave him the great part he had in that considerable affair of his marriage with Lady Mary,

Sheen, and endeavour to pass the rest of my life as quietly and innocently as I can, and for the rest, like a private man, run the fortune of my country. I have been long enough in courts and public business to know a great deal of the world and of myself, and to find that we are not made for one another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our natures or our customs, and that, in the course and period of public government, as well as private life, *quisque suos patimur manes*. Every one sees that these strains were the pure effects of peevishness and chagrin, arising from his disappointment by the counsels which then prevailed at court, as is evident from his subsequent conduct. Besides, Sir William had not been in business much above five or six years, and was but little turned of forty, a time of life not very compatible (as his amanuensis Dr Swift pleasantly observes upon another occasion (*)) with settling in a corner to form conclusions *de contemptu mundi* & *fuga seculi*. There is no doubt but he always took great delight in improving his situation at Sheen, which he expresses in a letter to Lord Lisle from Brussels, August, 1667 (10), before his first coming over to England. The best on it is, says he, my heart is set so much upon my little corner at Sheen, that, while I keep that, no other disappointments will be very sensible to me; and because my wife tells me she is so bold as to enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, I am contriving here this summer, how a succession of cherries may be compassed from May to Michaelmas, and how the riches of Sheen vines may be improved by half a dozen sorts which are not yet known there, and which I think much beyond any that are (11). During this retreat, towards the latter end of the year 1672, he writ his *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, as above mentioned, to which he alludes in a letter to Mr. de Wicquefort, dated October 10 that year (12). I will not tell you, says he, that I have succeeded so well in my small country designs, as I have sometimes done in great ones: But if ever any favourable accident (and this age produces strange ones enough) should bring you hither, I would let you see that our buildings are not altogether without neatness: at least I would make you confess, that the fruits of my garden have another taste than those of my closet, and will keep better than those of my embassies (13).

[G] He was sent Ambassador into Holland in June, 1674.] Though this prevented our minister from having an immediate hand in negotiating the famous treaty which was concluded with the Dutch on the 1st of December this year at London, containing the stipulation, that *free ships should make free goods*; yet, as he was principally concerned in making the former treaty with the States, concluded at the Hague on the 17th of February, 1667-8, containing the same stipulation, it is worth while to see his opinion of it, as it appears in a letter from him to Sir Joseph Williamson, as follows (14):

Sir,
Hague, Nov. 6, N. S. 1674.
I was extremely glad to find by yours of the 20th and 30th past, that his Majesty had resolved to support me, in the claim I had made here, of a free trade for all our ships, and the merchandizes they carry (if not contraband) without any exception of their trading from one Enemy's port to another, which can't, I am sure, be drawn from the words of the articles. This made me confident, even before the arrival of your letters, by a second Memorial to the States General, as demand the restitution of the *Rebecca*, and to tell

them very plainly, that if any disputes might arise from the sense of any articles in treaties subsisting between his Majesty and them, they could not be resolved without his Majesty's consent, and till that was obtained, they could not make themselves the sole Judges, or Interpreters, against the plain common sense of any words, and to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects. This was the point I put all the weight upon in my Memorial. But having the day after received his Majesty's pleasure, with your account of what had passed here in your return this way, and your arguments upon this subject, I demanded an hour of the Pensioner, and had a very long debate with him upon this matter. The heads of his arguments were, the judgment he pretended of several Authors upon it, and the practice of France, Spain, and Sweden, with them and ourselves in the time of his late Majesty and King James, which he undertook to give me examples of; and lastly, *that it could not be the meaning, to drive an Enemy's trade, but only to preserve a friend's*. I easily eluded this last, by the answer I made it, and by my own free protestation, that at my signing the confirmation of those articles, I had no such sense of them, as he would now give them; but took the meaning of them to be just the same with the words, that free ships made free goods in all cases, unless that of contraband. For the sense of Authors wrote upon general theories, and for their own credit, and that of their profession, I said they could not be admitted to interpret any particular treaties between Princes and States, who might make what agreement they pleased between themselves, and very different from what Authors call *Jus gentium*, or general reason, by which I think they commonly mean their own; that for the practice of other Kings, with them it was no rule of theirs with his Majesty, nor any agreement that he should not have justice from them, because they could not obtain it from others; but, on the contrary, though they had it not, yet they ever demanded it, both from France and Spain, which was a certain proof, that they esteemed that just in their own case, which they will not allow to be so in ours; that for the practice he offered to produce on our parts in his late Majesty's time, I should be content to see it, but could not tell how it could square with the present case, since it was granted by articles never in force between his Majesty and the States, till the treaty of Breda. I added, to what I said in my Memorial upon the subject of their pretences to make a forced interpretation of plain words, without his Majesty's consent, that it was not fair to do it at this time, when the advantage of such an article was only cast on our side by the common revolutions of war and peace, which might be in their favour to-morrow, as they were on ours to-day. Whereas, when the advantage was by like accidents cast on their side, as it had been with France and Spain, they had ever insisted on the very same points, that we do now, and never given over their instances upon it, whether they received satisfaction, or no. After a long and warm debate, I gained this from the Pensioner, that for his own part, he was content it should be as I desired it, *since the King understood it so, and it was to be reciprocal between us*. That he could do nothing upon it in the States General, till the States of Holland assembled, which would be about a fortnight hence; that he would then propose it there, and endeavour their compliance with his Majesty, especially if the Prince, at his return, approved of it: and that in the mean time,

Mary, so well known in the world, and so particularly related in his Memoirs [H]. In July, 1676, he removed his family to *Nimeguen*, where he passed that year without making any progress in the treaty; and the year after, his son was sent over with letters from the Lord Treasurer, ordering him to return and succeed Mr Coventry in his place of Secretary of State [I]. Sir William came to England in the spring of the year 1667-8; and though the affair of the Secretary's place was dropped at his desire (gg), he did not return to Nimeguen that year. About this time, the Prince having the King's leave to come over, soon after married Lady Mary (hh); and from this happened another occasion of unkindness between Lord Arlington and Sir William [K]. Lord Treasurer [Osborn] (who was related to Sir William's lady) and he, being only in the secret of all that affair after the Prince and Princess were gone into Holland, the inclination at Court always leaning towards France, the King would have engaged Sir William Temple in some negotiations with that Crown, with which he was so ill satisfied, that he offered to give up his pretensions to the Secretary's Place, and desiring my Lord Treasurer to acquaint his Majesty with it, he went to Sheen, in hopes of being taken at his word. But upon discovery of the French designs not to evacuate the Spanish towns, agreed on by the treaty to be delivered up, the King commanded him to go upon a third embassy to the States with whom he concluded a treaty, by which England was engaged, upon the refusal of the French to evacuate the towns in forty days, to declare immediate war with France; but before half the time was run out, one *Du Crofs* (ii) was sent from our Court into Holland upon an errand that damped all the good humour that treaty had given them there, and the life it had put into all their affairs; and such sudden and surprizing changes in our own, which Sir William Temple had seen too often to be astonished at, gave him a distaste to all public employments (kk). In 1679, he went back to Nimeguen, where the French delayed signing the treaty till the last hour, which, after he

(gg) Upon this occasion, Lord Arlington said a very good thing, though not in very good humour: that some things were so ill in themselves, that the manner of doing them could not mend them; and others so good, that the manner they were done in could not spoil them; and that the Prince of Orange's march was of the last sort.

(hh) Growing weary, as Mr De Witt used to express it, of the perpetual fluctuation he had observed in all our Councils, since Queen Elizabeth's reign.

(ii) By contrasting this letter with the Memorials of both Courts, upon the subject in this war, and our proceeding at law upon it, will be seen how invariably, *mutatis mutandis*, each side hath been governed by the same rules and reasonings.

(16) His Life, p. xvi.

time, he would endeavour to get the goods in the *Rebecca*, or the product of them, deposited till the States came to a resolution in this matter, the ship itself being already free, and gone pursuant to the resolutions taken by the States in May last upon this point.

I have been longer in stating this matter, as it stands between me and the Pensioner, that being of so mighty importance to our trade at this time, his Majesty ought to see the right he had on his side, and be the firmer in maintaining it. And that you may please to instruct me in any further arguments, against I enter the lists with Commissioners here, if this should prove difficult, though the Pensioner be satisfied with it (15).

[H] Particulars related in his Memoirs.] One advantage he made of it from an accident that then happened, may be worth mentioning because he reckoned it himself among the good fortunes of his life. There were five Englishmen taken and brought to the Hague whilst he was there, and in the Prince's absence, who were immediately tried, and condemned, by a Council of war, for deserting their colours: some of his servants had the curiosity to visit their unfortunate countrymen, and came home with a deplorable story, that by what they had heard, it was a mistake; and that they were all like to die innocent; but, however, that it was without remedy; that their graves were digging, and they were to be shot next morning. Sir William left nothing unattempted to prevent their sudden execution, and sent to the Officers, threatening them that he would complain, first to the Prince, and then to the King, who, he was sure, would demand reparation, if so many of his Majesty's subjects suffered unjustly: but nothing would do, till he made it his last request to relieve them one day only. This being granted, the Prince happened to come that day within reach of an answer to a message he sent; upon which they were released. The first thing they did, was to go and see their graves, and the next, to come and thank Sir William Temple upon their knees (16).

[I] He returned to England upon a motion to succeed to the Secretary's Place.] He might be more willing to come to England to look after his private affairs upon the death of his father, which happened this year, 1677. Sir John Temple was born in 1600, bred first under his father, in Dublin-College, but went early abroad for further accomplishments, and after his return was finished in the Court of King Charles I; by whom he was knighted, February 23, 1620, constituted Master of the Rolls in Ireland, and sworn of the Privy-Council there, being in particular confidence and friendship with the Earl of Leicester, then declared Lieutenant of Ireland, when the rebellion broke out, in which he was deeply engaged; and upon the changes in the King's counsels and affairs, he was imprisoned for opposing the cessation, which the Duke of Ormond was commanded to make with the Irish rebels. In 1644, he was exchanged, and sent for by the Parliament in

England. In 1647, he was made one of the Commissioners in Munster, and one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal in Ireland, in 1648. He was a Member of Parliament, and sat in the English House of Commons, till he was disinfranchised among the Members excluded for voting, that his Majesty's concessions from the Isle of Wight, were a sufficient ground for a treaty of peace. From this time he continued privately in London, till Oliver, the Protector, in 1657, made him one of the Commissioners for settling the titles of the Irish to their Estates, and also their delinquency. He received many other favours from Oliver, and continued Master of the Rolls during the Usurpation, and also by King Charles II, and was sworn again of the Privy-Council. In 1651, he, with his eldest son, represented the County of Caslow; and in 1663, he was made Vice-Treasurer of the Kingdom. In July, 1666, he had a grant of the lands of Palmerston, in the County of Dublin. And dying in 1677, after he had that year given 100l. to be laid out in some additional buildings in the College of Dublin (17), he was buried there at his own request, in the same grave with his father. He wrote the *History of the Irish Rebellion*, which was published in 1611, 4to. 'A piece (says Dr Borlase in his history of that war) of that integrity few can equal, none exceed, he having as Privy-Counsellor an opportunity to view all dispatches, rarely obvious to others; and being singularly entire and ingenuous, adventured then into the lists, when some dared scarce think on the attempt: never any thing was objected against his account.' He married a sister of the famous Dr Hammond, and by her had four sons, and one daughter, who all, except one son, survived him, viz. William, John, Henry, and Martha. Sir William, in 1663, had a revisionary grant after his father's decease of the Mastership of the Rolls, for which he received a Patent, December, 1677, and enjoyed it till the surrendering thereof on May 29, 1696, to William (afterwards Lord) Berkeley. Sir William's younger brother, Sir John Temple, became the best Lawyer in Ireland (18), and his second son, Henry, was created Baron Temple of Mount Temple, and Viscount Palmerston, in 1722. Martha, Sir William's favourite sister, was married, April 21, 1662, to Sir Thomas Giffard of Cattlejordan, in the County of Kildare, Bart. who was buried at St Audson's Church in Dublin, on the 9th of May, the same year (19).

[K] The unkindness between Lord Arlington and him.] Lord Arlington's coldness to Sir William began from his early acquaintance with the Lord Treasurer [Danby] (they having travelled young together) and his relation to him by marriage, and he being now Chief Minister in Arlington's room, and they two living in the last degree of ill intelligence with one another, it was impossible to keep the favour of both, which was the true reason of Lord Arlington's falling out with him, with whom, from many circumstances, he could not afterwards live well (20).

(gg) Mr Coventry made some difficulties in resigning, unless he had leave to name his successor, which the King refused; therefore Sir William desired it might be left alone till all parties were agreed.

(ii) Sir William, in his Memoirs, Part II. p. 335, characterized Du Crofs in such a style, as provoked him to write an Answer; to which Sir William replied in 1693.

(17) On which account his heirs are empowered to dispose of two chambers in that College. See earl SWIFT'S articles.

(18) Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ubi lupia.

(19) See more of him in Remark [N].

(20) His Life, p. xvii.

had

(mm) There was a design to impeach him in this Session, which he published in his *Miscellanea*, to let the world see that he was not a man of such dangerous principles.

(nn) Gen. Hist. of England.

(oo) Nor had he any public employment at home; but his character abroad still continued. Mr Coventry was succeeded in the Secretary's Office by Sir Leoline Jenkins.

(ss) He was thus employed, when happening to be at the Council on his Majesty's ordering the Parliament to be prorogued for a year, Sir William made that bold speech, which is inserted in remark [N].

(tt) His Life and Character, p. xix, xx.

(uu) He was opposed by the Bishop of Ely, who from a chapter in his Observations upon the Netherlands, thought Sir William was for such a toleration as he described to be in Holland. Memoirs, p. 513.

had concluded, he returned to the Hague, from whence he was soon sent for to enter upon the Secretary's Place, which Mr Coventry was at last resolved to part with. Accordingly he came over, and went to Court (ll), as all his friends hoped, with the design of entering upon that post; but he made a difficulty of it, because he was not in the House of Commons (mm), thinking the public business would suffer thereby in so critical a time: in which the contests between the two parties ran so high, that the King thought fit to send the Duke into Flanders, and the Parliament to put my Lord Treasurer [Danby] into the Tower (nn). After this, his Majesty again pressed Sir William to be Secretary of State, using for an argument, that he had now no body to consult with, at a time when he wanted the best advice. Hereupon Sir William, still declining the Secretary's place (oo), advised his Majesty to chuse a Council whom he should wholly trust and advise with: the King in a few days consented, and the choice of the persons was wholly concerted between his Majesty and Sir William; and the old Council, being dissolved four days after, this new one was established, of which Sir William Temple was one (pp). In 1680, the Counsels began again to be changed, upon the King's illness at the end of the summer, and the Duke of York's return privately to Court. In this Juncture, Sir William endeavouring to bring into the King's favour and business some persons to whom his Majesty had a dislike, if not an aversion, met with such treatment from them (qq) [L], as gave him a fresh distaste to Court and Councils, whither he seldom went, residing chiefly at Sheen. Soon after this, the King sent for him again, and proposed his going Ambassador into Spain (rr). Sir William complied, and set himself to prepare for it (ss); but when his equipage was almost ready, and part of the money for it paid, the King changed his mind, and told him, he would have him defer his journey till the end of the Sessions of Parliament, of which he was chosen a Member for the University of Cambridge (tt), in which the factions ran so high, that he saw it impossible to bring them to any temper. The Duke was sent into Scotland; that would not satisfy them, nor any thing but a bill of exclusion, against which he declared himself, saying, *his endeavours should ever be to unite the Royal Family; but that he would never enter into any counsels to divide them (uu)*: and the last thing he did in Parliament, or Council, was on the 4th of January, to carry the King's last answer to the Commons Address of the 20th of December, containing his Majesty's resolution never to consent to the exclusion of the Duke of York [M]. But soon after this the Parliament being dissolved by his Majesty without the advice of his Privy-Council, contrary to what he had promised, Sir William made that bold speech against it, for which he was very ill used by some of those friends who had been most earnest in promoting the last change in the Ministry [N]. Upon this, he grew quite tired of public business, declined the offer he had of serving again for the University in the next Parliament, that was soon after called, and met at Oxford (ww); and seeing his Majesty's resolution to govern without his Parliament, and to supply his treasury another way, he went to Sheen a few days after, whence he sent the King word, by his son, that *he would pass the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his Kingdoms, but would never more meddle*

(ll) He now found himself above 7000l. in arrears at the treasury, and though with much trouble and delay he recovered the best part of that sum, yet 2200l. remained a desperate debt long after. Memoirs, p. 473.

(pp) Gen. Hist. of England. Lord Chancellor Finch, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Essex, thought it the greatest point that ever was gained by any Minister.

(qq) The particulars of which are published in the third Part of his Memoirs.

(rr) To give credit to an alliance, pretended to be made with that Crown against the meeting of the Parliament: upon which the French Ambassador, much dissatisfied, said, it was enough to give vigour to the Spanish Monarchy. Gen. Hist. of Engl.

(ww) He consulted his Majesty, who told him he might as well let it alone.

[L] Met with such treatment from them.] These were the Lords Essex and Hallifax, who, to the Duke, laid the scheme of the new Council upon Sir William; though after admitting Lord Shaftsbury and the Duke of Monmouth into it, which was done without his consent, he always declared his dislike of the Council. And he soon found an opportunity of defeating their malice, and of securing a good place in the Duke's favour, by assuring him, that *whatever befell the King's affairs, or his Highness, he might always reckon upon him as a legal man, and one that would follow the Crown always, as became him; unless things should ever grow so desperate as to bring in Foreigners*: at which the Duke laid his hand upon him, and bid him stick there, and he would desire no more of him (21).

[M] He carried the King's message to the House.] Mr Secretary Jenkins had been charged with it the night before at Council, but he was thought too unacceptable to the House for a message which was likely to prove so; and the next morning the King would have had either Sir Robert Carr, or Mr Godolphin to carry it. They both excusing themselves, the King sent for Sir William Temple, who told his Majesty, he did not very well understand why a thing agreed upon last night at Council-table, should be altered in his chamber; but that he was very willing, however, to obey him, and the rather, upon others having excused themselves, and to shew his Majesty that he intended to play no popular Games. Upon this he took the paper, telling the King he was very sensible how much of his confidence he formerly had, and how much he had lost, without knowing the occasion; or else he might have had part in consulting this change of what was last night resolved, as well, as in executing it; and he would confess to his Majesty, that he had not so good a stomach in business, as to be content only with swallowing what other people had chewed. This answer, Sir William says, is the only thing, he could imagine, the King could ever take ill of him. In proceeding, however, he declares his approbation of

the message, which was his principal inducement for carrying it (22).

[N] He made a bold speech against it, &c.] The substance of it was, that he desired the King and Council never to lay aside the thoughts and endeavours of agreeing, either with this, or some other Parliament, as a matter of so great necessity to the state of his Majesty's affairs, both abroad, and at home. The Lord Hallifax answered him in a few words, that every body was sensible of the King's agreeing with his Parliament, though not with this: and Mr, afterwards Sir Edward, Seymour said, he perfectly agreed with Sir William Temple. He had, in the same disposition, spoken very freely before, upon the King's declaring his mind in the Council, without previously asking their advice, to prorogue the Parliament for a longer time than he had intended (23); and that he would hear nothing against it, charging the Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly. Hereupon Sir William, being left out of this secret, stood up, and told the King, that as to the resolution he had taken, he would say nothing, because he was resolved to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore he would only presume to offer his Majesty his humble advice, as to the course of his future proceedings; which was, that his Majesty, in his affairs, would please to make use of some council or other, and allow freedom to their debates and advices, after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleased; that if he did not think the persons, or number of this present Council suited with his affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of any number he pleased, and to alter them again when he would. *But to make Counsellors that should not counsel, he doubted whether it was in his Majesty's power, or not, because it implied a contradiction: and, so far as he had observed, either of former ages, or the present; he questioned whether it was a thing had been practised in England by his Majesty's Predecessors, or was so now by any of the Princes in Christendom (24).*

(22) Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 537.

(23) It was called to meet in October, 1679, but did not meet to do business till October, 1680. Gen. Hist. of England.

(24) Memoirs, Part III. By this speech he ruined for a while, his suit for his arrears on account of his Embassies, which had been just before settled to his satisfaction by Lord Sunderland, and agreed to by the King.

with

(21) Memoirs, Part III.

with public affairs: the King assured him that he was not at all angry (xx). And, indeed, the striking of his name out of the Privy-Council (yy), was no more than a necessary consequence of the Duke's returning, and the change of all measures. From this time Sir William lived at Sheen till the end of that reign, and for some time in the next. When having purchased a small seat, called *Moor-Park*, near Farnham in Surry, which he took a great fancy to for its solitude and retirement, and the healthy and pleasant situation; and being much afflicted with the gout, and broken with age and infirmities, he resolved to pass the remainder of his life there, and in November, 1686, in his way thither, waited on King James, then at Windsor, and begged his favour and protection to one *that would always live a good subject, but whatever happened, never enter again upon any public employment*; desiring his Majesty never to give credit to whatever he might hear to the contrary. The King, who used to say Sir William Temple's character was, *always to be believed*, promised him whatever he desired, made him some reproaches for not coming into his service, which he said was his own fault, and kept his word as faithfully to Sir William, as Sir William did to his Majesty, during the surprizing turn of affairs that soon after followed by the coming of the Prince of Orange: which, whatever people may suspect, was so great a secret to him, that there is nothing surer than that he was not only unacquainted with it, but one of the last men in England that believed it (zz). At the time of this happy Revolution, in 1688, Moor-Park growing unsafe by lying in the way of both armies, he went back to the house he had given up to his son at Sheen, whom he had denied leave, though importunately begged, to go and meet the Prince of Orange at his landing. But after King James's abdication, and the Prince's arrival at Windsor, Sir William went to wait upon his Highness, and carried his son. The Prince pressed him to enter into his service, and to be Secretary of State, and said it was in kindness to him that he had not been acquainted with his design (aaa); but his age and infirmities confirming him in the resolution not to meddle any more with public affairs, he was contented his son should enjoy his Majesty's favours. Hereupon Mr John Temple was made Secretary at War, in the room of Mr *Blathwayt*; but he had hardly been a week in his office, when he resolved to make away with himself, as he did on the 14th of April, 1689 [O]. Mr Temple being a very promising Gentleman, of great natural abilities, as well as personal accomplishments, the public were extremely concerned at this private misfortune. As for Sir William Temple, though as a father he was sensibly affected with the loss of so worthy a son, yet he bore his affliction with a Christian resignation, or rather with the firmness of a Stoic, being of the opinion of that Sect, *that a wise man may dispose of himself, and make his life as short as he pleased*. About the end of this year, he retired to Moor-Park, where he turned himself wholly to the cares and amusements of a country life, and in his study, saw little company in a place so desolate, yet he had the honour of being often consulted by King William in some of his secret and important affairs, and of a visit from him in his way from Winchester, and he used to wait upon his Majesty at Richmond and Windsor, where he was always very graciously received, with that easiness and familiarity, and particular confidence, that had begun in Holland so many years before. In 1694, he had the misfortune to lose his Lady [P], who was a very extraordinary woman, as well as a good wife. He was then past sixty, at which age he practised what he had so often declared to be his opinion, that an old man ought then to conclude himself no longer of use in the world, except to himself and his friends. He lived four years after, extremely afflicted with the gout, which at last wore out his life, and with the help of age, and a natural decay of strength and spirits, ended it in January, 1698, in his seventieth year. He died at Moor Park, where his heart was buried in a silver box, under the funeral in his garden, opposite to the window whence he used to contemplate and admire the works of nature with his dearly beloved sister, the ingenious Lady Giffard. This was the tenor of his Will. In pursuance to which, his body was privately interred in Westminster-

(xx) Memoirs, Part IV. p. 143.
(yy) The first news of it was brought to him by the Countess of Northumberland, who then lived at Stou House. Till on the Gardens of Leppinus, where he gives a detail of his reasons for this resolution, which proceeded from the prevalence of the French Councils at our Court.

(zz) The King made him several visits at Sheen, and it was during this interval, that Dr Swift came thither to offer his service to Sir William, who took him as an amanuensis. See Dean Swift's article.

His Life & Character, xxii, xxiii.

(†) He threw himself out of a boat, hired for the purpose, in the River London bridge, having put stones in his pocket to sink him.

(25) See also Lambertes Memoires de la Revolution, Vol. III. p. 290, et seq.

(26) Archbishop Sheldon made him this singular compliment, that he had the carte of the Gospel, because all men speak well of him. Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ubi supra.

(27) Life and Character of Sir William Temple, p. xxii, xxiii.

[O] *His son made away with himself.* This remarkable catastrophe would well deserve a place in these Memoirs (†), were it not to be found in all our General Histories, to which we refer for the story (25): only observing, by way of supplement thereto, that this young Gentleman had been married about four years before, in France, to Mademoiselle Rambouillet, a rich heiress, and only daughter of Mr Du Plessis, a French Protestant of a very good family: a young Lady very eminent then, for her rare accomplishments of body and mind, and more so since, for her great Piety and Charity. She had by him two daughters, to whom their grandfather, Sir William Temple, at his death bequeathed the bulk of his estate, upon this condition, that they should not marry Frenchmen. Accordingly the eldest of them was married to Mr John Temple, youngest son to Sir John Temple, second brother to Sir William, and esteemed one of the best Lawyers in Ireland, where he was Solicitor, and Attorney-General, many years (26). The youngest daughter became wife to Mr Nicholas Bacon of Strubland in Suffolk. They were both living a few years ago (27).

[P] *His wife was an extraordinary woman.* She was not only much esteemed by her own friends and acquaintance, some of whom were persons of the greatest figure, but

valued and distinguished by King William (*), and especially Queen Mary, with whom she had the honour to keep a constant correspondence, being justly admired for her fine stile and turns of wit in writing letters, and whom she out-lived about a month: the deep affliction for her Majesty's death having hastened her own. Sir William tells the following story as an instance of her courage. In 1671, as she was passing with her children to England in one of the King's yachts, they met the Dutch fleet, which refusing to strike to a yacht, the Captain, in great perplexity, thinking to get clear by her help, asked her what he should do. She told him, he knew his orders best, and what he was to do upon them, and left him to do as he thought fit, without any regard to her, or her children. He pursued his course, and landed her safe; after which she went to Court, where she was much commended for her part in what had passed. And the King extolled her behaviour as much as he blamed the Captain's, saying, she had shewed more courage than he; and then falling upon the Dutch insolence, Sir William, to whom this discourse was spoken, said, *that however matters went, it must be confessed there was some merit in his family, since he had made the alliances with Holland, and his wife was like to have the honour of making the war* (28).

(*) She carried his proposal to make his addresses to her in two letters, one to King Charles, and the other to her Father, and was charged by the Prince to inform herself the most particularly she could of all that concerned the person, humour, and disposition of the young Princess. Idem.

(28) Memoirs, p. 301, & seq.

(bbb) Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 378. where the Bishop sets him off as vain and conceited, and though of good judgment and principles in politics, yet in point of religion an Atheist, who left religion to the rabble, as fit only for them. That he corrupted all that came near him; delivering himself wholly to study, ease and pleasure.

Abbey, and a marble monument [Q] set up after the Lady Giffard's death, in 1722, who resembled him in his genius, as well as in his person; and left behind her the character of one of the best, and most constant friends in the world. His character having been misrepresented by Bishop Burnet (bbb), was lately retrieved by a more favourable account of it, which being said to be done by a particular friend (ccc), we shall insert below [R], for the satisfaction of such as are curious in these matters. For the rest, the short, but comprehensive and impartial, though candid sketch, may be thought sufficient, which we have of him by Mr Boyer, who gives him for 'an accomplished Gentleman, a sound Politician, a Patriot, and a great Scholar; and, continues he, if this great Idea should perchance be shaded by some touches of vanity and spleen, it must be considered, that the greatest, wisest, and best of men, have still some failings and imperfections, which are inseparable from human nature (ddd). His works have been so often published, both separate and

(ccc) The Bishop was also censured in the Republic of Letters for January, Art. II, p. 26, 27. (ddd) Memoirs of the Life and Negotiations of Sir William Temple, Bart. p. 418. 2d Edit. 1715. 8vo.

[Q] *A monument according to his Will.* The words of the Will are, 'I do order my body to be interred in the west isle of Westminster-Abbey, near those two dear pledges, my wife and my daughter, that lie there already; and that after mine, and my sister Giffard's decease, a large stone of black marble may be set up against the wall, with this inscription:

Sibi suisque charissimis
 DIANÆ TEMPLE dilectissimæ filiæ,
 DOROTHEÆ OSBORN conjunctissimæ conjugî,
 Et MARTHÆ GIFFARD optimæ forori,
 Hoc quaecunque Monumentum
 Poni curavit.
 GULIELMUS TEMPLE, Baronettus.

Accordingly the monument, which was set up, and stands there, with this addition to the epitaph, after GULIELMUS TEMPLE, is inserted

De Moor-Park in agro Surriensi.

And underneath is inscribed as follows:

Di. T.	} Obiit {	1679	} Ætat {	14		
Do. T.					1694	66
Gul. T.					1698	70
Mar. G.					1722	80

[R] *His character.* It is drawn in very advantageous terms, and begins in the true panegyric style, as follows: I think nothing harder than to write any body's character; and that of a friend is still more difficult: if one tells truth, it is thought partiality; and if one does not, it is a real piece of injustice. I will try, by saying little, to avoid both imputations. Sir William Temple's person is best known by his pictures and prints; he was rather tall than low; his shape, when young, very exact; his hair a dark brown, and curled naturally, and, whilst that was esteemed a beauty, no body had it in greater perfection; his eyes grey, but lively; and his body lean, but extreme active, so that none acquitted himself better at all sorts of exercise. He had an extraordinary spirit and life in his humour, with so agreeable turns of wit and fancy in his conversation, that no body was welcome in all sorts of company: and some have observed, that he never had a mind to make any body kind to him, without compassing his design. He was an exact observer of truth, thinking none that had failed once, ought ever to be trusted again; of nice points of honour; of great humanity and good-nature, taking pleasure in making others easy and happy; his passions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reason and thought; his humour gay, but very unequal from cruel fits of spleen and melancholy, being subject to great damps from sudden changes of weather, but chiefly from crosses, and surprizing turns in his business, and disappointments he met with so often in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and service of his country, which he thought himself two or three times so near compassing, that he could not think with patience of what had hindered it, or of those that he thought had been the occasion of his disappointments. He never seemed busy in his greatest employments, was a great lover of liberty, and therefore hated the servitude of courts; said he could never serve for wages, nor be busy (as one is so often there) to no purpose; and never was willing to enter upon any employment, but that of a public minister. He had been a passionate lover, was a kind husband, a fond and indulgent father, a good master, and the best friend in the world, and, knowing himself to be so, was impatient of the least suspicion or jealousy from those he loved. He was ever kind to the memory of those he had once liked and esteemed; wounded to the heart by grief,

upon the many losses of his children and friends, till recovered by reason and philosophy, and that perfect resignation to Almighty God, which he thought so absolute a part of our duty; upon those sad occasions often saying, *His holy name be praised, His will be done.* He was not without strong aversions, so as to be uneasy at the first sight of some he disliked, and impatient of their conversation; apt to be warm in disputes and expostulations, which made him hate the one and avoid the other, which he used to say might sometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends; he turned his conversation to what is more easy and pleasant, especially at table, where he said ill-humour ought never to come; and his agreeable talk at it, if it had been set down, would have been very entertaining to the Reader, as well as it was to so many that heard it. He had a very familiar way of conversing with all sorts of people, from the greatest princes to the meanest servants, and even children, whose imperfect language and natural and innocent talk he was fond of, and made entertainment out of every thing that could afford it; when that he liked best failed, the next served his turn. He lived healthful till forty-two, then began to be troubled with rheums upon his teeth and eyes, which he attributed to the air of Holland, and which ended, when he was forty-seven, in the gout, upon which he grew very melancholy, being then Ambassador at the Hague; he said a man was never good for any thing after it: and though he continued in business near three years longer, yet it was always with a design of winding himself out as fast as he could; and making good his own rules, that no body should make love after forty, nor be in business after fifty: and though from this time he had frequent returns of ill health, he never cared to consult physicians; saying, he hoped to die without them; and trusted wholly to the care and advice of his friends, which he often expressed himself so happy in, as to want nothing but health, which since riches could not help him to, he despised them. He was born to a moderate estate, and did not much increase it during his employments, which he tells his son, in his letter to him before the second part of his *Memoirs*, it is fit should contribute something to his entertainment, since they had done so little to his fortunes; upon which he could make him no excuse, since it was so often in his power, that it was never in his thoughts, which were ever turned upon how much less he wanted, rather than how much more: and in a fine strain of philosophy he concludes; If yours have the same turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor. King Charles II. gave him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place after his father, who kept it during his life; and the presents made him in his several embassies, were chiefly laid out in building and planting, and in purchasing old statues and pictures, that still remain in his family, which were his only expence or extravagance, but not too great for his income. Those that knew him little, thought him rich; to whom he used to answer pleasantly, that he wanted nothing to be rich, but an estate; and yet no body was more generous to his friends, or more charitable to the poor, in giving often, to true objects of charity, an hundred pounds at a time, and sometimes three hundred. His religion was that of the church of England, in which he was born and bred: and how loose soever Bishop Burnet represents his principles, (from that common place of hearsay that runs through the whole, for he was not acquainted with Sir William) yet there is no ground for such uncharitable reflections given in his writings, in which his excellent letter to the countess of Essex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence; and to that picture, drawn by himself in his works, I refer those that care either to know or imitate him (29).

(29) His Life, p. xxv. to xxix.

collected together, and by that means are so well known, that to give a particular detail of them, would be pains mispent to the abuse of the Reader's patience.'

TENISON [THOMAS], Archbishop of Canterbury, was son of the Reverend Mr John Tenison, B. D. by Mary, the daughter of Thomas Dowson of Cottenham in Cambridge-shire, where she brought her husband this son, September 29 (a), 1630 (b). But his Father, being Rector of Mundesley in Norfolk [A], sent him, at a proper age, to the Free-school at Norwich, which was then in great repute, under the conduct of Mr Lovering, the Master. Thence he was removed to Cambridge, at seventeen years of age, and admitted a scholar upon Archbishop Parker's foundation, in Corpus-Christi, or Bennet-College, April 22, 1653. He took the degree of A. B. in Lent Term, 1656-7, and from the discouragement of the times to profess the study of Divinity, he applied himself to Physic. However, his thoughts continuing fixed upon the Priesthood, he procured a private ordination at Richmond in Surry, by Dr Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, on the first dawning of the Restoration, in 1659 (c). He proceeded A. M. the following year (d), and being, by virtue of a pre-lection, admitted Fellow of his College (e), March 24, 1661-2, he entered immediately into the province of Tutor, and was chosen one of the University-Preachers, in 1665. Some time before the breaking out of the plague that year, the Dean and Chapter of Ely presented him to the cure of St Andrew the Great in Cambridge, where he conscientiously attended his duty during the whole continuance of that calamity [B], out of gratitude for which, the Parishioners presented him with a handsome piece of plate at his leaving them, in 1667, for the Rectory of Holywell and Nedingworth, in Huntingdonshire (f), given him by Edward Earl of Manchester, who had at that time placed his son Thomas under his tuition, in the College (g), and afterwards appointed him his Chaplain, in which relation he was likewise continued by his successor, Earl Robert. The same year, 1667, he proceeded B. D. and about this time he entered into the conjugal state with Ann, daughter of Dr Richard Love, sometime Master of his College [C]. In 1670, he commenced Author,

[A] Rector of Mundesley in Norfolk.] He was ejected from this living, as his son informs us (1), for his adherence to King Charles I, and a disguised Papist put into his room. Dr. Kennet tells us (2), he became Rector of Bracon-Ash, March 9, 1662, and died there in 1671. Mr. Masters apprehends, that he was Rector of Topcroft in Norfolk in 1646 (3). And we are assured by another hand, that, in 1712, his son, our Archbishop, at the expence of 340 l. rebuilt the chancel of Topcroft church, where his father and mother are buried (4).

[B] He discharged his duty during the plague.] It broke out with such violence, that no body ventured to continue in the college but our Author, two scholars, and a few servants; for whom a preservative powder was bought, and administered in wine, whilst charcoal, pitch, and brimstone, were kept constantly burning in the Gatehouse. Mr. Tenison continued in the college, and attended his cure with perfect safety to himself during the whole time (5). Here then we have an example set to the Bishop of Marseilles in France, so worthily celebrated by Mr. Pope (6), who might, it seems, have found a subject no less worthy of his muse among his own countrymen, though a Protestant. The piece of plate presented him, was a large silver tankard, and upon it St Andrew's cross, with this inscription; *Gift of St Andrew's parishioners in Cambridge, Thomas Wiseman, Nicholas Scute, Churchwardens, 1667.* In remembrance of his former relation to this parish, a little before his death, in the same year, our minister on the other hand gave the parishioners fifty pounds towards repairing their church and steeple (7).

[C] He married a daughter of Dr Love, &c.] The relation which this Divine bore to our Archbishop, entitles him to some further notice in these memoirs, especially as his story is of itself not uninteresting. He was the son of Richard Love, Apothecary in Cambridge, where he was born in 1596; after his education, probably at the Free-school there, he was admitted, about the year 1612 (8), of Clare-Hall, where he became Fellow in 1618, being then A. B. after which he proceeded to that of A. M. (9), and in 1628 was Proctor of the University. In 1631, he was collated to the Prebend of Tachbrock, in the church of Litchfield; and about the same time, became Rector of Ekyngton in Derbyshire. In 1632, he was created D. D. by virtue of a mandate from the King (10), to whom he was then Chaplain; and, by another royal mandate the same year, he was made Master of Bennet-College. In 1633, he was chosen Vicechancellor of the University, to which he greatly endeared himself by a successful encounter at the commencement with *Franciscus de Sancta Clara* (11), who had lately published a book at Doway, wherein he had endeavoured to reconcile our articles of religion with the decrees

of the council of Trent. At the breaking out of the civil wars the Doctor sided with the Parliament (12), and was so well esteemed by his party, that, in 1649, he was chosen by the University, Margaret-Professor of Divinity (12), and soon after presented to the Rectory of Tevington in Norfolk, which had been given by King James for the augmentation thereof. It was not long however before he was in danger of losing both this and all his other preferments, by refusing to subscribe the *Engagement*, when the Independents were uppermost (13), although he had subscribed to live peaceably and quietly, and give no disturbance to the public. He found means to extricate himself from these difficulties, (but whether by submitting to the subscription or not is uncertain) and so continued in his Mastership, and, after the Restoration, obtained the Deanery of Ely, into which he was installed in September, 1660; whence it is probable, that though he had been a member of the Assembly of Divines, had taken the protestation, and complied with the changes of the times, yet, as he either withdrew, or seldom appeared there, so he was not over zealous in promoting the measures pursued by the Puritans in opposition to the King and Royal Family. It is certain that, upon the King's return, he published two orations (14); in one of which he compliments his Majesty in a high strain, expatiates upon the calamities of the late times, and appeals to his brethren, who had often heard him, to bear testimony that he had frequently complained of them within those walls (15); although he thought it not prudent to provoke a tyrant's rage to his own undoing, when it could be of no service to the public; for which he would at any time have offered his life a sacrifice.—He adds moreover, that so far was he from approving the measures of the Regicides, that he laboured all he could to persuade the University to protest against taking away the King's life for their own justification, and offered to be the bearer of it himself to the military council, who then governed. And what opinion the University had of him may be collected from the Grace, whereby having agreed to restore to his Majesty the fee-farm rents they had been obliged to purchase, in order to secure their

(a) In this disposition it is intimated, that he forbore to use his interest for the saving of the monuments in St Benet's church, where many of his predecessors, masters of the college, were interred, from being demolished by one William Dowling, who, in 1643, was authorized by the then prevailing powers to go through Cambridge, and eradicate all the reliques of superstition in the parish-churches (†); in which progress he not only deaced all the painted glass he met with in the windows, but destroyed all those inscriptions in brass or stone which had the precatory form [in use till the reformation] before them. He kept a journal of the reformation he made in each church, which was published from the original manuscript by Zachary Grey, B. L. D. in 1739. See an account of Dowling in p. 17, 18, of *Querela Cantab.* by Dean Betwick.

(a) Le Neve's Fasti, Vol. II. p. 236. from MS. notes of Dr White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, taken from the Archbishop's own mouth, or his papers, which therefore we have followed, rather than Rowne Willis, who places it on the 20th of Sept. Survey of Cath. Vol. II. p. 542.

(d) Masters's Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 392. He was incorporated at Oxford in this degree, June 28, 1664. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 159.

(f) He gave coals every year to the poor of this parish, as long as he held the living. Le Neve, p. 237.

(g) Masters, p. 392. Le Neve says, he served his father's cure at Pracon-Ash in Norfolk some time. Fasti, as before.

(12) In the room of Dr. Holdsworth, who had been elected about six years before, but never admitted, by reason of his loyalty.

(13) In a letter, dated Nov. 20, 1650, is this paragraph: Dr. Love still holds his place, and hath respite for one week, when it is thought he will be voted out.

(14) Emitted, Oratio habita in Acad. Cantab. in solemn Mag. Com. die 20 1660. paulo post Carolus II. felicissime reduecem, prefatoria ad disputationem Theologicam— cui adjungitur Oratiuncula, qua Aug. Regem allocutus est, cum Legati Acad. Cant. anam Regiam gratulam acciderent. Procer collatio de subito agrotante unde Dr Love ejus vices subivit June 5, 1660.

(15) Of the Divinity-school, where this oration was spoken.

(†) The tenant at Ickleton assisted Dowling in travelling the Chancel there. Masters, p. 150. note (f).

(b) The Writer of his Memoirs says 1634 by mistake, as is evident from his sending him to Cambridge in 1633 at the age of seventeen.
(c) MS. notes of Dr Kennet, which take notice that his orders were then entered into a private book of the Bishop's, and not given out till after the Restoration.
(e) The pre-lection was made Feb. 29, 1659, and he was admitted now into a Norwich Fellowship, upon the demise of one William Smith, Masters, as before; who charges, that this pre-lection was first begun, in order to prevent mandates, p. 137; but were abused afterwards.
(1) In his Dedication to the True Account of his conference with Pelton.
(2) Regist. p. 231.
(3) Hist. of CCC. p. 391. note (d).
(4) Le Neve's Fasti, Vol. II. p. 260, from MS. notes of Dr. Kennet, as above.
(5) Masters, p. 161.
(6) Essay on Critic, Ep. IV. line 127, 128.
(7) Le Neve, p. 137.
(8) In the King's mandate for his degree of D. D. dated 1630, he is commended as being known by the experience of near twenty years in the University.
(9) He kept a philosophical act in the certificate of the Spanish and Austrian Ambassadors, who were created A. M. in 1622. Mr. Sterne afterwards Archbishop of York) was one of his opponents, and the dispute was thought to be warmly handled.
(10) All written by his own hand.
(11) Whose true name was Dawson.

by publishing a piece, in 8vo, intituled, *The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined, in a feigned Conference between him and a Student in Divinity*; apparently written to obviate a calumny that had been cast upon him of being a favourer of Mr Hobbes's opinion (b). In 1674, the Parishioners of St Peter's Manscroft, in Norwich, chose him their upper Minister, and gave him a salary of 100 l. per ann. (i). In 1678 came out his *Discourse of Idolatry*, and his *Baconiana* (k) the year following. He took his degree of D. D. in 1680, and on the 8th of October, the same year, was presented by King Charles II, being then one of his Majesty's Chaplains, to the Vicarage of St Martin's in the Fields, upon the promotion of Dr William Lloyd to the See of St Asaph [D]. This large and important cure extending to Whitehall, and the whole Court, set him in the front of the battle against the Papists, both in the latter end of this, and the whole subsequent reign; and he maintained the dangerous post with undaunted, and exemplary courage. In that spirit, he preached and published, in 1681, *A Sermon of Discretion in giving Alms*, which being attacked by *Andrew Pulton*, who was at the head of the Jesuits in the Savoy, the Doctor wrote a defence of it [E]. Upon the 10th of June, 1684, he was abused from the same quarter with a pretended information concerning the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey [F]. This year he also published, *The Difference between the Protestant and Socinian Methods*: in answer to a book written by a Romanist, entitled, *The Protestants Plea for a Socinian*. In the mean time he had rivalled the best disposed zealots of the Romish Church in their much boasted grace of Charity; having disbursed upwards of 300 l. in alms for the relief of the poor of his parish, during the severity of the hard frost in 1683; he also laid the plan for endowing a Charity-school, and setting up a public library, both which he afterwards completed [G]. These amiable

(i) Masters, as before.

(k) See an account of this piece in Lord Bacon's article.

(b) Dedication of this piece to his Patron, the Earl of Manchester. The calumny, was raised upon his having been Tutor to Dan. Scargill, of whom see an account in remark [N], under Dr Spencer's article.

yearly pensions from the Crown in the late unhappy times, they commissioned the Doctor, who had been instrumental in buying them, to wait upon the King at the public expence, and make a tender of them. Lloyd calls him (16) *The natural wit and orator*; and adds, that, when Margaret-Professor of Divinity, he *was sure to affront any man, that put up questions against the doctrine or discipline of the church of England in the worst of times*, which may serve to support the following character of him. That he preserved the same good conscience, which a prudent and honest man, without party zeal and attachments, might do in those times of civil and ecclesiastical confusion; and that he steered as well and wisely through those storms as any pilot could to save his ship (his college and university) from an absolute wreck, till Providence should see good to calm them, and open that safe and happy passage into the harbour it found in the Restoration, to which he contributed all that was in his power, and may be ranked among those moderate Divines, who, for their tenderness towards Dissenters, came under the denomination of Latitudinarians. In which respect we shall see he was copied by his son-in-law, our Archbishop, who bequeathed to the college an excellent picture of him, which is still remaining in the Master's lodge. He lived not long to enjoy his new preferment, departing this life in January, 1660 (17). His remains were deposited in his own chapel. Besides the orations already mentioned, he published a sermon, preached at Whitehall on the monthly fast, March 30, intituled, *The Watchman's watchword*, which was printed at Cambridge, 1642, 4to: there is also a long copy of Latin verses by the Doctor, printed in the congratulations of the University upon the King's return, called ΣΩΣΤΡΑ. He gave fifty pounds in his life-time towards rebuilding Clare-Hall, and left a legacy of ten pounds, with the polyglot Bible, to Bennet-College. The Doctor, as is implied above, was a married man: but all that we know of his wife is, that her Christian name was *Grace*, which gave birth to the following copy of verses upon their marriage, which may serve for a specimen of the humour of those times.

Upon Dr Love and Grace, Mr and Mrs of CCCC.

Is LOVE, that conquers all, o'ercome? must He,
That all doth tye, now himself tyed be?
Who is't that hath this Pow'r? this Art? let's know,
That we to him a Sovereignty may owe?
Who is't that conquers LOVE, dost ask? 'Tis GRACE;
For to none else did LOVE e'er yet give place.
Let LOVE then be the Knot, and GRACE the Tye;
Give LOVE the Onset, GRACE the Victory.
Go, happy Pair, each other's arms embrace,
Live always, like yourselves, in LOVE and
GRACE (18).

(18) Masters, from p. 143. to p. 154.

(19) History of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 190. folio Edition.

[D] He succeeded Dr Lloyd in the vicarage of St Martin's. Bishop Burnet declares (19), that Bishop Lloyd

did, upon his promotion, find a very worthy successor in his cure, Dr Tenison, who carried on and advanced all those good methods that he had begun in the management of that cure, that he endowed such schools, set up a public library, and kept many curates to assist him in his indefatigable labours among them. Dr Kennet tells us (20), that in this office he had done as much good as perhaps it was possible for one man to do. And the writer of his life assures us (21), there was not above two persons in the parish who turned Roman catholics while he was Vicar.

[E] He wrote a defence of it. The Doctor's sermon being also attacked by the Author of *Good Advice to the Pulpits*, he annexed it to a piece, intituled, *An Apology for the Pulpits*, published in 1688, 4to, by Dr. John Williams, Rector of St Mildred's in the Poultry, who was afterwards, by Dr Tenison's interest, raised to the See of Chichester, during the time that the bill of attainder against Sir John Fenwick was depending in the House of Lords, and, being completed Bishop just before the third reading of that bill there, he hastened, on the day appointed for it, to the House, and being in an extraordinary hurry to get himself robed, his patron, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who was putting on his robes at the same time, observed it, and said to him, *Brother, brother, you'll overheat yourself; what's the reason of all this potter? Nothing, may it please your Grace*, replied the Suffragan, *but I was fearful lest the bill against Sir John Fenwick should be read before I could take my place in the house. Eye, my Lord*, says the honest Metropolitan, *you might have spared yourself that labour, since you had no opportunity of hearing the merits of the case at the first and second reading; but since, as I perceive, you are come to give your vote, pray, Brother, come in with me, that you may hear it once read before you do it* (22).

(20) Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 676.

(21) in p. 10.

(22) Life of Tenison, p. 6

[F] He was abused by a pretended information, &c.] There was brought to him, directed in a counterfeit hand, an anonymous letter in the following terms: 'This is from an unknown hand, but it is to let you understand that one serjeant Ramfay lies a dying, desires some Divine to come to him, to unburden his conscience about the murder of Sir Edmond Godfrey. He lives in your parish, in Yorke-buildings: Justice Dew can tell you more; he lives in Suffolk-street. If you have courage to own the Protestant cause, shew it; do your duty; visit him.' On the backside of the letter Dr Tenison wrote thus with his own hand: 'I received this letter June 10, 84, by the penny-post in the evening. This morning I sent Thomas Wickens, my chancel-keeper, to Yorke-buildings, that I might be informed whether Mr Serjeant Ramfay was in the house he had usually lived in there. He brought me word, that the people of the house told him, that he had long left that house, and was gone into the country; and that, if at any time he came to town, he came not thither (23).'

[G] Both which he afterwards completed.] The buildings are under the same roof, and are situated opposite the Upper Mews, at the lower end of Castle-street. Having endowed the free-school, and settled a salary for the

(23) Idem

qualities being accompanied with a grave and moderate deportment, brought him into general esteem, so much, that, in 1685, the Duke of Monmouth chose particularly to be attended by him, both before, and at the time of his execution; and we are told (I); that he spoke to his Grace very plainly, and with a freedom becoming a Minister of the Gospel, in relation both to his public actions, and the course of his private life, yet in so prudent and soft a manner, as not to displease him [II]. In 1687; our Vicar held a conference with Doctor (as he was generally called) Andrew Pulton, above mentioned, in defence of the Protestant Religion [I]; soon after which, he published *A Guide in Matters of Faith, with respect especially to the Romish Practice of such a one as is infallible*; and another piece the same year, intitled, *Mr Pulton considered in his Sincerity, Reasonings, and Authorities: or, A just Answer to what he has hitherto published in his true and full Account of a Conference, &c. his Remarks, and in them his pretended Confutation of what he calls Dr T's [Dr Tillotson's] Rule of Faith*. Not long before this, our Vicar had preached a sermon at the funeral of the famous Mrs Eleanor Gwynn, one of King Charles II's Mistresses, whose Character, according to the great moderation and charity of his temper, he had represented (as that of a dying Penitent) in no unfavourable light: this drew upon him the censure of several of his enemies, especially those of the Romish Church; and an abusive counterfeit piece being actually cried about the streets, under the title of his Sermon; in answer to it, he put the following advertisement, at the end of this treatise, against Pulton: 'Whereas, there has been a Paper cried by some Hawkers, as a Sermon preached by Dr T. at the funeral of Mrs E. Gwynn; this may certify, that that Paper is the forgery of some mercenary people.' In 1680 he had, jointly with Dr Simon Patrick, a considerable sum of money deposited in his hands, to be laid out in works of Charity, according to their discretion [K]. He continued this year to publish other tracts against the Popish Religion [L]; yet, at the same time, was so much respected at Court, that we are assured King James II. was induced, chiefly (m) in regard to him, to take off the suspension which two years before had been laid on Dr John Sharp, then Rector of St Giles in the Fields. This concession, however; was undoubtedly more extorted by the exigence of the juncture, than obtained by any personal interest of Dr Tenison (n). But, in the succeeding reign, his moderation to the Dissenters brought him into higher favour with the Crown. He had been employed, with other eminent Divines, by Archbishop Sancroft, to review the Liturgy, upon the long projected scheme of a comprehension with the Dissenters, before the Revolution; and presently after it, being promoted to the Archdeaconry of London, and appointed one of the twenty Commissioners to prepare matters for the Convocation in the same view, he was very active in this Commission [M] while

(I) In Burret's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. II. p. 190. fol. Ed. C.

(m) Complete Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 488.

(n) Burret's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 677. See also Archbishop Sharp's article.

(*) He is to teach thirty boys of the parish, and has a school adjoining to the school. The Trustees were eight. The Vicar of St Martin's is to be one. (†) Dr Patrick. See Vol. V. p. 3306. (I) Who has an apartment in the end of the library, which is for the use of the Westminster Clergy. (24) In Bishop Ken's article.

(25) Gen. Hist. Vol. VI. p. 231. from Memoirs communicated by Mrs Prowse, daughter of Dr Hooper.

the Schoolmaster (*), by a deed of trust made about 1695 (†). He therein gave 1000l. to be added to 500l. given by the then Bishop of Ely (§), and also the leases of two houses standing on the glebe of the Vicarage, for the maintenance of a Librarian, Usher, and Schoolmaster, who was also to take care of the Library. But there is now a distinct Librarian (||), and no Usher. [H] He spoke to the Duke so as not to displease him. Having referred the Reader to the present article (24), for a further account of Bishop Hooper's behaviour on this occasion, we shall perform that promise here, as follows: In the evening before the Duke's execution, Dr Hooper received, by the Earl of Rochester, a message from the King, immediately to attend the Duke. When he came to the Tower, and acquainted the Duke with his Majesty's order, his Grace received it with some confusion and surprize; but the Doctor assuring him that he was charged with no particular commission, the Duke told him he was very welcome and acceptable to him, and, after much free conversation with him, told him, he would see him in the morning as soon as he was up. The Doctor sat up all night, and in the morning the Duke told him, that he was sure he had made his peace with God. Much time was spent to desire his Grace to consider the nature and foundation of such a full persuasion, which the Doctor very faithfully laid before him with as great plainness and decency, as the Duke's firm adherence to this belief would admit of, in which he persisted to his last moment. The Doctor afterwards attended him to the scaffold, with Dr Tenison, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Ely, where this last Prelate chiefly discoursed him, pressing him to own the truth of the doctrine of non-resistance, and confess himself guilty of rebellion (25). [I] He held a conference with Andrew Pulton, &c.] He afterwards published an account of it under the following title. *A true account of a conference held about religion at London the 29th of September, 1687, between Andrew Pulton, Jesuit, and Thomas Tenison, D. D. as also that which led to it, and followed after it*. Lord. 1687. The same year came out six conferences concerning the Eucharist, wherein is showed, that the doctrine of transubstantiation overthrowes the proofs of the Christian religion. Translated from the French of Mr de la Placette by Dr Tenison, and printed at London, 1687, 4to. Our Author published likewise this year the two follow-

ing pieces in 4to: 1. *The difference between the church of England and the church of Rome; in answer to a book written by a Romanist, intitled, The agreement between them, Oxon.* 2. *An examination of Bellarmine's tenth note of Holiness of life.* [K] According to their discretion. After a proper disposition of some part of it to several charitable uses, (as urgent occasions then required) they determined at last to settle the remainder in augmenting the insufficient maintenance of poor Vicars. And accordingly, for several years, they distributed the sum of 1000l. among twenty such Vicars; one half of the diocese of Canterbury, the other of Ely, in equal portions of 50l. to each Vicar. And to provide for the security and continual fund of the said Charity, they did, in 1697, assign over the principal stock in mortgages and money, amounting in the whole to 2400l. to Sir Nathan Wright, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and other Trustees, to dispose the mean profits yearly to the said relief, and better (26) support of poor Vicars. [L] He published other tracts against Popery. These are as follow: *The Introduction to Popery not founded on Scripture.* 2. *An Answer to a Letter of the Roman Catholic Soldier.* 3. *Speculum Ecclesiasticum: or, an Ecclesiastical Prospective Glass considered in its false Reasonings and Quotations.* 4. *The incurable Scepticism of the Church of Rome*; translated from Placette. To which may be added, as published probably the same year, though according to the Bookellers account not till the following, *The Protestant and Popish way of interpreting Scripture, impartially compared*; in answer to *Pax vobis*, &c. ann. 1689. All in 4to. [M] He was active in this Commission. His province was to collect the words and expressions excepted against throughout the Liturgy, and to propose others more clear and plain in their room, and less liable to objections. The original Papers of all the alterations proposed by the Commissioners, rested in his hands; and he was always cautious in trusting them out of his own keeping, alledging, that if they came to be public, they would give no satisfaction on either side, but be rather a handle for mutual reproaches, as one side would upbraid their brethren for having given up so much, while the other would justify their nonconformity, because those concessions were too little, or, however, not yet passed into a law (27). The original book came afterwards

(26) Kennet of Impropr. p. 310.

(27) Kennet's Complete Hist. Vol. III. p. 591. note [D].

(o) The piece is intitled, A Discourse on the Ecclesiastical Commission, proving it agreeable to the Word of God, useful to the Convocation, &c. 1689. 4to.

(p) Archbishop Tillotson is said to have been his friend on this occasion. Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 254. Edit. 1753.

(r) Kennet's Improv. p. 317, 318.

while it continued, and wrote a defence of it (o); and his distinguished zeal in this cause, is said to have merited a particular sollicitation from Queen Mary for the Bishopric of Lincoln [N] (p), to which he was nominated on the 25th of November, 1691, and consecrated at Lambeth on the 10th of January following (q). He had not been seated in this See above two years, when, upon the death of Dr Francis Marsh, he was offered the Archbishopric of Dublin; but requested this favour as a motive to his acceptance of it, that the impropriations belonging to the estates then forfeited to the Crown, might be all restored to the respective Parish Churches. The motion was approved reasonable by the King, but the difficulties were found so great, that it never could be carried into execution (r); and instead of being translated into Ireland, the Bishop of Lincoln was raised the following year to the Primacy of England, in the See of Canterbury [O]. Soon after this advancement, Queen Mary being seized with the small-pox, the new Archbishop was chosen by her Majesty to attend her, which he did to the moment of her death, and afterwards preached her Funeral Sermon, which, being printed, gave offence to several, and was severely censured in a Letter to his Grace by Dr Ken, the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells [P]. Upon the

(q) Le Neve, p. 241. He held six months the Vicarage of St Martin's in commendam, as also the Rectory of St James, which being taken out of it in 1685, a chapel of ease, in King's-Street, New Golden-Square, and a free-school for thirty-six boys of that parish to be qualified for apprentices, were by a deed of Sept. 10, 1700, endowed chiefly at his expence.

(28) Waterland's Hist. of the Ath. Creed. In the Postscript to the Preface, Edit. 1728.

(29) In p. 20.

(30) In his Hist. Vol. II. p. 136. fol. Edit.

afterwards into the hands of Dr Gibson, late Bishop of London (28).

[N] *He was made Bishop of Lincoln at the sollicitation of Queen Mary.*] The Writer of his Life tells us (29), that this Bishopric was designed for Dr John Scott, Rector of St Giles's in the Fields, by the Earl of Jersey, then Master of the Horse to his Majesty, who therefore, in opposition to Dr Tenison, endeavoured to prejudice him in her opinion. In which view, he represented to her, as she was speaking in respectful terms of the Doctor, that he had preached a funeral sermon, wherein he had spoken favourably of Mrs Eleanor Gwynn, one of King Charles the Second's Mistresses. *What then?* said the Queen, *I have heard as much. This is a sign that that poor unfortunate woman died penitent: for, if I can read a man's heart through his looks, had not she made a truly pious Christian end, the Doctor could never have been induced to speak well of her.*

[O] *He was raised to the See of Canterbury.*] Bishop Burnet insinuates (30), that in his opinion, our Prelate was hardly equal in all respects to this Post. Many, says he, wished Stillfleet might have succeeded, he being not only so eminently learned, but judged a man in all respects fit for the Post. The Queen was inclined to him; she spoke with some earnestness oftener than once to the Duke of Shrewsbury on that subject; she thought he would fill that Post with great dignity. She also pressed the King earnestly for him. But as his health made him not capable of the fatigue that belonged to that province, so the Whigs did generally apprehend, that both his notions, and his temper, were too high, and all concurred to desire Tenison, who had a firmer health, with a more active temper; and was universally well liked, for having served the cure of St Martin's, in the worst times, with so much courage and resolution. So that at this time, he had many friends, and no enemies.

[P] *Was animadverted on by Dr Ken, the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells.*] This he published by way of a Letter, dated March 29, 1695, to the Archbishop. The whole is too long to be inserted here: we shall content ourselves with some passages, that more directly strike at our Author's character. Dr Ken's censure turns wholly upon a supposed want of Duty, in not having represented to her Majesty at this time, the great guilt she lay under by her conduct at the Revolution. To aggravate the Archbishop's offence, he takes notice, that he had not only frequent opportunities, but singular encouragements to have done it. As to the first, he observes, from the Archbishop's own account, her Majesty preserved her senses intire for the greatest part of her illness. As to the second, he addresses himself in these words: 'You had to deal with a person, whose knowledge and wisdom you justly commend, p. 3. and who might easily have been convinced, if in any one instance she had mistaken her duty; you had to deal with one, whose piety and humility you, in many respects, deservedly magnify. I only wish you had added her justice also, to have made her character compleat. However, these three virtues were powerful inducements to have used a conscientious freedom with her. You had, as appears by the character you give of her, a pious, charitable, humble soul, under your care, a subject most happily disposed to work on, who had always been *very reverent and attentive at sermons*, p. 9. who had an averfeness to flattery, p. 12. and who would thankfully have received any piece of charitable or humble admonition you had given her. I now beseech you, Sir, spend a few thoughtful mo-

ments in comparing your performance; as you yourself represent it in your own Sermon, with your knowledge, with the opportunities and encouragements you had, and with the rubrick of the Church. You mention a very religious saying that fell from her, that she had learned from her youth a true doctrine, that repentance was not to be put off to a death-bed; p. 26. But it was your duty, considering the deceitfulness of all hearts, and the usual infirmities and forgetfulness, and indisposition of sick persons, to have supplied all her oversights and omissions, and to have examined the truth of her repentance, whether *she truly repented of her sins*; and where you knew any thing of moment, which had escaped her observation; you ought to have been her Remembrancer. I therefore challenge you to answer before God and the world: Did you know of no weighty matter which ought to have troubled this Princess's Conscience, though at present she seemed not to have felt it, and for which you ought to have moved her to a special confession, in order to absolution? Were you assured, that she was in charity with all the world? Did you know of no enmity between her and her Father, no variation between her and her sister? Was the whole Revolution managed with that purity of intention, that perfect innocence and exact justice, that tender charity and that irreproachable equity, that there was nothing amiss in it, no remarkable failings that might deserve one penitent reflection? You cannot, you dare not say it, and if you should, out of your own mouth I can condemn you; for you yourself, in your serious intervals, have passed as severe a censure on the Revolution, as any of those they call Jacobites could do. You have said more than once, *that it was all an unrighteous thing*. Why did not you deal then sincerely with this dying Princess, and tell her so? when you must be sensible, that in steering her conscience wrong, you shipwrecked your own. What was it, Sir, that moved you to act thus notoriously against your own conscience? was it the fear you had of losing the favour of the Court, which made you rather venture the indignation of Heaven? Even that fear was vain, for it had been no offence against the government to have persuaded a dying daughter to have bestowed one compassionate prayer on her afflicted Father, had he been never so unnatural. Though the case was here quite contrary; for he was one of the tenderest Fathers in the world. Besides, her illustrious Consort, who manifested so very great and worthy a passion for her, would, I dare say, have had nothing omitted, which might have been conducive to her eternal happiness; and a conscientious Confessor, especially on the death-bed, is one of a thousand, who will always be desired, and followed, and revered. Believe me, Sir, you have given the world reason to conclude, that your own conscience misgave you, being sensible, that in reproving her, you must have reproached yourself. You say she was so judicious and devout a Saint, as that degenerate Church of Rome can by no means shew us, p. 9; but surely it had been prudence in you, to have waved that comparison, for should you chance hereafter to blame that Church for canonizing Thomas a Becket, (for which she is really blame-worthy) it is obvious for her to make this in reply to you, that it is as justifiable in her to faint such a subject, as in you to faint such a daughter. You tell us, she was one, whom You are well assured had all the duty in the world for other relations [besides her husband] which, after long and laborious considerations, she judged

the Princess Ann of Denmark's Letter of Condolence to King William (*), on occasion of her sister's death, the Archbishop laid hold of that favourable opportunity of reconciling the Family [2], and was principally concerned in making up the difference between them about the Princess's settlement (s). The several injunctions and circular letters to his Clergy for preserving the order and discipline of the Church, and for healing the animosities that arose in his time about the Trinity, and the distinct powers of the two Houses of Convocation [4], are the subject of general history, as is also his being appointed first of the Lords Justices for the Administration of the Government in his Majesty's absence, every year, during the war, a trust which is naturally incident to the first subject after the blood royal, and as such, is now by custom annexed in a manner to the Primacy (t). But the following particulars are strikingly characteristic of the person, and therefore come indispensably within the plan of these Memoirs. In 1696, our Archbishop gave a signal proof of his zeal for the Revolution in the case of Sir John Fenwick's attainder: when the pious Mr Nelson, who was a particular friend, came to pay him a visit, in order to obtain his vote, if possible, against that bill, he received this answer: *My very good friend, give me leave to tell you, that I know not what spirit this man, nor I, am of; I wish for his, nor no man's blood; but how can I do my duty to God and the King, should I declare a man innocent (for my not being on the side of the bill will convince the world that I think him so) when I am satisfied in my conscience, not only from Goodman's evidence, but all the convincing testimonies in the world, that he is guilty. Laws EX POST FACTO may indeed carry the face of rigour with them; but if ever a law was necessary, this is (u).* Such a conduct must needs gain the heart of King William; and, accordingly, we find his Grace in so much reputation at Court, in 1700, that he obtained a commission, authorizing him, jointly with the Archbishop of York, and four other Bishops (w), to recommend to his Majesty, proper persons for all the Ecclesiastical preferments in his gift, above the value of 20 l. per ann. in the book of first fruits and tenths. He continued in the same favour till the death of this King, whom he constantly attended in his illness, and prevailed with him to put the last hand to a bill for the better security of the Protestant succession (x). In consequence of his station, he had the honour of crowning Queen Ann; but held no degree of favour in the Court of that Sovereign. He continued the same charitable disposition towards the Dissenters, as he had done before; and in the three first years of her Majesty's reign, he steadily opposed the bill to prevent occasional conformity, and spoke with some warmth in the House of Lords upon that subject, in

(*) Bishop Burnet having told us, that the King turned himself much to the meditation of religion, and to secret prayer, observes, that the new Archbishop [Tenison] was often and long with him, and that he entered into solemn and serious resolutions of becoming in all things an exact and exemplary Christian. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. 11. Fol. Edition. See an instance of this in the note (1) below.

(w) Viz. Gilbert [Burnet] of Sarum, William [Lloyd] of Worcester, Simon [Patrick] of Ely, and John [Moor] of Norwich. Le Neve's Fasti, Vol. I. where the Commission is printed at length from the original MS. then in the hands of Dr Edward Tenison, Archdeacon of Carmarthen.

(32) This task, however, was undertaken on another occasion by his friend, Dr. John Williams, who, in answer to Mr Jer. Collier's Remarks on some late Sermons, published A Defence of Archbishop Tenison's Sermon on the death of her late Majesty, of blessed memory; and of the Sermons of the late Archbishop [Tillotson], &c.

(1) For this reason, it is not known whether she mentioned her concern at the King's criminal converse with Lady Villiers; but the Archbishop, it is said, took the freedom to represent to his Majesty the great injury done therein to his excellent wife. The King took it well, did not deny his crime, and promised never to see that Lady more. Whiston's Memoirs of himself, p. 100. Ldit. 1757. from the information of Bishop Me re, who added, that his Grace's Sermon concerning holy resolution, preached at the King's judgings at Kensington before he appeared in public, was designed particularly to confirm his Majesty in this resolution.

(1) Complete Hist. of Eng. and, Vol. III. p. 688.

(t) It is observable, that these disputes proved the ruin of the Convocation, so that while the Dissenters of each sect have their Synodical Assemblies, the Synod of the Church established has never met since to any purpose. Godwin de pre. sub. last Edit. under our Archbishop's Article.

(s) See more of him as Diocefan of Canterbury, in Bret's Account of Church Government, and Government, p. 235, 244. 2d Edit.

(u) Memoirs of his Life, p. 62.

(x) Masters, p. 395.

judged consistent with her obligations to God, and to her Country, p. 15: the consideration then, which she used to reconcile her judgment to the Revolution, was, it seems, long and laborious, notwithstanding the assistance of her new associates; it being no easy matter to overcome the contrary remonstrances of nature, and of her own conscience, and to unlearn those evangelical maxims, which were carefully taught her by the faithful guides of her youth. Others might begin to instil opposite principles into her, others might confirm her, but the finishing stroke was reserved for you. But who do you mean, Sir, by other relations? we may guess that you mean her Royal Father, her Mother-in-law, and her Brother; but you are at liberty to say you mean any other relations, if you please. You give us ambiguous and general words only, when you should have given us most express and particular. *All the duty in the world* is a comprehensive term; but wherein, Sir, did any part of that duty appear? why are you not so just to her, and to yourself, as to give us some of those compassionate and melting expressions of filial duty, which fell from her on that subject? why do you not produce some instances of her mildness and mercifulness to her enemies, p. 16. who, you know, she treated as such, though their crime was their being her Father's friends? It would have been much for her honour, would have given great satisfaction to all good people, would have convinced the world, that the manner of her death had been in all respects truly Christian, p. 23. would have been much for your own reputation, and much for the credit of the Revolution, in which you are as great a zealot, as a gainer. If you were so well assured of all that duty, what dreadful negligence were you guilty of in not putting her in mind of it on her death-bed? Methinks, Sir, you are not just to her, when you give us instances of her charity to several sorts of indigent people, and to strangers, which *all the world knew*, and give no instances of even her natural affection to her own Royal Father, of which *all the world doubted* (31). When, had you suggested that doubt to her, as you ought to have done, she would have shewed herself a tender-hearted daughter, and would have been extremely afflicted for having been instrumental in her Father's calamity. It is far from my intention here to dispute the lawfulness of the Revolution; yet I may say, that I never met with any so bigotted to it, who

would undertake to justify all the part which she, as a daughter, had in it; and, I am persuaded, that it would mightily puzzle you to tell us what those obligations were, which she had to God, and to her Country, which were inconsistent with her filial duty. —The Archbishop never took any notice of this Letter in print (32), and, indeed, few I believe will blame his conduct therein. The reflections too plainly indicate the Author of them to be, on this occasion, carried out of his natural temper, under the influence of spleen and peevishness; the demands were such as could not, in prudence, be complied with; the Queen had satisfied him, as her Confessor, and it was not his business to reveal any particulars of the confession (1). With regard to the Queen, I say, his silence seems to have been highly commendable, and an exemplary instance of the soundness of his judgment. But his censure of the Revolution is of another nature; the truth of the charge is asserted in the most solemn manner; the piety and integrity of the accuser in great esteem among all parties; the words are challenged to be spoken more than once, and consequently the opinion declared by them, could not but be ordinarily deemed the result of a mature deliberation. What could hinder him then from clearing up this matter, which seemed to be of so much importance to his character? Surely it must be attended with some particular paltry circumstances, that were best treated with disregard. No doubt, he gave his friends all the satisfaction they could desire therein. But any notice he should take of it in public, would have given his Antagonist a clear right to publish an answer, and so have furnished a vehicle for carrying fuel to feed the spirits of the Jacobite party all over the nation; whereas, it was the great policy of those times, to let that cause gradually die away, by a cold neglect of those who were quiet, and putting the laws strictly in execution against such as incurred them.

[2] To reconcile the Royal Family.] Upon this occasion, among other arguments, he represented to his Majesty, both her Royal Highness's, and her Consort's prudent and loyal conduct, during their recess from Court; urging, that by their interest they might have given his Majesty considerable disturbance; but that they were so far from any such design, that those Members of either House of Parliament, who had places under their Highnesses, had always appeared foremost in promoting his Majesty's interest (33).

(33) Boyer's History of Queen Ann, in the Introduction, p. 7.

1) The Duties of Marlborough, speaking her behaviour her first coming to Whitehall the Revolution, tells us, it is too evident, many instances, that she acted bravely, that her Conduct, p. 15.

(y) See Bishop Kennet's article.

(z) Dutcheſs of Marlborough's Conduſt, p. 107.

(aa) Gen. Hiſt. of England.

(*) He is particularly charged with neglecting a favourable opportunity to introduce Episcopacy into the Church of Prussia upon the model of the Church of England. Godwin de præful. p. 167. Edit. 1743. Fol.

But there is room to ſuſpect a miſtake in this account. See Dr Græbe's article, in the Appen.

(bb) Newton's Life of Biſhop Kennet, p. 110.

(cc) His Life, p. 107.

1704 [R]. At the ſame time, he teſtified a true regard for the welfare of the eſtabliſhed Church, by engaging Dr White Kennet, afterwards Biſhop of Peterborough, to write *The Caſe of Improvements, &c.* upon the Queen's having graciously given the firſt fruits for augmenting the maintenance of the poor Clergy (y). In 1705, he wrote a Letter to the Princeſs Sophia, acquainting her with his own zeal in particular, as alſo that of her friends, for the ſecurity of the Hanover ſucceſſion; to which he received an answer from that Electreſs, wherein her Highneſs gave ſome intimations of her deſire to come into England at that juncture [S]. Notwithſtanding this part of his conduct muſt needs have been very diſagreeable to her Majeſty, who was always extremely averſe to ſuch a ſtep (z); yet April 10, the following year, he was nominated firſt Commiſſioner in the treaty of Union between England and Scotland (aa). The ſame year, he heartily concurred with the majority of the Lords in their reſolution againſt thoſe who inſinuated, that *the Church was in danger*. This brought upon him the imputation of being no good Churchman; and, as he obſerved, a chief brother riſing into that honour upon a much leſs bottom, in his opinion, for it, he ſaid to him, *Brother, you know I was always a greater Churchman than you* (*); but *even take the name of the Church, whiſt I keep to the Conſtitution of it* (bb). During the ſevere winter, which happened in 1709, he gave a freſh inſtance of his charitable diſpoſition, by an extraordinary liberality to the poor, eſpecially thoſe of his pariſh at Lambeth (cc), where he then kept his reſidence, being much afflicted with the gout. He had laboured many years under that diſtemper, and from this time was ſo much confined by it, that he could not give ſuch attendance in the Convocation, as the great difference between the two Houſes neceſſarily required (†). Upon which occaſion, her Majeſty joined ſome other Biſhops

(†) During this controverſy, one Greenſhields of the Episcopalian Church in Scotland being driven thence, as he ſaid, by perſecution, came hither, and petitioned the Archbiſhop to ſubſcribe to an intended Edition of the Engliſh Liturgy for the uſe of that Church. But his Grace ſuſpected the deſign, and having brought the man to confeſs, that there was not above ten ſuch Churches in Scotland, Then, ſaid he, I ſee no neceſſity for printing a new Edition of the Liturgy; I will ſupply them with ten books at my own expence.

[R] He oppoſed the bill to prevent occasional conformity.]

(34) It was ſaid by a noble Lord, in the debates upon this bill, the preceding year, that the Archbiſhop being asked, what reaſon he had againſt the bill, replied, he had not well conſidered the bill; but that my Lord Somers told him, it ought not to paſs: however that be, it is certain he left that Lord, in his will, a fine picture of St. Sebaſtian.

The laſt time this bill was brought into the Houſe, in 1704 (34), he made the following ſpeech upon the occaſion. The noble Peer that ſpoke laſt, has conſidered the reaſons that are given for the occasional bill itſelf; but, I muſt confeſs, I can ſee none that can ſatisfy me of the neceſſity of it. I think the practice of occasional conformity, as uſed by the Diſſenters, ſo far from deſerving the title of a vile hypocriſy, that I think it the duty of all moderate Diſſenters, upon their own principles, to do it. I think, that however it may be diſapproved by ſome rigid Diſſenters, it ought to be encouraged by all good Churchmen, as a likely means to bring them over. The allowing perſons of a different Religion from the eſtabliſhed, has been practiſed in all countries, where Liberty of Conſcience has been allowed; and we have gone farther already, in excluding Diſſenters, than any other country has done; and whatever reaſons there were to apprehend our Religion in danger from Papiſts, when the Teſt Act was made, yet there does not ſeem the leaſt danger to it from the Diſſenters now. But, on the other hand, I can ſee very great inconveniencies from this bill at preſent. As it is brought in this laſt time, indeed, they have added a plauſible clause, which, though it was in the firſt draught of the bill, was left out in the ſecond, that the Act for Toleration ſhould be always kept inviolable; but the Toleration Act being to take away all the penalties that a man may incur by going to a ſeparate congregation, and the occasional bill being to lay new penalties upon thoſe that do it, how they can ſay that this is not a violation of the other, I cannot very eaſily comprehend. I doubt it will put people in mind of what paſſed in France, where every edict againſt the Proteſtants begun with a proteſtation, that the edict of Nantz ought to be always kept inviolable, till that very edict, in which it was in expreſs words repealed. At a time that all England is engaged in a bloody, and expenſive war; at a time that theſe nations have not only ſuch conſiderable foreign enemies to deal withal, but has a party in her own bowels ready, upon all occaſions, to bring in a Popiſh Pretender, and involve us all in the ſame, or rather worſe calamities, than thoſe from which, with ſo much blood and treaſure, we have been freed; at a time that the Proteſtant Diſſenters (however they may be in the wrong by ſeparating from us, yet) are heartily united with us againſt the common foes of our Religion; what advantage is propoſed by thoſe, who are in earneſt for advancing theſe things by leſſening the number of ſuch as are firmly united in the common cauſe, I cannot for my life imagine. Therefore I am for throwing out the bill, without giving it another reading (35).

[S] That Electreſs intimated her deſire to come to England.] This will be ſeen by reading the letter, as follows:

My Lord,
I received your Grace's letter. You have no reaſon

to make any excuſe, that you have not writ to me more often, for I do not judge of people's friendſhip for me by the good words they give; but I depend upon your integrity, and what you tell me of the honeſt men in England. I deſire no farther aſſurance of their good-will and affection to me, unleſs they think it neceſſary, for the good of the Proteſtant Religion, the public liberties of Europe, and the people of England.

I thank God I am in good health, and live in quiet and content here, therefore I have no reaſon to deſire to change my way of living, on the account of any perſonal ſatisfaction I can propoſe to myſelf. However, I am ready and willing to comply with whatever can be deſired of me by my friends, in caſe that the Parliament think that it is for the good of the kingdom to invite me into England. But I ſuppoſe they will do this in ſuch a manner, as will make my coming agreeable to the Queen, whom I ſhall ever honour, and endeavour to deſerve her favour, of which ſhe hath given me many public demonſtrations, by what ſhe has done for me both in England and Scotland, which you can judge of more particularly. And I muſt remember that ſhe ordered me to be prayed for in the churches. I doubt not but her Majeſty is as much inclined at preſent to eſtabliſh the ſafety of the three kingdoms upon ſuch a foot, that they may be expoſed to the leaſt hazard that is poſſible, and that ſhe will begin with England. Mr How has acquainted me with her Majeſty's good inclinations for my family, which makes me think, that her Majeſty ſees this is a proper time for her to expreſs herſelf in our favour. But whether I am right in this point or no, my friends in England can beſt judge. It is but reaſonable that I ſhould ſubmit myſelf to their opinions and advice, and I depend moſt upon what your Grace ſhall adviſe, which will ever have the greateſt weight with me. Therefore I write the more plainly to you, and tell you my thoughts, that you may communicate them to all you think fit. For they will then ſee, that I have a great zeal for the good of England, and a moſt ſincere reſpect for the Queen. This is the beſt proof I can give at preſent of my eſteem for your Grace; but I ſhall be glad of further opportunities to aſſure you, that I am, and ſhall ever be, moſt ſincerely, My Lord,

‘ Votre tres affectionnée

‘ A vous ſervir,

‘ Sophie Electrice.’

This letter was published ſometime after, together with one from Sir Rowland Gwynn to the Earl of Stamford, upon the ſame ſubject of the Princeſs's coming over, the latter being voted by both Houſes to be a ſcandalous libel, tending to create miſunderſtandings between her Majeſty and the Princeſs Sophia; and the Publisher, Mr Charles Gildon, was fined 100l. by the court of Queen's bench, May 12, 1707 (36).

(36) Boyer's Annals of Queen Ann, year IV. p.

with

with him, in a Commission for executing the office of President in that Assembly. This was thought a little derogatory to his Grace's title (*dd*), and though he continued to distinguish himself in the most memorable debates in Parliament, till the great change of the Ministry, in 1710 (*ee*), yet that change of the public affairs, together with his growing infirmities, induced him to live in a more retired manner at Lambeth. And, indeed, he had no farther share in the Administration of affairs, either ecclesiastical, or civil, than what was purely due to his Post, during the reign of Queen Ann. But her decease brought him again to Court. He was one of the three State Officers, in whose hands were lodged, by authority of Parliament, one of those instruments, empowering her successor, if abroad at the time of her demise, to appoint such Regents as he should think proper to continue the Administration in his name, till his arrival. His Grace, therefore, notwithstanding his ill state of health, went himself to the Council with this instrument (*ff*). He had also, afterwards, the satisfaction of crowning King George I, and of being admitted to a private conference with him; when his Majesty was highly pleased with the plainness and sincerity of his conversation, and took an opportunity of expressing his sense particularly of the Archbishop's modesty, in the most striking manner, to one of his Courtiers [*T*]. This was the last, and only time of our Primate's attendance upon that Prince: whence, after recommending Dr Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, for his successor at Canterbury, and his Chaplain, Dr Gibson, for the See of Lincoln, as he had done with great zeal before, Bishop Fleetwood for the See of Ely, he returned to his Palace at Lambeth, where he continued till his death, which happened on the 14th of December, 1715, in the seventy-ninth year of his age (*gg*). He was interred privately in the chancel of the Church at Lambeth, and in the same vault with his wife, who died the preceding year (*bb*), leaving him without issue. He gave very particular directions concerning his funeral, in his will. By which, besides several benefactions bestowed in his life-time, he left an uncommon number of legacies, and he bequeathed several charities, the most remarkable of which, we shall mention in note [*U*]. The residue of his fortune, which was very considerable, he ordered to be equally divided to the children of his kinsmen, Dr Edward Tenison (*) [*W*], Mr Richard Tubby, and Mr George Fage (*†*). As he lived

(*dd*) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II.
(*ee*) Masters, as before.

(*ff*) Political State, Vol. VIII. p. 103. 114.

(*gg*) His Life, p. 111.

(*bb*) Viz. on the 12th of Febr. 1714. The Inscription on the grave-stone.

(*†*) He likewise left Mr Fage 400 l. as one of his Executors, as he did 300 l. to Mr Sam. Bradey, the third Executor. Idem.

[*T*] In the most striking manner to one of his Courtiers.]

This was a certain nobleman that had been a great solicitor for grants, &c. on all occasions, who asking his Majesty how he liked the Archbishop, he was pleased to answer; to the greatest degree of satisfaction. since that venerable old man had been above an hour and a half with him, and in all that time had not asked one favour of him for himself or friends (37).

[*U*] His most remarkable charities.] His will is dated April 11, 1715 (38). The first article in it is the inscription over his grave,

Here lyeth
the Body of THOMAS TENISON,
late
Archbishop of Canterbury,
who departed this life in peace
on the 14th day of December,
MDCCXV (39).

Besides the donations already mentioned in his life-time, he founded a charity-school at Lambeth for the education of twelve poor girls; and another at Croyden. He built, anno 1706, the episcopal throne in the church of Canterbury, at the expence of 244 l. 8 s. 2 d. In 1707, he gave books to the library of St Paul's cathedral, London, to the value of 256 l. 17 s. In 1709, he gave seventy guineas to the poor Palatines. In 1710, he gave 30 l. towards beautifying the chancel of the parish-church of Cranbrook in Kent. In 1713, he presented to the church of Lambeth a velvet pall, which cost him 46 l. (40), and he had before been a great encourager of Strype in writing his life of Archbishop Parker, besides bearing the expence of the plate of his Grace's figure prefixed thereto. To these must be added his benefactions to Bennet-College in Cambridge, to the amount of about 3000 l. (41), and to the University 50 l. to advance printing there, besides the copy of Dr Spencer's book *De Legibus Hebraeorum*. By his will he gave to the Society for propagation of the gospel, 1000 l. toward the settlement of two Protestant bishops; one on the continent, the other on one of the isles in North America. The interest of which sum to be given in the mean time to such disabled missionaries of the province of Canterbury as have discharged their trusts faithfully. To the Governors of Queen Ann's bounty for the augmentation of five small livings in Kent, 1000 l. (42). To the corporation for the relief of clergymen's widows and children, 500 l. To Bromley-College, fifty guineas toward repairing the house, and the like sum to the poor widows thereof. To the French Protestant refugees, 100 l. To the parish of Lambeth, a piece of ground for a burying-place, whereon his school was

erected. To Archbishop Whitgift's hospital at Croyden, 100 l. with 400 l. to the school founded there in his life-time. To ten poor Rectors or Vicars in the diocese of Canterbury, 10 l. each. To the poor of Canterbury, Lambeth, and Croyden, 40 l. each. To those of St Martin's in the Fields, London, and St James's, Westminster, 30 l. each. And to those of Topcroft, Tharston, and Bracon-Ash in Norfolk, Cottenham in Cambridgeshire, and Holywell in Huntingdonshire, 10 l. each. He gave his fire-engine, maps, and pictures, in Lambeth-house, to the use of his successors; and many books and papers to the library there. To his chaplains, relations, and servants, &c. he made handsome bequests; and to Dr Lilly Butler, minister of Aldermanbury, who had many children, 50 l.

[*W*] Dr. Edward Tenison.] As this relation of our Archbishop made some noise in his life-time, we shall give the following account of him. He was a native of Norwich, and son of the Register to the Archdeacon of Norfolk, and nephew to the Lady Dorothy Browne, widow of the famous Sir Thomas Browne the physician. After going through St Paul's school, under Dr Gale, he was admitted of Bennet-College, Cambridge, in 1690, and soon after became a scholar of the house, upon Archbishop Parker's foundation. In 1694, he took the degree of A. B. at Cambridge; but proceeded to that of LL. B. (43) probably at Lambeth, where he was afterwards created D. D. He was ordained both Deacon and Priest by Bishop Sprat in 1697, and collated by our Archbishop the same year to the Rectory of Wittersham in the isle of Oxney in Kent, which he quitted, in 1698, for that of Sundrich, a peculiar of the Archbishop's in the diocese of Rochester, to which the same patron afterwards added the adjoining Rectory of Chidingstone, which he held together for many years. In 1704, he had the Prebend of Tarvin in the church of Litchfield, but resigned this to his kinsman, Mr George Fage, upon his instalment to a Canonry in that of Canterbury in 1708, and to the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen the same year. Upon the first arrival of his late Majesty King George II, then Prince of Wales, in England, the Doctor was appointed one of his Chaplains, and so continued after his advancement to the throne. He had married a lady, whose name was Searle, more nearly related to the Archbishop than himself, she being his niece; he had by her one son and five daughters, to each of whom his Grace bequeathed 1600 l. and made him one of his Executors (44). His Uncle, who had been Steward to the Archbishop, left him all his substance, to the amount of 12000 l. With which, and a great part of his children's fortunes, he embarked in the South-Sea, in 1720; and, when stocks were at the highest, bought an estate of Lord Bulkeley's, in the isle of Anglesea, which

(43) Where he took this degree is not certainly known.

(44) In the discharge of this trust, he entered too warmly into a litigation with Archbishop Wake about the dilapidations of the palaces at Lambeth and Croyden: the merits of which he published. Letter to Mr Archdeacon Tenison, &c. by Henry Farrar, Proctor in the Commons. Lond. 1714. 4to.

(37) He also left to this kinsman's son, Thomas Tenison, who was his Godson, 300 l. to each of his daughters 50 l. and to the father, Dr Edw. Tenison, 1000 l. as one of the Executors of his Will. From the Probate in the Prerogative Office.

(38) His Life, p. 111.

(39) The Probate in the Prerogative Office.

(40) It is upon his grave-stone of black marble.

(41) On it was a bible, embroidered with gold and silver, and this sentence: There remaineth a rest for the people of God. Le Neve, under the Archbishop's article.

(42) Besides paving Bennet-college hall with stone, and wainscoting with oak that Norwich fellowship chamber wherein he himself had dwelt, he gave the advowsons of the Rectories of Duxford, St Peter in Cambridgeshire, and of Stalbridge in Dorsetshire, and the interest of 1000 l. for augmenting scholarships and fellowships left by his will. Masters, p. 64, 79, 80.

(43) The Rectories of Hawking, and St James in Dover, and the vicarages of Lidden, Debtling, and St Dunstan's, all in Kent, or the city of Canterbury.

(ii) p. 112.

lived in the times of the severest trial, so his character has been variously represented. The following sketch of it being taken from the Writer of his Memoirs (ii), with some alterations, is submitted to the readers censure. He was a Prelate who ordinarily, through the whole course of his life, practised that integrity and resolution he first set out with: nor was he influenced by the changes of the age he lived in, to act contrary to the pure and peaceable spirit of the Gospel. He adorned his high station with an exemplary Piety, and a munificent Charity, and was happily endued with such a hardiness of temper, as enabled him to steer the Church with steadiness through those violent storms of party, the rage of which too much affected the too tender spirit of his Predecessor. The Primate's character, as a writer, is seen in his performances of that kind. He had the misfortune to be given by Burnet (kk) for a very learned man, who maintained the Protestant cause against Popery, not only with courage, but judgment too. This high-charged colouring, provoked another Writer to darken it, by representing him as losing ground in the controversy with the Church of Rome, maintaining that he was foiled in his conference with Pulton the Jesuit, for want of capacity to defend so good a cause; and had committed too many blunders in his writings, to be reckoned, either a man of good sense, or extraordinary learning (ll). Upon the whole, it cannot be denied, that the Archbishop's writings set his character as a scholar far enough above contempt; and though we should allow, that his manner is rather heavy and clumsy, than elegant or accurate; yet that bitter sarcasm upon him, which is commonly fathered upon Dean Swift, cannot be treated with too much indignation, that *he was hot and heavy like a Taylor's Goose*. Besides what has been already mentioned, the Archbishop published several other pieces, a list of which is inserted below [X].

(kk) In the Hist. of his own Time, Vol. II. p. 190. fol. Edit.

(ll) Higgons's Rem. on Burnet's History, p. 186.

(45) He agreed to give 3000*l.* and deposited 1000*l.* which was forfeited on his being unable to complete the purchase by the fall of stocks.

(46) This arose from prejudices contracted in its favour, by some books he had met with at school, so that at one breaking-up he travelled on foot through Wales to take a survey of it.

(47) Late Dean of Canterbury.

(48) As was thought for want of bleeding, to which he would not submit.

(49) After burying all her daughters single, except one, who married Mr Peter St Eloy, one of the Deputy-Registers of the Prerogative-Court of Canterbury.

(50) But clogged with such conditions, that the Society refused it, and the clause was afterwards revoked by a codicil. Agriculture was his favourite study; he encouraged and recommended it in his Diocese, by publishing two books of *Calumella De Re Rustica*, which he gave away to the youth, who were lovers of it. Ware's Hist. of the Irish Bishops, p. 433. Edit. 1739.

(51) A strong instance of this temper we have in his remarkable Protest, made in the Convocation, in 1717, in the height of the Bangorian Controversy, in defence of that Prelate, printed Feb. 1717-18.

which purchase was made void by act of Parliament (45). He retired however to that island, with all his family, in 1723, to which he had a strong attachment (46); but on trial, finding it by no means answerable to his expectations, he was glad to return again to his prebendal house at Canterbury, for which Church he was chosen Professor in Convocation, in 1727. Where, after resigning Sundrich to Dr Lynch (47), and Chidingstone to his son, he resided till 1730, when he went first Chaplain to the Duke of Dorset, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who gave him the Bishopric of Ossory in that Kingdom. Upon which he resided the rest of his life, which was not long, being cut off by a pleurisy (48), in 1735. He died at Dublin, and was buried in St Mary's Church in that city. His wife survived him, and has not been dead many years (49). By will he bequeathed 40*l.* per ann. during life, to Michael Stephenson, a Deacon, to catechise the children of Papists in the parish of Kilkeasy (a wild and mountainous part of his Diocese) where he obliged him to residence, under the penalty of forfeiting the pension.—To the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant schools, 20*l.*—To every Incumbent, and Resident Curate in his Diocese, a copy of the latest edition of Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants. To the poor of Kilkenny, Canterbury, Sundrich, and Chidingstone, 20*l.* each. To the parishes of Aghnacart, Rosconnell, Kildemogh, Kilbeacon, Listerling, and Kilkeasy, 10*l.* each, for building and enlarging small oratories within the ruined walls of those Churches. And to Bennet-College in Cambridge, besides a legacy of 200*l.* for the encouragement of the study of agriculture, he bequeathed 40*l.* per ann. for founding a lecture on husbandry (50). The Bishop being ever of a generous hospitable disposition, was likewise liberal in his charities while living; and no man had the propagation of the Protestant Religion more at heart, than himself; but he has been thought, by some, in great measure to have defeated his own good intentions, by too intemperate a zeal, by too unhappy an obstinacy in his temper, and by too inflexible an adherence to his own schemes and ways. In public life, he was indefatigably resolute in the support of the present establishment; and in carrying forward any work of common utility: in private, no one was more loved as a friend, nor dreaded as an enemy; so that nothing could better characterize him, than the motto he made choice of, *Petra immobilior* (51). Besides his Protest, mentioned in the margin, he published two Letters to the Prolocutor [Dr Stanhope], in 1718; and two Sermons, one called, *The Excellency and Usefulness of a Public Spirit*, preached before the Gentlemen educated at St Paul's School, January 25, 1710; and the other preached before the Lords at Christ-Church, Dublin, November 5, 1733.

His only son, Thomas, who was born in Kent, in 1700, and bred at the Schools of Croyden and Sevenoak, was admitted, by proxy, at Bennet-College, in May, 1711; but being then of an unstatutable age, that admission was superseded, which his father, for other reasons, so resented, as afterwards to enter him at Clare-Hall, where he resided when he came to the

University; but after taking the degree of LL. B. there, in 1724, he removed to Trinity-Hall, being put into a Fellowship by Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, the Master, upon a lapse incurred by the Fellows, and proceeded LL. D. in 1726. His father being uncertain what profession he might make choice of, and that no qualification for any might be wanting, admitted him both at the Temple and Doctor's Commons, at the same time that he did at the University: however, he had like to have eluded all these precautions, and defeated all his father's views, by an imprudent conduct. Provoked by a gentle, though just correction, at Sevenoak School, to which he was removed against his will, he stole away to Bristol, and embarked there on board a vessel in the slave trade, bound to Guinea, where, by his good behaviour, he rose to be Superintendent of the slaves, during their voyage to Barbadoes. Great offers were made him there, on account of his skill in writing and accounts, if he would have staid, and become a Schoolmaster; but being, by this time, desirous of returning to his native country, he rejected these, and after eighteen months absence, and being obliged to work his passage home, as a common sailor, he came to his family and friends, who, having heard nothing of him during all that time, received him gladly, though his habit and complexion, at first, disguised him from their knowledge. After his return, his father grew exceedingly fond of him, and upon his leaving the University, resigned to him, in April 1727, first the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, and then the Rectory of Chidingstone, which he held with the Vicarage of Lydd in Kent, and the Sinecure of Llandrillo in Wales. He was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of Oxford, 1734 (*), after having been Commissary in that of Canterbury, of which Cathedral he was installed a Prebendary, February 10, 1738, where, May 7, 1742, he died (52), and was buried, not living to finish the new prebendal house he had begun. His first wife was the eldest daughter of Dr Potter, then Bishop of Oxford, who died in 1729 (53). His second wife, who survived him, was the daughter of Mr Smith of Nottingham, by whom he had one son living, in 1757, and a daughter. The Doctor, from his youth, was of an open, generous, good-natured disposition, but mixed with such a warmth and impetuosity of temper, and that inflamed by a party zeal, as made him impatient of any control, and inclined him to be self-opinionated and wayward (54).

[X] A list of which is inserted below.] These are the following Sermons: 1. *Against Self-Love*; before the Commons, on a fast, June 5, 1689. 2. *On doing Good to Posterity*; before their Majesties, at Whitehall, in February, 1689-90. 3. *On the wandering of the Mind in God's Service*; February 15, 1690. 4to. 4. *The Folly of Atheism*; before the Queen, at Whitehall, February 22, 1690 (55). 5. Before the Sons of the Clergy, December 3, 1691. 4to. 6. *Concerning the Celestial Body of a Christian*; before the Queen, at Easter, Lond. 1694. 4to. 7. *Concerning Holy Resolution*; before the King, December 30, 1694. 8. *A Letter to the Archdeacon, and the rest of the Clergy of St David's*; Lond. 1703. 8vo.

(*) Upon the resignation of the Lord Talbot, Lord Chancellor of England.

(52) He had laboured some years before his death under an aneurism in one of the Carotid arteries.

(53) In child-bed, at the age of eighteen, and was buried in St Margaret's, Westminster, where a monument is erected to her memory.

(54) Masters, p. 400 to 405.

(55) He also wrote a Preface to a piece entitled, *Certain Passages which happened at Newport in the Isle of Wight*, Nov. 29, 1648, relating to King Charles, written by Mr Edward Cook of Higham in Gloucestershire, sometime Colonel of a regiment under

Cromwell, first published in 1690. 4to. Bishop Kennet from the mouth of the Archbishop, who complained to him, that the Preface was left out in a following edition. Comp. Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 178.

9. *A Copy of his Speech*; February 19, 1701-2. 10. *His Circular Letter*; Lond. 1707. 4to. He is likewise supposed to be the Author of *The Grievances of the Church of England, which are not in the Power of its Governors to remedy*. And there is a Letter of his, relating to the life of Thanet, among Mr Lewis's manuscripts, once in the possession of the late Dr Rawlinson, but is now in Sir Peter Thompson's collections.

And there is a Letter of his, relating to the life of Thanet, among Mr Lewis's manuscripts, once in the possession of the late Dr Rawlinson, but is now in Sir Peter Thompson's collections.

THORESBY [RALPH], (a) an eminent Antiquarian, who flourished in the latter end of the last, and the beginning of the present Century; was descended from a family, whose origin is carried up as high as to the time of King Canute, the Dane [A]; and at the Norman conquest, was seated at Thoresby in Yorkshire. But that branch, from which our Author sprung, having been settled for several generations at Leedes, in the West Riding of that County, where they lived in good reputation as merchants, he was born there on the 16th of August, 1658, and after going through the Grammar-school of that town, was carried, in 1677, for further improvement, to London, and placed in the family of a worthy relation by his Father; who, though a merchant by profession, had a particular turn to the knowledge of Antiquities (b), which being inherited by this his eldest son, he employed his leisure hours in visiting the most remarkable places in and near the great Metropolis, copying the monumental inscriptions, studying their history, and particularly collecting accounts of Protestant benefactions (c). However, his Father designing him for his own business, sent him the next spring, 1678, to Rotterdam, in order to learn the Dutch and French languages, and to be perfected in mercantile accomplishments. The young Gentleman made a good progress in the languages, studying them grammatically: and in the interim, joined in company with some other Gentlemen, (who understood them) in a tour that summer through the principal towns in Holland, when he made several ingenious observations on the manners of the people, and the curiosities of the country. But his stay there happened to be much shorter than was intended; for being seized with a dangerous ague, he was obliged to return in December, the same year, to his native air. The distemper proving still obstinate after his return, he made several small excursions the ensuing summer, in order to clear off the remains of it. These exercises, though undertaken for the sake of his health, furnished him with an opportunity (which he did not let slip) of improving his knowledge in local antiquities. But scarce was he recovered from this disorder, before it pleased God to visit him with another severe affliction in the sudden death of his father [B], on the 31st of October this year, 1679. This melancholy event devolved

(a) The chief particulars of this article were communicated by the eldest son of Mr Thoresby.

(b) He was also possessed of a good share of learning, and superintended every part of his son's education.

(5) The title of which may be seen in Bale's Script. Brit. Cent. 6. p. 493. Some constitutions of his in a provincial Synod, in 1364 and 1367, are among Dodsworth's MSS. at Oxford. And some regulations made by him in Fossegate hospital at York, are in Dugdale's Monast. p. 266. Edit. 1718.

(6) The original MS. is in the Archbishop's Register-office at York, which being transcribed in 1702 by Mr R. Thoresby, is printed in his Vicaria Leodiensis. Append. No. 7.

(7) Wood's Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon. p. 181.

(8) The Chapel, with all its rich furniture, was demolished at the Reformation.

(9) See the article of R. Sutton, Founder of that hospital.

(10) He died at Mackney, and was buried in that Church, where there is a handsome monument to his memory.

(11) Ducat. Leod. p. 71, 72, 73.

(12) He sometimes diverted himself with writing as well as reading poetry, A copy of recommended verses by him is prefixed to Scarborough Spaw, spagyrically anatomized by G. Tomial, M. D. edit. 1670.

(e) Here he also began by the direction, and after the example of his Father, to keep a Diary of his Life, which he continued till near the time of his death.

[A] *Whose origin is carried up to the time of Canute.*

The pedigree of this family, which is one of the most complete that we have (1), begins with Aykfrith, or Aykfrith, a noble Baron, who in the time of King Kneut, the Dane, was Lord of Dent, Sudbergh, and twelve other seignories, which, in the time of King Edward the Confessor, descended to his son Arkill, whose son, Gospatrick, was Lord of Thoresby at the Conquest; whence the family from that time took the name of Thoresby. From Gospatrick, in the fifth lincal descent, sprung Sir Adam Thoresby, Knight, of Thoresby near Middleham, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, one of whose great grandsons, was the famous Cardinal John Thoresby, who being bred at Oxford, was much esteemed both as a Divine and Canonist (2), and in September, 1347, was consecrated Bishop of St David's, having been made, on the 2d of July preceding, Keeper of the Great-Seal, by Edward III, whom he attended the same year at the siege and taking of Calais, with a retinue of one Banneret, two Knights, thirty Esquires, thirty Archers on horse-back, and thirty-six on foot (3). In 1349, he was translated to the Bishoprick of Worcester, and the same year made Lord Chancellor of England. After which he was created Cardinal of *St Peter ad Vincula*, and in 1352, nominated Archbishop of York, and being enthronized in 1354, he then resigned the Great-Seal, devoting himself intirely to the duties of his spiritual function with exemplary humility and charity (4). In this spirit, he made an accord with the Archbishop of Canterbury, whereby he waved the right of bearing the cross in his province, a dispute which had long subsisted, to the great scandal of the Church. In 1361, he began the foundation of the choir in York Minster, and, laying the first stone himself, gave 100 l. then, and 200 l. per ann. afterwards, till it was finished. He also beautified the Lady's-Chapel at the east end with images and pictures of costly, and excellent workmanship, and removing the bodies of diverse of his Predecessors, that lay dispersed about the Church, he had them entombed there at his own expence, leaving a place for himself in the middle: he likewise founded a Chantry therein, with a salary of 40s. per ann. Lastly, he gave this Church two mitres of considerable value. Besides these benefactions, he gave the Rectory of Roxby to the Monks of Drax, erected Vicarages in some improper Churches ill served before, and enlarged the en-

dowment of others. Some of which Vicars he defended in an express treatise against the Friars Mendicants, in Latin (5). But his principal glory is his English *Exposition of the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Sacrament* (6), &c. which he ordered all the Clergy to read diligently to their parishioners, a reform justly to be admired for the courage shewn in it in the time of Edward III; and in the same spirit, he was a great favourer of Wickliffe, and is justly named the first of that first Reformer's friends (7). He died November 6, 1373, at his manor of Thorp, and was interred in the middle of his Chapel aforementioned (8). This Archbishop's elder brother, Hugh Thoresby, was father of John Thoresby, who flourished in 25 Edward III, and was Ancestor to three families of his name, seated in Yorkshire, Essex, and Norfolk; from the first of which descended Henry Thoresby, who, removing to London, became one of the first Governors of Charter-house (9), and having no male issue, the above-mentioned manor of Thoresby came into the possession of Sir Thomas Hardress of Great Hardress in Kent, who married Elinor, sole daughter and heir of the said Henry (10); whose younger brother, Ralph Thoresby of Woolham near Barnard-Castle, was father to George Thoresby of West Cottingwith, Com. Ebor. and George's eldest son, John Thoresby, Merchant and Alderman of Leedes, was grandfather to Ralph Thoresby, the subject of the present article, to whom we owe this account of his family (11).

[B] *His father died suddenly.* The manner of his death must needs have greatly surprized his family. In the evening of the 30th, he went in good health to bed, and in the morning was found dead on his knees and face. It was somewhat remarkable, that in the evening, after reading a portion of Scripture as usual, he insisted in his explication much longer than his ordinary custom, and prayed with the greatest fervency imaginable. In his closet also was found a short pious hymn, written with his own hand, and, no doubt, his own composition (12), beginning with the following lines:

Remember, Mortal, that unlook'd for death
Oft in deep sleep surprizes vital breath;
Then slumber not, for often the most sound,
When he thinks least, next morning dead is found.

(1) Richard Lee Clarendon added this note to it. But, in my opinion, I never saw any descent so well travelled, nor truly set down. Ducat. Leod. p. 75.

(2) Upon which account, John Baconthorp dedicated to him his Commentary upon Aristotle's Ethics. Godwin's Catalogue of the Archbishops of York.

(3) In all ninety-nine, which was more than half a dozen of some of the Barons, and eighteen among the Knights. MS. of the late Mr Warburton. Somerset Herald.

(4) Stubbs de Pontif. Ebor. inter decem Scriptores Anglia, p. 173.

(d) Jeremiah and Abigail.

devolved on him the care of a brother and sister (d); whose education and settlement in the world, he conducted with a paternal tenderness and prudence: In the mean time, he entered into his father's business of a Merchant; and because the foreign woollen trade from Leedes had fallen to decay before the old Gentleman's death, he endeavoured to make up that defect by the linnen trade, in which view he purchased his freedom in the incorporated Society of Merchant-Adventurers, trading to Hamburg. Being now settled in business, he began to think of entering into the nuptial state, and accordingly, on the 25th of February, 1684-5, he married *Anna*, the third daughter, and coheirs of *Richard Sykes* of Leedes, Gent. [C]. He was extremely happy in his choice; but this domestic happiness was soon disturbed by the infelicity of the times under James II. He had been bred among the Presbyterians, but never imbibing any of their rigid principles, he had always occasionally conformed (e) to the established Church; and now that Popery began to threaten the ruin of that Church; he more frequently attended its worship, in the view of promoting such an union of the Protestants, as was in this juncture thought necessary on both sides, for their mutual preservation. All this while, though merchandize was his profession, yet learning and antiquities were his great delight, and they took so firm a possession of his heart, that contenting himself with a moderate patrimony, he made those researches the great employment of his life. He had been initiated into these studies by his Father, and the old Gentleman's learned friends (particularly the Fairfax family (†)) observing the son's inclination and genius, turned the same way, transferred their respect to him. But the number was much increased by himself. Two of the earliest and most intimate of these, were Mr Thornton, the Recorder of Leedes, and the celebrated Bishop *Nicolson* [D], to whom must be added, Bi-

(e) In this too he was trained up by, and followed the example of, his Father.

(13) His Diary, now in the hands of his eldest son.

(14) A funeral sermon was preached the next day at the Presbyterian Meeting-house, by Mr Sharp, the Minister there, who also wrote an account of his life, being assisted therein by Mr Thoresby. Both pieces are in Mus. Thoresb. MSS. in 4to. No. 158.

(15) Vide Phil. Collections for Jan. 10, 1681-2. No. 4. Article 2. by Dr Martin Lister, to whom he was well known.

(*) The Chief Magistrate is styled Alderman by our Author, from the first incorporation of the town, in 1626, to the Restoration; when a new Charter being granted, he gives the title of Mayor to the same Magistrate. Ducat. Leod. p. 265.

(16) Among other benefactions, he built and endowed St John's church, here. Vicaria Leod. p. 79.

(17) Ducatus Leod. p. 34, 263, 266.

(†) This Gentleman wrote an excellent answer to *Priestcraft in Perfection*; as also *Reasons for taking the Oaths to Queen Anne*: both in Mus. Thoresb. MSS. in 4to. No. 178.

Such an extraordinary case may serve to confirm the opinion of some Divines and Philosophers, that the soul of man, when near its separation from the body, acts with an extraordinary vigour, and becomes receptive of a kind of prophetic influence: an observation which was remembered on this occasion by his son, who piously added his own assent to it (13). The old gentleman was buried in St Peter's church (14), where there is a decent monument erected to his memory, with an elegant Latin inscription, which, because of the great resemblance it bears to the character of the son, we shall insert as follows:

M. S.
*Juxta in pace requiescit
quod mortale fuit*
JOANNIS THORESBY, Gen.
THORSEBIORUM DE THORESBY Comitatus EBORAC
*Antiquæ, qua ortus est, familie
Ornamenti;*
*Historiarum & Antiquitatum peritissimi (15):
Viri, si quis alius*
*Ob exemplarem & vere primævam pietatem.
Venusitam morum Comitatem
fervidam erga omnes charitatem
Deo & hominibus dilectissimi.*
*Cujus
piissimam & bene præparatam animam
Mors repentina non abripuit, sed
Cælo reddidit*
XXXI O. Tob. Anno { *Salutis MDCLXXIX.*
 Ætatis suæ LIV.

He was the founder of the *Museum Thoresbianum*, by purchasing the Lord Fairfax's valuable collection of coins and medals of his Lordship's executors, after it had been enriched with the coins and medals collected by Mr Stonehouse, Rector of Darfield in Yorkshire.

[C] *Daughter and co-heir of Richard Sykes.* This gentleman was descended from a family of his name at Sykes-dike near Carlisle, whence William Sykes, a younger brother, coming into this country, improved his fortune considerably by the cloathing trade: his grandson, Richard Sykes, was Alderman of Leedes when first incorporated, and one of the most eminent merchants in these parts, whose son, Richard Sykes, Mrs Thoresby's great grandfather, was also Alderman (*) of the town in 1629 and 1636, and first purchased the manor from the crown. But, at the request of Mr Harrison, a grand benefactor to the place (16), let him and half a dozen more come in as joint purchasers with him, on this consideration, that the Lordship, if vested in a single person, would have given him too great a superiority; which the good old gentleman not being ambitious of, reserved only one share for himself, and another for his son, William Sykes, merchant, admitting the rest as he had contracted for it. The old gentleman, as is said, being great grandfather to Mrs Thoresby, our Author in her right became possessed of his share (17).

[D] *Mr Thornton, Bishop Nicolson, Gibson, Keimet, &c.* To begin with the first of these, Mr Thornton (†). This most intimate and useful friend was possessed of a

curious library, in which were many valuable manuscripts, and gave Mr Thoresby the liberty of taking copies of whatever he pleased, who, among other things, transcribed a folio volume of the pedigrees of the gentry of the West-riding of Yorkshire, written by Mr Hopkinson, with which he enriched the *Museum Thoresbianum*. To this eminent Recorder is joined Bishop Nicolson, with whom our Author held a constant correspondence, and their mutual communications were free and frequent, and ended not till death (18). What gives this learned Bishop a title to a prime place among our Author's correspondents is, that he first of all discovered the value of that famous silver Runic coin, or medal, which is the distinguishing ornament and glory of the *Museum Thoresbianum*. This most curious piece had lain in the father's collection unnoticed, as being unknown till the son sent it, being not bigger than a silver groat, under the seal of a letter to his friend, Dr Nicolson, then Archdeacon of Carlisle, who returned it with a reading and interpretation of the inscription, as follows, *Thur Gut Luetis, i. e. Thoris Dei facies, The Effigies of the God Thor* (19). This is literally the greatest curiosity of the kind in the world. This single medal being the only one known to be in any Museum in Europe, with the true Runic letters upon it. On one side it represents the figure of the God Thor, with a glory incircling his head, and a scepter or golden mallet in his hand; on the reverse two crescents, &c. A learned Foreigner has printed a treatise upon it, intitled, *De argento Runis seu literis Gothicis insignito, quod delineatum in Camdeni Britannia Anglice nunc loquente, & ampliata literato exhibetur orbi, sententia Nicolai Kederi, Regii antiquitatum collegii, quod Holmiæ est, Assessoris Lipsiæ* 1703, 4to (20). This otherwise invaluable piece is more particularly so to the family who possess it, by bearing the God Thor (21), whence the name of Thoresby is derived. The word *bye* in the Saxon language signifying habitation; so that Thoresby intends the habitation or seat of Thor. In our Author's *Museum* is a coin of King Edward senior, an. 901 (22,) with this inscription, EDWARD. REX. round the King's head, with a crown and a sort of arched scepter. On the reverse these words, DORR. ON EOFFERIC, i. e. *Thor of York* (23); and another of King Edward the Confessor, an. 1042, with the same words on the reverse (24). Whence he concludes, that this Thor was probably the very same person who is frequently mentioned in the Domesday-book, as having had a vast estate in the Northern parts of England. However, being disposed thereof by the Conqueror, most of it lay waste at the time of that memorable survey. But to proceed, The new edition of Camden's *Britannia* in 1695 introduced our Author to Dr Gibson, at whose request he wrote notes and additional observations on the West-riding of Yorkshire, and, for the use of this edition, he transmitted above a hundred of his coins to Mr Obadiah Walker (25), who undertook that province which relate to the Roman, British, and Saxon monies. And, when the Bishop was preparing that work for another and more complete impression, Mr Thoresby sent a great

(1) Mr John Thoresby had merited the Patronage of this family, first by entering into the army under the General in the Parliament's service, and afterwards, in 1659, against the remains of the same Parliament, then called the Rump, and in favour of the King's Restoration; when Mr Thoresby not only engaged himself, but brought a large party along with him. Mr R. Thoresby's Diary.

(18) They were strictly cotemporaries, the Bishop being born in 1655, and dying in Feb. 1726-7; see his Article; and our Author's birth happened in 1658, and his death in Oct. 1725.

(19) The substance of his description is inserted in Dr Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, p. 814.

(20) Most Danish Antiquaries being of opinion, that no current monies were ever minted in these Northern Kingdoms before the Runic characters were laid aside, therefore Mr Keder, differing from all others, will have the image, which has a glory round its head, on the face of this coin, to be that of our Saviour.

(21) One of the deities of our Saxon or Danish ancestors, whence that day of the week called Thursday, or Thor'sday, takes its name.

(22) Ducatus Leod. p. 344. * P is the Saxon W.

(23) As explained by our Author: the steps being easy from Eoferwic to Yferwic, Yorwic, and York.

(24) Ducatus Leod. p. 347, 348.

(25) Master of University-College in Oxford in the reign of King James II. See his Article.

many

(g) Besides the Archbishop, he consulted other judicious friends on this important occasion, particularly Mr Thorn, the Recorder above mentioned. He was also more inclined to the Church by the ministry of the Vicar of his parish, Mr Kingbeck, a Clergyman of so excellent a character, that Archbishop Sharp, in a private conversation, professed him to be his Clergyman as an example, both for preaching, and practice. Vic. Leod. p. 725.

shop Gibson, Dr Gale, Dean of York, and his two sons, Dr Hickes, Sir Andrew Fountaine, Mr Wauley, Mr Hearne, Dr Richardson, Mr Ray, Mr Strype, Bishop Kennet [D], and above all, Archbishop Sharp, his Diocesan: who, to his knowledge in Theology, added a good taste for coins and medals, and collected a curious cabinet of them. Their conversation frequently turned upon subjects of that nature, and his Grace presented to him a copy of his Remarks on English, Scotch, and Irish money (f), requesting his additions to them, with his opinion of some particular Saxon coins, which it was difficult to determine to what King they belonged [E]. But, in the interim, there arose an affair more immediately interesting to Mr Thoresby, in which he consulted the Archbishop, and received from him a most affectionate treatment, as well by letters, as personal conversation. We have already observed, that our Author, in the time of King James, frequently attended the worship of the Church of England, in the view of strengthening the Protestant bulwark against the Papists. This compliance, though done with so good a design, happened highly to displease his Presbyterian Pastor, who, how worthy soever in other respects, behaved on this occasion with such an indiscreet zeal, as turned to the prejudice of his own cause. Mr Thoresby was thereby prompted to enter into a closer examination of the arguments on both sides, and, advising with the Archbishop, was settled by his Grace in full communion with the Church established (g). In the mean time, the circle of his acquaintance, already large, kept continually spreading [F], an advantage which naturally grew

(f) See a particular account of the Contents of this treatise in Mus. Thoresb. No. 95. of the MSS. in folio, Ducat. Leod. p. 528.

many queries to Mr Thoresby, which were answered with alacrity, and the desired expedition accompanied with other miscellaneous observations, entirely to his Lordship's satisfaction.

The particulars of the mutual communication between our Author and Dr Gale, Dean of York, and his two sons, especially his son, Roger Gale, Esq; are too numerous to insert here (26), but frequently and gratefully acknowledged in the Ducatus Leodiensis. Our Author, speaking of the Armitage family, and their chief seat called Kirklees, observes that it was of old a Benedictine nunnery. Near which the noted Robin Hood lies buried under a grave-stone, that yet remains near the Park, but the inscription scarce legible (27). But he afterwards gives us, from the papers of Dr Gale, Dean of York, the following epitaph:

Here underneath this last stean
 lais robert earl of Huntingun
 nea arer ver as hie sa geud
 an pip kauld im robin heud
 sick uclaw; as hi an is men
 wi englant mbr si egen.
 obit 24 kal. decembri; 1247 (28).

Mr Thoresby's correspondence with Dr Hickes was also for some time very frequent. Among other things, the Doctor favoured him with his thoughts upon the inscription of the abovementioned Runic medal. Concerning which he varies a little from Bishop Nicolson, rendering it, *Thor Deus Populi*, seu *Thor Nationis Deus*, vel *Deus Patrius*. Thor the God of the People, Nation, or Country. The reason whereof may be seen in Sir Andrew Fountaine's *Dissertatio Epistolaris to Thomas Earl of Pembroke*, where it is very well engraved (29).

Mr. Thomas Hearne requested our Author's correspondence, the favour of which he acknowledged often in print. For instance, in his edition of Livy's Roman history, Vol. 6, p. 181, for an inscription relating to the ninth legion (30). Mr Hearne also published a letter of Mr Thoresby at the end of the first volume of Leland's Itinerary, concerning some antiquities found in Yorkshire, with a discourse of his own upon them (31). And to his *Sylloge Epistolarum a variis Angliæ Principibus scriptarum*, at the end of *Titu Livii Fero Juliensis Vita Henrici Quinti*, he has subjoined *Auctarium Epistolarum ex Autographis in Museo Thoresbiano* (*). This celebrated Antiquary published likewise a letter of Mr Thoresby's to Dr Richardson of North Bierly in Yorkshire, giving an account of the hospital of St Mary Magdalen at Baure, in the West riding of Yorkshire (32). Mr Strype thought himself obliged to our Author for communicating some original letters in his collection (33). Mr Ray, among other things, received from our Author a collection of Local words (34), with which he promised to enrich the next edition of that book, if there should be a call for another. Bishop Kennet, in his correspondence with our Author, thankfully acknowledges the receipt of some accounts of benefactions, &c. from him. Besides these persons mentioned above, Mr Thoresby imparted to Dr Edmund Calamy memoirs of several Northern Divines for his *abridgment of Baxter's life and times*, as he did also of some of the worthy Royalists to Mr Walker for his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, which was

published as an antidote to Dr Calamy's book: esteeming good men of all parties worthy to have their names and characters transmitted to posterity.

[E] *The Archbishop desired his opinion of some particular coins, &c.* His Grace had begun a most useful work, of collecting the endowments and benefactions belonging to the churches and chapels in his extensive diocese, and desired Mr Thoresby to give him an account of what things had been done of that kind in the parish of Leedes. A more agreeable task could not have been enjoined him; and from the commissions of pious uses, and other manuscripts, he returned so ample and satisfactory an history, that he not only received his Grace's thanks for it, but the thanks also of his successor, Sir William Dawes.

[F] *His acquaintance, already large, kept spreading.* It would be injurious to the memory of Mr Thoresby, in whose composition gratitude was a most rich and lovely ingredient, to omit mentioning, among his principal friends, his obligations to Mr Boulter, of Gawthorp-hall, a gentleman of ample fortune, and as great munificence; a considerable patron of learning and learned men; the noblest benefactor to his Museum, and for whom he drew up the antiquities of his seat and parish of Harwood. To Mr Boulter must be added that noble benefactress, Lady Elizabeth Hastings, to whom he was indebted for many acts of favour and respect. And to his friends among the Antiquaries must be subjoined Dr Benjamin Longwith, first Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and afterwards Rector of Petworth in Sussex, and Mr Smith, Rector of Melfonby in Yorkshire. To the former of whom Mr Thoresby's collection was helpful in settling the true standard of the Roman ounce (35) by a very curious *Denarius*, described in a treatise written by the latter (36), for the use of which, among the rest of his Roman coins, it had been furnished by our Author. In general, Mr Thoresby was well respected by the clergy and gentry of his town and neighbourhood, who had any taste for learning or regard for piety. But it is in particular due to the memory of Mr John Lucas, to acknowledge how kind, affectionate, and serviceable a friend he was to our Author and his family, as well after as before his death, for many years; and though his business was teaching young people to read and write, yet he was a good master of the learned languages, was an excellent historian, and left behind him, in writing, many good collections, and especially a large folio history of *War-ton* (where he was born), and parts adjacent in the county of Lancaster, which, by interspersing a great variety of observations, ecclesiastical, civil, and natural, he has rendered a useful work (37). Moreover, Mr Thoresby's skill in heraldry and genealogy rendered him a very serviceable correspondent to Mr Arthur Collins in his *Peerage of England*, and an acceptable one to the principal persons of the college of arms at London, especially Mr Anlis, Garter Principal King at Arms, Mr Le Neve Norroy, Mr Dale, and others. His judicious skill in coins and medals procured him a hearty welcome to the cabinets of other Virtuoses in that way, particularly to that of the famous Earl of Pembroke, who regarded him with an extraordinary condescension and affectionate familiarity, and his knowledge in coins was greatly improved by the Earl's curious collection.

(35) Observations on Dr Arbutnot's book on coins, weights, and measures, subjoined to the second Edition of that treatise.

(36) Entitled *De Re Nummaria*, where their correspondence is inserted.

(37) Mr Lucas enriched the *Museum Thoresbiano* with a book, intitled *Fasciculus temporum*, a great curiosity, printed in or about 1485. Vicaria Leod. p. 75.

(26) In the Index to the Ducatus Leod. are no less than forty-four references to this family.

(27) Ducatus Leod. p. 91.

(28) Id. p. 576.

(29) Sir Andrew Fountaine's Numism. in Dr Hickes's Theaurus. It is also well engraved in the last Edition of Camden's Britannia.

(30) See also Phil. Transf. No. 305.

(31) Ibid. No. 322.

(*) He also prefixed to the fourth Vol. of Leland's Itinerary, a Dissertation upon the *Securis Lapidea*, or Flint-mallet, in Mus. Thoresb. containing some curious remarks upon the Matter, which, instead of a Scepter, is put into the hands of the God Thor. Ducat. Leod. p. 565, 566.

(32) Appendix, no. XIX. to Langtoit's Chronicle.

(33) Particularly no. of Archbishop Whigge, inserted in his list of that prelate. Appendix, no. XLIV. and LVII.

(34) This letter is inserted in the Philosophical letters of Mr Ray, published Dr Derham.

(b) Out of regard to the memory of Mr Thoresby's modesty, we forbear to enumerate the many Nobility and Gentry, both of our own country, and foreigners, who visited his Museum, and honoured his Album with their names and mottoes.

(k) This Gentleman, in the catalogue of his own collection of coins, occasionally mentions several of our Author's, and particularly extols one as a great curiosity, that obdional piece, which was coined by the Governor of Pontefract for the King, after the death of Charles I, and has this inscription round the Castle, *Carolus Secundus, 1648*; and on the reverse, a Crown with *C. R. Dum Spiro, Spero*; being the first monies that bore the name of Charles II.

out of the felicity of his disposition. He was not more diligent to encrease his learned treasure, than communicative of it to others. It would be almost endless to enumerate the assistances which Mr Thoresby gave, in one way or other, to the works of the learned. By these kindnesses, sweetened with the easiness of access to his own Cabinet, he always found the like easy access to those of other Virtuoso's, which gave him frequent opportunities of enlarging his collection far beyond what could have been expected from a private person, not wealthy. And perhaps no private gentleman, beside himself, had so general, and so respectable an acquaintance among persons of the first reputation in the literary republic (b). This, as it did him great honour, so was it a mighty support to him under the several vexations, and some great losses, which he met with in the course of his life. Among other Virtuoso's, he commenced an early friendship with the celebrated Naturalist, Dr *Martin Lister*. It was to this friend, that he sent an account of some Roman antiquities he had discovered in Yorkshire, which being communicated by him, and Dr Gale, Dean of York, to the Royal Society (i), obtained our Author a Fellowship of that learned body, into which he was unanimously chosen at their anniversary meeting on St Andrew's day, 1697; and the great number of his papers, which appear in their Transactions, shew how deserving he was of that honour [G]. At the same time, this connexion was of use, by enlarging the number of his friends, and gave rise to his correspondence with Sir Hans Sloane, Mr Evelyn, Mr Chamberlayne, and others. He was likewise well known to, and respected by, Mr Folkes (k), Dr Woodward, Dr Mead, Dr Stukeley, and many of those Gentlemen who were afterwards incorporated by the title of The Society of Antiquaries. He had, of a long time, formed a design of doing honour to his native town and its environs, by writing the history thereof, and with this view had accumulated a vast quantity of materials for the work, which came out under the title of *Itineras Leodiensis*: or, the Topography of Leedes, and Parts adjacent (l). In this piece, he frequently refers to the historical part intended for giving a view of the state of the northern parts of the kingdom, during the dark, and more remote ages of the Britons and Romans; and of the alterations afterwards made by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans; and he proceeded so far, as to bring his narration, in a fair copy, nearly to the end of the sixth Century, illustrating and confirming his history by his coins [H]. The reason of his leaving off there, may be easily conjectured from his

(i) He was recommended by them for a candidate.

(l) To which is subjoined, *Museum Thoresbianum*: or, a Catalogue of the Antiquities, &c. in the Repository of Ralph Thoresby, Gent. &c. which, though printed as the title-page, declares, in 1712, was first published, together with the Ducat. Leod. in 1714. There is an account of both in Phil. Transf. No. 344.

[G] *The great number of his papers in the Phil. Transf.* The following is a complete list of them: No. 222, 231, 234, 241, 244, 249, 256, 264, 277, 279, 282, 289, 291, 296, 297, 303, 304, 305, 306, 310, 316, 319, 320, 322, 331, 335, 336, 344, 372, and 377. They relate chiefly to Roman and Saxon monuments of antiquity in the North of England, with notes upon them, and the inscriptions of coins, &c. The rest containing accounts of uncommon accidents, &c.

[H] *His Manuscript was left unfinished.* This curious piece, which consists of thirty-three pages in quarto, being communicated by the present possessor, was carefully perused, and being found well prepared for the press as far as it extends, and very worthy of the public acceptance, we have obtained his consent to insert it here, in hopes that it may excite some able hand to carry it on and compleat the noble design of its Author in it. In the first leaf is this passage, apparently designed for a motto in the title-page.

Tho' in the North, yet there doth God work.
Job xxiii. 9.

In partibus Septentrionalibus homines et ingenio et moribus cultiores sunt, inter quos et per quos Deus maxima opera præstat.

Poli Synopsis Critic. in locum.

Historical part of the Ducatus Leodiensis.

Though my design be chiefly to collect the memoirs of persons eminent for learning and piety, beneficence and valour, who have adorned these Northern parts in later ages, wherein we have the advantage of more certain and express authorities, yet I shall endeavour to give a view of the state thereof, during the darker and more remote ages of the Britons and Romans, together with the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, only resolving to be more short where positive authorities cannot be had, as none are to be expected in parochial affairs during the first epocha.

For though *Jeffery of Monmouth* and his followers boast not only of twenty-eight cities, but of twenty-five flamins and three arch-flamins in those cities, in whose places King Lucius, upon the conversion of the nation, appointed the like number of bishops and archbishops; yet it is evident from *Cæsar*, that, though the Britons were populous, yet their habitations were like those in Gallia (1), woods fortified with ditches and rampires. Nay, the very learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* argues, that *Cæsar* takes not a city for a place, but for a people under one government, and that *civitas* is not once used

by him in any other sense (2). This was resented so heinously by the Cambro-Britanni, that the learned Mr *James Owen* writ an answer thereto, stiled *Vindiciæ Britannicæ*, which he favoured me with a sight of in manuscript. And upon the whole I am of opinion, that, tho' the cities had their improvement from the Romans, yet their original, even as cities, were from the Britons.

Amongst the twenty-eight cities, which are expressly mentioned by *Nennius*, a British historian, who flourished eleven hundred years ago, is *Caer-Loidcoit* or *Caer-Luytcoit*, as Archbishop *Usher* found it writ in some of the ancient manuscripts (3), of which he had the opportunity of consulting nine. *Geoffrey* indeed writes it *Lindcoit*, and applies it to *Lincoln*. But the learned Dr *Gale*, who first published *Nennius*, in his emendations of that ancient historian, thinks it rather applicable to *Leedes*, [*Leedes* in *Elmeto* (4)] and adds further in a letter to myself, *it might be your town, but by no means Lincoln*. There are two reasons that, in my opinion, do abundantly confirm the learned Dean's opinion, that it is rather to be applied to *Leedes* than *Lincoln*. 1. The name of the place itself, *Caer-Loidcoit*; now *Coit*, signifies *wood*, and, being taken appellatively, what reference can the monosyllable *Loid* or *Luit* (and it is never writ *Lind* by any of the ancient historians) have to *Lincoln*, but it manifestly has to *Leedes*, or *Loidis*, as it is called by *Bede*, and King *Alfred* in his Saxon version of that venerable Author (5). So that *Caer-Loidcoit* signifies, in our modern dialect, the city of *Loid* in the wood. 2. The circumstances of the actions, wherein the place is mentioned, which I believe any one, who impartially considers them, will acknowledge do more genuinely suit this than that city. The Britons having driven the Saxons out of *Lincolnshire* northward, we find mention of *Caer-Loidcoit* as a place further north than *Lincoln*; and so *Caer Coit Celedon*, which in the British tongue signifies *Hassels*, now both *Hasselwood*, and *Bede's Sylva Elmetæ* being in this tract, it might well be stiled *Loid* in the wood. I would not herein argue as a party man, such being apt sometimes to force an argument where it comes not in voluntarily, and as an evidence do freely relinquish what a learned Author hath lately granted concerning the rencounter, anno 1091, betwixt the two Kings of England and Scotland, which he says was in the province of *Leedes* in *Yorkshire*; because in truth (which is always to be preferred) it was *Lothian* in *Scotland*.

As to the signification of the British name *Loid* or *Luyt*, Mr *Owen* beforementioned writes to me that 'it signifies *Grey*, and is a famous name amongst the Britons to this day (as *Gray* amongst the English). One of

(2) *Stillingfleet's* true Antiq. of London and its state in the Roman times, p. 473.

Leedes one of the twenty-eight British cities.

(3) *Usher's Brit. Eccl. Ant.*

(4) *Gale's Hist. Britann. p. 135*

(5) *Edit. Wheloe p. 146.*

(1) *Cæsar's Com. lib. 5. cap. 4.*

The signification of the British name,

advancement in years; he therefore contented himself with committing to the press, his *Vicaria Leodiensis*: or, the History of the Church of Leedes, &c. which was published at London

(6) Epist. 17
March, 1703.

of them I know, says he (6), to be the eldest house descending from the British Kings; and adds, most of the families of eminency in that his native country were in those ages deduced from colours. When it is writ *Lind*, it is a corruption of *Luyt* or *Lbwyd*, which is the original word; but, because *Ll* cannot be well pronounced by the English, *Fl*, being something near it in sound, is substituted in its place, and corruptly writ *Floyd* or *Loid* or *Lud*. It is certain that *Coit* or *Coet* signifieth a wood in British, and *Kaer* a city, and it might be called *Caer-Lud* or *Loidekoit* [the city of *Lud*, or *Lud* in the wood] to distinguish it from another *Caer-Lud*, or *London*: both so called from some great man or men, who built the cities that bear their names, corruptly *Lud* or *Loid*, but more regularly *Lbwyd*. To what my deceased friend has writ let me add, that a place in this town is called *Lid-gate* to this day, the same which, in some ancient charts belonging to the Lords of this manor, is called the *Tower-hill*, from some such fabrick built there in former ages, as is probable not only from its situation in the highest part of the town, but from some very large stones, and foundations of such a building, at a considerable depth below those of the late houses (?); but whether of British antiquity, from *Tŷr a pile*, *L. Turris* (8), or later ages, will be hard to determine at this distance of time.

A tower there.

(7) Ducat. Leod. p. 32.
(8) Lhuyd's Archaeol. Brit. p. 288.

My Lord Almoner obliged me with a curious remark, which cannot be better expressed than in his Lordship's own words, where, having spoken of the Saxon etymology, from *Leod* *populus*, (which was my first thoughts) he adds, *verum alius (puto) quærenda est origo vocis Britannicum LLWYD (inter alia ejus significata) statum denotat rebus undique prosperis amœnum. Annon igitur Leedes hæc Eboracensis, (ut et illa Cantiorum, altera) Bellostii nomen cum Oxonio aliquando meruit? Huic equidem conjecturæ subblandiri videntur Illa Regii Bede Interpretis on tam laudæ de Loïd 17 hæten* (9).

(9) Epist. D. D. W. Nicolson, Episc. Carloli. Dec. 8, 1694.

(10) Ducatus Leod. p. 213.

I have formerly observed (10), that, though the names of the towns and villages in these parts, being of later erection, are generally Saxon, as *Hundryfe*, *Holbec*, *Ferneleg*, &c. yet the rivers and the woods, into which the natives retired, retain the British names. As to *Ara*, the learned *Clarencieux* has long since informed us (11), that it is deduced from the British word *Ara*, which signifies *slow*, *easy*, as *Araris* (*Saone*) in France, and is very suitably applied to the calm and smooth course of this river *Ara*; whereas the very next river, *Wherfe*, is swift and violent, fretful and angry, as the same historian expresseth it, which he inclines therefore to deduce from the British *Gner*, swift, the Roman *Verbeia*; for, as the industrious Mr *Lhuyd* truly observes (12), *Gu* is common to the Britons, with the French, Spaniards, and Italians, and that the Romans began such words with an *V* consonant. But we need not go five miles for another instance; there is a nameless water near the town of *Leedes*, which is of British original from *Dour*, whence the bridge over it is called *Dow-bridg*, for *Dour-bridge*, as *Dow-gate* at *London* for *Dour-gate*. For an example of woods we have *Cat-Beefton* in this parish, which, in the language of those ages, signifies the *Woody Beefton*, from *Coit Sylva*, as the vale of *Catmere* (13), or the *Woody field* or ground. I was at a loss for the Etymon of *Cat-Beefton*, as it is sometimes called in ancient writings, till Mr *Owen* informed me, that *Coed* as well as *Coit* doth in the British signify a *Wood*. *Archæologia Britannica*, since published, has also *Keed Sylva*, p. 160. So also the *Salvus*, or *Sylva Andred*, was by the Britons called *Coit-Andred*. (14). I shall only give one instance more that relates to those times, and it is *Bardsley* by *Rigton* near *Harwood*, which seems to be denominated by the ancient *Bards*, the historians and poets of those ages when the ancient festivals were little esteemed without the *Carmina Bardi* chanted to the harp. It is said King *Arthur's* sepulture at *Glastonbury* was discovered by one of their historical ballads, and it is certain that Mr *Neile*, the late Bishop *Hopkins's* steward, found some gold by a particular description of the place given in another of them (15).

The river *Ara* British.

(11) Camden's Britan. XXIII. & 710. Edit. 1697.

So *Wherfe*.

(12) Comp. Etimol. p. 9. col. 3.

(13) Camden's Britan. p. 455.

(14) Somner, of the Roman ports and forts in Kent, (p. 106.) to which the learned Bishop of Lincoln has added instructive and judicious remarks.

Bardsley.

(15) Camden's Britan. p. 1021.

The *Brigantes*.

While the government of the Britons lasted, the *Brigantes*, a people stout and numerous, possessed not these parts only, but almost the whole tract between the east and west sea, containing *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, as Sir *Henry Savile* enumerates them in his Edition of *Julius Agricola's* Life by *Tacitus*. These struggled hard with the *Romans* to maintain their ancient freedom, which brings me to the next Dynasty.

That *Julius Cæsar* made an expedition into Britain fifty-five years before the incarnation of the blessed *Jesus*, is evident beyond contradiction, but must be omitted here, because he never penetrated thus far. *Augustus* was not ambitious of extending the bounds of the Empire. *Tiberius* followed his example. *Caligula* indeed, solicited by *Adminus* (*Cunobaline's* son) made a ridiculous expedition, of which nothing remains, but the ruins of a *Pbarus* upon the coast of *Holland*, and called there *Britenbuis*. But *Claudius*, in the third year of his reign, ann. Dom. 44, came in person, and having taken *Camelodunum*, the King's seat, reduced the fourth part of Britain into the form of a province, which gave a mighty turn to affairs here, where he was four times saluted emperor, and upon his return to Rome, had a glorious triumph, and to perpetuate the memory thereof, called his son *Britannicus*. *London*, that noble *Emporium*, was built in his time, faith the learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* (16). *Aulus Plautius* was the first *Legatus*, or *Proprator*; for those provinces that were under the immediate care of the Emperor (as *Britain* was) had a Governor in chief over the whole province sent among them, whose title commonly was *Legatus Aug. Proprator Prov.* who had his chief residence in the *Metropolis*. He had power of life and death, which the *Procurator Cæsar's* had not, except in smaller provinces (as *Pilate* in *Judæa*, under the Prefident of *Syria*.) As the capital causes belonged to the *Legatus*, so those of the *Exchequer* belonged to *Cæsar's Procurator*; whence the Britons complain in *Tacitus*, that whereas, before they had one King of their own, they had now two put upon them, the *Legate*, who disposed of their blood, and the *Procurator* of their estates.

The Roman invasion.

Claudius was the first of all the Romans, who made an attempt upon our *Brigantes*, and that these very parts were full of men and actions in those times, is evident from the plentiful remains of that nation, which are yet to be met with. Of these, none can be more remarkable, than the great military road upon *Bramham-moor*; *Leland* himself confessing, *I never saw yn any part of England so manifest a token as heere, of the large high crest of the waie of Wateling streate, made by hand, as I found it in a transcript of his Itinerary for Lancashire and Yorkshire, lent me by his Grace, the late excellent Archbishop Sharp, with liberty to transcribe both, which I gladly undertook: but the whole Itinerary is since most accurately printed, in nine volumes, with many learned and curious additions by my kind friend, the ingenious and industrious Mr Thomas Hearne, at Oxford. In the sixth volume of which, is published a most judicious account of the four great Roman ways. I formerly intimated (17), that I supposed it to be the performance of the very learned *Roger Gale*, Esq; and can now assure the Reader that it is so. By which essay it is manifest, that those Authors who called this way *Watling-street*, are mistaken, and that it is the *Erming-street*, the course whereof through these parts, I shall give in his own words.*

(16) The Antiqu. of London, p. 535.

These parts full of men and actions. Temp. Claudii, &c.

Their high-ways.

(17) Ducat. Leod. p. 579.

Erming-street.

As soon as you are out of *Doncaster*, it rises with a high bank, and carries you to *Adwick in the Street*, and is again visible a little to the west of the Park by *Pontfract*. Thence it crosses the *Ara* at *Castlesford*, and goes by *Ollerton* and *Ledston* to *Abersford*, and appears on several places of *Bramham-moor*. It is cut by the river *Wherfe*, at *St Helensford*, a little below *Weiberby*, but the *Agger* shews itself again immediately on the north side of it, and proceeds in a direct line to *Aldborough*. It is frequently visible in the way thither; but is not the great road now generally used, which lies to the west of it; nevertheless it is well enough known in those parts by the name of the *Road-gate*, or *Road-way*. Near *Burrowbridge* it passed the *Eure*, and a mile north from that river you have it again, as soon as you are out of *Kirby-hill*, from whence it scarce ever disappears for near twenty miles together, having been paved, as is still evident. From this place to *Cattarick*, in a straight line, and about fourteen miles of it being hedged in on both sides, is now called *Leeming-lane*, from a town of that name standing upon it, and the *High-street*. Besides this grand road, there were several *Via Vicinales* from one station to another, particularly one from the great *Consular-way* upon *Bramham-moor*, by *Thorner* and *Shadwel*, through *Street-lane* in this parish (so called from the Roman *Stratum*) by *Haw-Caster-rig* (so denominated from their *Castrum*) to *Adle-moor*, where the

Their *Via Vicinales*.

Street-lane.

Haw-Caster-rig.

the

the vestigia of a Roman town were discovered, ann. 1702. Some funeral monuments, and other antiquities discovered there, are now deposited in this Musæum by the kindness of *Cyril Arthington*, Esq; F. R. S. Lord of the Manor (18); thence through the grounds of *Thomas Kirk*, Esq; F. R. S. (an ingenious virtuoso, since deceased) at *Cookridge*, over the moors to *Ilkly*, a known Roman station. Another of these *Via Minores*, (though these also were large and publick, compared with the more private *Agrarian* ways) brancheth from another part of the said *Erming-street* to *Berwick in Elmet*, where the great *Agger*, that *Camden* supposeth to have been the walls of the town, when the Saxon Kings resided there, seems to have been a Roman work, and particularly raised by the *Vandals* (and from them called *Wendal-hill*) of whose expedition into these parts more anon. Thence over *Whitkirk-moor* by *Thorpe Stapleton* (19) to *Leedes*; where this very year, 1717, in digging for clay for re-edifying a new Vicarage house, the labourers found a paved causeway, a yard below the present surface of the ground; it was twelve feet in breadth, for this part, being low and moist in those ages, was set with stones, as is another (just as broad) in the parish of *Bringley*, lately discovered by the learned *Dr Richardson*, which doubtless, as he says, was a Roman way (20). Upon the ascent of the hill, on the other side of the rivulet here called *Sheeps-car-beck*, are the remains of a large camp, the *Agger*, considering its nearness to the town, and the interposition of so many ages, is very great; this, from the single *Vallum*, and the convenience of water (a thing the Romans always made sure of,) may, I think, be safely pronounced one of the many camps they had in these parts. At the head of the very same beck, is another of them, which being upon the moors, and four miles distant from hence, is intire to this day. It is near the Roman town upon *Adle-moor*, before mentioned. This camp at *Leedes* retains somewhat of the *Vallum* in its present name, *Walflat*; for it is plain from all Authors who write upon that subject, that the Romans pronounced V consonant as we do W, and *Casaubon* (21) particularly instanceth in *Wall*, *Vallum*, the termination signifies *Area*, a plat of ground; *Area-belli*, Barle-ground. *Mr Gale*, in his curious treatise before mentioned (22), supposeth *Walm-gate* in *York*, so denominated from its leading to the *Vallum* of that City.

That these parts were in those ages of the world full of men and money, may be argued from the great quantities of Roman coins found here. I shall instance only in some discovered since *Camden's* time, that I may not *actum agere*. The Right Hon. the Lord *Moleworth*, obliged me with an account of those that, ann. 1705, were accidentally found near his seat at *Edlington*, by his own servant's striking his pick-ax into an urn that contained about two gallons; upon further search, another *Theca Nummaria* was discovered, full of the like money (23), of which his Lordship sent me above a hundred: the probable reason of their concealment will be mentioned in the sequel. These are all of the *Basse-Empire*: but I have from other places, of an elder date, a *Trajan* from *Peckfeld*; another *Trajan*, with a *Severus*, from *Pontefract*; a *Geta* formerly found at *Castleford*: but though plenty in old time, not one is to be met with now at the station. Of those found at *Cookridge*, ann. 1708, an account is already published, *Phil. Transf.* No. 316; they were mostly of *Domitian*, *Nerua*, *Trajan*, and *Hadrian*, though I have a rare one of *Vitellius*, and another of *Titus*, from the same place; a *Domitian* from *Tadcaster*, not that with *CALCAPAVC*, which *Dr N. J.* very inconsiderately got inserted in a late noted book, as coined at *Calcaria*, or *Tadcaster*: I have the original MS. which led him into the mistake; for it is *CAESAR. AVG.* upon the coin itself. If it was really designed for the name of a place, it would have been upon the reverse, as *LON.* for *London* in the later Emperors, but never round his head, with his name and titles. That many Roman coins were found at this station, as also at *York* and *Aldbrough*, is evident from *Camden*, so not to be repeated here; but the ingenious *Dr Richardson* mentions (24) several places in this West-riding, not taken notice of by any preceding Author; viz. at *Sowerby* near *Halifax*, at *Howelodge* in the township of *Hipperholm*, found in a thick glass vessel, others were fallen from a precipice at *Stainland*, and some nigh *Heaton* in *Burstal* parish; to which I shall only add those discovered ann. 1695, upon the moors that bound in *Yorkshire*, towards *Burnley* in *Lancashire*, of which *Mr Charles Townley* of *Townley* sent me a score, some of which being consular, and none later than *Nerua*, argue that these places were frequented in those more early times, when the Roman Empire was in its glory.

Under *Claudius*, before mentioned, *Vespasian* laid the foundation of his future glory here in Britain *tricies cum hoste confixit*, &c. (25), subduing two of the most potent nations; he fought the enemy thirty times, took above twenty towns, and subdued the *Isle of Wight*. Here also *Titus* fought as a Tribune under his father. *Ostosius Scapula* succeeded *A. Plautius* as Proprætor in Britain, ann. Dom. 50, and behaved himself so fortunately, that *Claudius* was the twenty-first time saluted Emperor. He is said to have subdued the *Brigantes*, whose Queen, *Cartimandua* delivered to the Romans *Caractacus*, the valiant King of the *Silures*, whom *Tacitus* (26) makes the greatest glory of *Claudius's* triumph, in the year 52 (27); but, as *Camden* and *Lipsius* have noted, that is an Anticronisina in that excellent author; for the *Brigantes* rather surrendered than were subdued; and *Tacitus* himself owns, that *Ostorius* after this, having new conquests in his eye, was forced to return, because of the mutinies among the *Brigantes*, who at best were very impatient of restraint, but at this juncture had an additional provocation; *Venutius* their King, being supplanted by *Vellocatus* his armour-bearer, whom *Castimandua* had married, was necessitated to war upon the Romans, because they assisted her and her paramour with their garriisons, wings, and cohorts; the *Brigantes*, taking part with the lawful husband, under the conduct of *Venutius*, reduced the faithless Queen to the utmost extremity.

For these and other provocations, the *Brigantes* may be safely concluded to have made up a considerable part of the enraged *Boadicea's* army, with which she slew seventy thousand Romans and their confederates (28), sacked *Camelodunum*, burnt *London*, destroyed *Verulam*, and cut off most of the ninth legion, which came to their rescue under *Petilius Cerealis*, slaying the foot, and putting the horse to flight. This was in the seventh year of *Nero*, an. Dom. 62.

So that, for any thing which appears to the contrary, the *Brigantes* were not subjugated till the reign of *Vespasian*, who, with the rest of the world, recovered Britain also by his great captains and good soldiers. In the year 73 he sent, as his Proprætor, into Britain, *Petilius Cerealis*, who, on *Boadicea's* revolt, neither fled into *Gallia*, as did *Catus* the Procurator, nor through cowardice disobeyed the general's order, as the camp-master of the second legion did, only was overpowered in the common calamity; but now struck a terror into the Britons by invading, upon his first entry, the *Brigantes*, the most populous (to use the very words of that ancient historian) state of the whole province. Many battles were fought, and some bloody, and the greatest part of them either conquered or wasted (29).

Where this victorious ninth legion resided, or that it was stiled *Victrix*, we cannot learn from any of the ancient historians that have written about the Roman legions, who say nothing about this, but leave us quite in the dark; only from this passage in *Tacitus* it is concluded, that it must be somewhere in Britain. But both are now evident from two inscriptions found of late years in the very ancient city of *York*, where it was certainly quartered: the former is a funeral monument for the standard-bearer, which need not here be repeated, having been already thrice printed (30). It was discovered in *Trinity-yard*, and happily rescued by my honoured friend, *Dr Bryan Fairfax*, from the brutish workmen, who had broken it in the middle, and were going to make use of it for two Throughs, as they call them, in the wall; but, by that worthy gentleman's directions, it was placed upright, with the inscription, and his statue in *basse-relieve* placed outwards, and was so justly valued by the proprietor of the place, that it was removed to his seat at *Ribston*, where the very courteous *Sir Henry Goodrick*, Bart. shewed it me in his gardens. That this 9th legion was also stiled *Victrix* (perhaps for its victories over the stout *Brigantes*) is evident from a Roman brick, upon which is inscribed *LEG. IX. VIC.* This was found by an ingenious artist, *Mr Samuel Smith*, the bell-founder, near the same place, in *Micklegate*, *York*, and is now in my possession. By these and many other inscriptions, and noble remains of the Roman glory, the great antiquity of that celebrated city is evident; and if we should, with *Bishop Stillingfleet*, cast aside the British history, yet these would shew it to have been eminent when Rome was in its flourishing state; and there are yet more evident tokens of it's glory in *Severus's* reign; of which anon.

Only I cannot omit before to take notice how a kind Providence overpowered the struggling *Brigantes*, and made them happy even against their wills, in becoming early a Roman province; which cannot be better expressed

(18) *Phil. Transf.* No. 282. and *Ducat. Leod.* p. 158, &c.

Wendal-hill.

(19) At which place I traced above 400 paces.

(20) *Dr Richardson's Letter*, in the ninth Volume of *Leland's Itinerary*, p. 146.

Walflat.

(21) *De Lingua Saxonica*, p. 169. See more in the *Ducat. Leod.* p. [111].

Walm-gate.

(22) *Letter of the four Roman ways*, p. 103.

(23) Of which, see *Phil. Transf.* No. 303.

(24) His *Letter in Leland's Itinerary*, Vol. IX. p. 145.

(25) *Suetonius in Vespasian*, c. 4.

(26) *Tacitus's Annals*, Lib. XII. Cap. VIII.

(27) *Savile's Fasti*, ad calcem *Rever. Angli. Scriptor. N. B.* This piece of history has given birth to an excellent Poem, called *Caractacus*, published a few years ago by *Mr Mason*.

An. D. 62.

(28) *Tacitus's Annals*, XIV. 10.

An. D. 73.

(29) *Life of Agricola*, by *Tacitus*, Edit. *Savil.* p. 191.

The 9th legion at *York*.

(30) In the *Phil. Transf.* No. 305. in *Mr Hearne's* valuable edition of *Livy*, lib. 6. p. 181. and in *Mr Gale's* accurate edition of *Antoninus*, where it is also depicted, p. 23.

Stiled *Victrix*.

Christianity early here.

pressed than in the words of our late excellent Primate (31). Of all the isles of the Gentiles, if any one above the rest hath felt the benign and gracious influences of the Lord's being our King, certainly ours is that island. How wonderfully bountiful has God been to us in a continued succession of publick blessings, even from the first beginning of time that we have had any memorials of events among us? We had the happiness to be early made a province of the Roman empire, and by that means were trained up to civility, and arts; and good manners. That made way for the greatest blessing Heaven could bestow upon us, even the receiving Christianity: and that blessing we had with the most early, being the first among the Nations that embraced it. When, through the just judgment of God, barbarism and ignorance overspread the face of Europe, and by the occasion thereof superstition and idolatry made their way, and all the Western kingdoms gave up their power to a foreign usurper, even then this island made the longest stand; nay, and was never so perfectly subdued, but that Popery was here a different thing from what it was in the Southern climates. When the happy time came, that God thought fit to set on foot the Reformation, having first made way for it by the restoring of learning, such was his particular care of us, that this was one of the first kingdoms that was brought over to it.

But I am transported beyond my present bounds, which concern only the first planting of Christianity. That it was here very early, is acknowledged by all; but by whom first planted, is much controverted. *Sanders* the Jesuit, and others, contend earnestly for *St Peter*, that our engagement to the Roman church might become more visible. Others plead for *St James*, *Simon Zelotes*, *St Philip*, and *Aristobulus*; but the tradition of *Joseph of Arimathea* and his brethren coming to *Glassebury* having met with better entertainment, the learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* hath at large examined it (32), and shews how much more probable it is, that *St Paul* himself was the first founder of a church here (33), and evinceth that there was a Christian church in Britain even in the Apostle's time, which he proveth from *Theodore*, *Clemens Romanus*, and also from *Eusebius*, whose testimony is the more convincing, being not only a learned and inquisitive person, but a favourite of *Constantine*, the first Christian Emperor, and present at the council of Nice, whither Bishops were summoned from all parts of the empire; and one who, designing an ecclesiastical history, had a particular curiosity to enquire into the original of all churches.

The two most noted converts to Christianity in this age, were *Pomponia Gracina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius*, the Roman Lieutenant in Britain (which put her in a capacity to be a happy instrument of propagating the Christian faith in this country) and *Claudia Rufina*, so much celebrated by *Martial* for her wit and beauty. She was certainly a Briton by birth, and wife of *Pudens*, a Roman Senator, and both rationally concluded to be the same persons mentioned by *St Paul* (34) himself. The rest of the kindred of this noble family, who were baptized with her, might be the occasion of dispersing Christianity in the British nation, and were probably some of the *Saints in Caesar's household* mentioned by the same Apostle (35).

Petilius Cerealis before mentioned was succeeded by *Julius Frontinus*, and he by *Cn. Julius Agricola*, ann. Dom. 79, who, as he carried his conquests by sea as well as land, to the utmost extent of Britain, the isles of the *Orcaides*, so, by a notable policy, he sought to induce the natives by pleasures to quietness and rest, exhorting them in private, and assisting them in publick, to build temples and houses; and instructed the noblemen's sons in the liberal sciences, preferring the wits of the Britons before the students of France (36); so that they became curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, as well as their habit, sumptuous buildings, and too soon even their luxuries.

Agricola, being recalled by *Domitian*, delivered up the province in a peaceable condition to his successor, *Salustius Lucullus*, who had the hard fate to be put to death for no other cause but that, having devised certain spears or lances, he caused them to be called *Lucullians*. Much cannot be expected concerning these affairs in the short reign of *Nerva*; but his successor, *Trajan*, as he brought the empire to its utmost extent, power, and glory, so he is particularly famous for repairing the Roman ways here in Britain (37); which, being toilsome to the labourers therein, might perhaps be one occasion of the revolt in his reign; for it was the general complaint of the natives, as *Tacitus* confesses, that the

Romans put their hands and bodies to the drudgery of ridding out [clearing] woods and paving fens, with a great many stripes and indignities: and the *Brigantes* are especially noted as impatient of servitude: infomuch that *Julius Severus*, *Hadrian's* Lieutenant, being recalled upon an insurrection in Judea, the Britons had certainly freed themselves from the Roman yoke, had not the Emperor himself come in person, an. Dom. 123. But he reduced them, and built that noted wall, eighty miles in length, (not eight only as misprinted in *Speed*) (38), between *Tyne* and *Solway Frith*.

In this revolt it is probable that *Adellocum* or *Bugdunum*, the Roman station upon *Adel-moor* near *Leedes*, was burnt by the *Brigantes* in their zeal to retrieve their native freedom. As that station flourished during the height of the Roman glory, so that it was burnt, seems evident by the flag, or adust colour I observed in my survey thereof; and that it was in this very revolt is probable, because that, amongst the Roman coins found in that neighbourhood, since the discovery of the vestigia of that town and the monuments were first published in *Phil. Transf.* No. 282, there was not one of a later Emperor than *Hadrian*; not to repeat other reasons; from the form of the letters, which are elsewhere assigned (39).

Upon this expedition of *Hadrian*, and his success here, the senate ordered medals to be struck, one of which is in this collection, and was probably found in these parts, being paid me in the fee-farm rents belonging to the Lords of the manor of *Leedes*; but the simple fellow had slipped away, fearing, it is likely, he should have been obliged to exchange it. Upon it is the Emperor's head, inscribed *Trajanus Hadrianus Aug.* and upon the reverse, *Britannia*, or perhaps *Rome* triumphant upon this occasion, sitting upon a shield, with a spear in her right hand, *Pont. Max. Tr. POT. COS. III. S. C. Exergue BRITANNIA*, which is the more rare, because it has escaped the industrious *Occo*.

The war broke out again in the reign of his successor, *Antoninus Pius*, in the year 139; but *Lollius Urbicus*, his Lieutenant, repulsed the Barbarians, and repaired the wall. In the mean time, a new insurrection was kindled amongst the *Brigantes* (40), but quashed by the same Legate, who, for his successes here, obtained the surname of *Britannicus*. He took away some part of their country from the *Brigantes*, because they had made incursions into *Genouma*, and recovered the former wall between the two Friths of *Bodobria* and *Glotta* (41), (now called *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*) that had been first built by *Agricola*, in *Vespasian's* time, and rebuilt the wall there, to secure it against the *Picts*.

I have also a very rare medal of this excellent Emperor's, referred to in the learned Bishop of Lincoln's edition of the *Britannia* (42); whereupon *Britzin* is represented sitting upon the rocks, those *mirifical moles*, as *Cicero* calls them; wherewith she is surrounded, lifting up her right hand to her head, inscribed *ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. PP. TR. P. XVIII. reverse, BRITANNIA COS. III. S. C.* which was in the year of our Lord, one hundred fifty-six (43).

Notwithstanding the barbarous Britons were thus driven 100 miles Northward, for so much is the distance between the walls of *Hadrian* and *Antoninus*; yet the old grudge at the Roman oppression, made them revolt again with so much violence, in the beginning of *Antoninus Philosophus's* reign, that *Calpurnius Agricola* was sent against them with fresh supplies, amongst which was *Helvius Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor. The very name of *Agricola* reminding them of their former overthrows, struck such a terror into the Britons, that we read of no disturbance here till the time of *Commodus*. But there is a matter of greater concernment, not to be omitted in this interval. Though Christianity was planted here, as is before mentioned, very early; yet was there not a crowned head that ever embraced the true faith till the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, under whom flourished *Lucius, ultimus in Britannia regum Paganorum & primus Christianorum*, to use the words of our countryman *Alured* of *Beverly*, lately published with notes by the most industrious *Mr Hearne* (44). There are disputes about the precise year, and other circumstances of his reign; but that there was such a one, and that he was also the first Christian King in the world, is owned by all, and fully evinced by the incomparable Archbishop *Usher* (45), and acknowledged by the learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* (46). He was converted by *Timothy*, not he to whom *St Paul* directs his Epistle, (as some have vainly imagined) but his name-fake, the son of *Pudens* and *Claudia Rufina*, before mentioned, who being a British convert, was more proba-

An. D. 123.

(38) *Speed's History*, p. 97.

(39) *Ducatus Leod. p. 197. Phil. Transf. No. 282, and No. 316.*

An. D. 139.

(40) *Speed's Hist.* p. 99.

(41) *Bishop Lloyd of St Asaph's Hist. Account*, p. 3.

(42) *Camden's Brit.* p. xxvii.

An. D. 156.

(43) *Museum Thoresbican.* No. 223, and 369.

An. D. 164.

(44) *Aluredi Beverlacen's Annales. Oxon.* 1716. p. 30.

(45) *Usseri Brit. Antiq. Dublini* 1639. c. 3 & 4.

(46) *Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit.* p. 61.

(31) *Archbishop Sharp's Sermons*, Vol. I. p. 450.

(32) *Bishop Stillingfleet's Originals Brit.* p. 6.

(33) *Idem.* p. 39.

(34) *2 Tim.* iv. 21.

(35) *In his Epistle to the Philippians*, iv. 22.

An. D. 79.

An. D. 86.

(36) *Tacitus's Agricola*, p. 193.

(37) *Camden's Britan.* p. lxvi.

An. D. 99.

An. D. 118.

(47) Nennius
inter Script. Brit.
Edit. Gale.
p. 103.
An. D. 169.

bly employed in converting a British King. Nennius makes him [*cum universis Regulis totius Britanniae* (47)] to be baptized ann. Dom. 164, which others defer till 169, and which is worse, deny the existence of such *Reguli* under him, the state of the Roman province not permitting it. Bishop *Stillingfleet's* assigning Surrey and Suffex as the most probable place of his dominion under the Romans, might acquit me from any further prosecution of his story, could I but expect pardon from the Eboracenses for omitting, that this first Christian King made *York* the seat of an Archbishop, viz. *Faganus*, whom *Eleutherius*, Bishop of Rome, sent to confirm him in the Christian Faith, *subjacuit Metropolitanano Eboraci Deira et Albania* (48). All Scotland, together with the counties of York, Lancaster, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland (49), being subject to this Primate till later ages.

In the reign of *Commodus*, there was nothing but wars and seditions throughout Britain: for the barbarous Britains having got over the *Wall*, wasted the country, and cut off the Roman General. So that *Ulpianus Marcellus* was sent against them, who succeeded so well, that the jealous Emperor envied and recalled him, assuming to himself the title of *Britannicus*, as he is stiled in several of his coins in this Musæum; upon one of which is Victory with laurel in the right, and a palm in the left hand (50). After this, weaker Commanders were sent hither by his favourite *Perennius*, who not only had a design to usurp the Empire, but, as *Herodian* tells us) had actually coined monies with his own image. These brought all into confusion, inso-much that 1500 soldiers went to complain at Rome; whereupon *Perennius* was beheaded, and *Helv. Pertinax* was again sent into Britain. He quieted these broils, but not without great danger, being himself almost slain in appeasing them. He succeeded *Commodus* in the Empire, but reigned only eighty-seven days, which was more by twenty-one than his successor, *Didius Julianus*, who purchased the Empire, *quod tunc primum venale fuit*. For the coins of these short-lived Emperors, see the Catalogue (51): as also of *Clodius Albinus*, who refusing to resign his government in Britain, which had been committed to him by *Pertinax*, was at first flattered by *Severus* with the title of *Cæsar*, till he had defeated *Pesc. Niger* (52), and then overcome in battle at Lyons (53) in Gaul, whither *Albinus* had drawn the flower of his British army; and when they fought so stoutly, that *Severus* threw off his purple, and was put to the rout, with his whole army, except *Lætus*, who hearing that *Severus* was slain, renewed the battle, with his own men that were fresh and untouched, in expectation of attaining the Empire to himself: *Severus* seeing this, rallied his men, resumed his purple, pursued eagerly, slew *Albinus*, and became sole Emperor of the world. Hereupon he sent into Britain, as Pro-prætor, *Virius Lupus*, who not only resided in these parts, but, as appears by an inscription found at *Ilkley*, in this West-riding, re-edified that place (54). He strengthened the northern parts of the province with many strong castles, restoring several places that had been ruined, either by fire, or the fury of the borderers, particularly the bath at *Lavatris*, or *Lavatra*, now *Bowes*, under *Stainmoor* in *Richmondshire*, which having been burnt, he restored for the use of the first cohort of the *Thracians*, which was quartered there, as appears by an Altar dedicated *Deæ Fortunæ*: the name of *Lavatris*, or *Lavatra*, but by no means *Lavat. Ror* (as misprinted in *Speed*, p. 140.) may be deduced from *Lavacrum*, which the learned *Roger Gale*, Esq; in his accurate edition of the *Itinerary*, p. 41, proves from *Eutropius* to be used for a bath by the Romans in those ages.

But at last *Virius Lupus* was so overpowered by the Britons, that he was forced to send to Rome for fresh supplies. This so affected *Severus*, that though aged and gouty, he undertook the journey in person, and arriving safe, he left his son *Geta* at York to govern the civilized Britons, and marched to reduce the northern Britons and Caledonians, taking his other son, *Caracalla*, along with him. In this expedition he, with exceeding bravery, encountered great difficulties from the ambuscades of the enemy, who retiring into woods, sallied thence, intercepting their provisions, destroying their carriages, killing their allies, and passengers, and disturbing their garrisons, that he was constrained, with incredible labour, to destroy their woods, drain meers, &c. wherein he lost fifty thousand men. Whether the mosses in this parish (55) were occasioned by this, or rather some preceding actions, cannot be positively ascertained; but that the woods there were destroyed (*more Romano*) by fire and axe, is evident from the

burnt wood found in the turf-pits, and the marks upon others of the very tools that cut down the remainder. His vigorous prosecution forced the enemy to a peace, and the delivery of a considerable part of their country, with all their arms and weapons. And for the better security, he built a famous wall of stone thirty-two (56) miles in length, from sea to sea, upon *Adrian's* frontier, answerable to the grandeur of the Roman Empire, with a tower at the end of each mile, and pipes of brass in the wall (57) from tower to tower, which speedily conveyed the news of any approach of the enemy over all the borders. *Nennius*, the ancient British Historian (58), with *Speed* and others of the moderns, make this wall to be 132 miles in length, but the *Scala Mundi* (a rare MS in this Musæum) hath it expressly thirty-two. *Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit, et ut Provincias adquisitas omni securitate munit; vallum per xxxii^o. miliaria a mari usque ad mare perduxit* (59), which agrees with the best editions of *Eutropius*, and other Roman Authors. Upon these successes, he assumed the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and is stiled *Fundator Pacis* upon a medal in my collection, which is justly ascribed to these transactions in Britain (60), though by some to his conquests in the East: upon another (61), which was found at *Pontefract* in this neighbourhood, he is inscribed *SEVERVS PIVS AVG. BRIT.* reverse, *P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P.* (which was ann. Dom. 211.) This has upon it *Jupiter cum puerulis*; another hath *Mars sinistra hastam*. After his successes in the North, he retired to York, which seems then to have been in its chiefest glory. *Severus* had here his Royal Palace, which was honoured with his constant residence, with his Empress and two sons: and here that oracle of the law, *Æmilius Paulus Papirianus*, happily administered justice. *Bellona*, the sister and companion of *Mars*, had here also a temple, by the same token that *Severus*, through the Augur's mistake, was conducted thereto.

It makes not the least for the fame and glory of York, that this master of the world, *Severus*, one deservedly equaled with the greatest Martialists of any age, not only had his palace and residence here, but also here breathed his last, not slain by *Fulgentius* (as the British history affirms) but rather worn out with age and travail, and partly with grief for the irreclaimable conduct of his son *Caracalla*, who with his own hands had made two attempts upon his life: which *Caracalla*, being his son by *Martia* a British lady, was favoured by the Britons, and declared Emperor by the soldiers; the other son *hæcete Geta*, his mother was of Rome (62). His dying speeches are memorable, and full of brave spirit. *I have been all that a man can be, but it is of no use to me now. The empire was declining and languishing in all parts when I received it, yet I leave it in peace even to the Britons, firm and lasting to my sons if they prove good, if otherwise, feeble and sinking; and calling for his urn, wherein his ashes were to be enclosed: Little Urn, said he, thou shalt now contain what the whole world could not before.* His corpse was carried out in a military manner to a place near *Akebam*, which is called *Severus-hill* to this day, and there committed to the flames. *Victor*, in his account of this matter, calls York (which is known by all to be a colony) a *municipium* (63), or free city, which (if the terms be not promiscuously used by the Roman authors) shews somewhat of the old spirit of the *Bigentes*, the inhabitants having a greater value for their own municipal laws than all the other privileges of Rome.

After *Severus* there is no express mention of *Eboracum* for about a hundred years; only that the sixth legion continued their abode there. It is true, that *Caracalla* is said to be slain by *Caracausius*, an obscure Briton (64), and it is probable he might receive some wounds in the wars here which might occasion that error; but from the Roman history it is certain, that, as he had slain his brother *Geta*, he met with the same fate from *Macrinus*, who, succeeding him in the empire, associated his son *Diadumenianus*, but both were slain after a short reign of fourteen months and three days, for whose coins see the Catalogue, p. 309 and 627. Amongst some Roman antiquities found at *Linguel-yau* in this neighbourhood, A. D. 1697, were molds for counterfeiting the monies of *Diadumenianus*, with others, of which see *Phil. Transf.* No. 234: but whereas it is there questioned whether the present age could produce a genuine coin of this short-lived Emperor, I must retract that passage; for, since that was printed, the truly noble Earl of *Pembroke* shewed me one in his inestimable Musæum; and of late, the very obliging Mr *St John* of London presented a very fair one to this collection.

(56) Usher B. E.
Ecclef. Antiq.
p. 1027.

(57) Eachard's
Roman Hist.
Vol. II. p. 410
N. B. This fa-
mous wall is
eight feet broad
and twelve high
with battle-
ments, great par-
of which is still
standing, and
well may be
reckoned one of
the greatest
works in the
world, as appear
by Mr *Warbur-*
ton's Map, and
Dr *Stukeley's*
most accurate, a
well as latest dis-
covery of a Ro-
man Temple,
and other Anti-
quities in those
parts. Ann.
1720.

(58) Nennius,
Edit. Gale, p.
103. *Speed*, p.
111, or rather
113.

(59) *Scala Mun-*
di, MS. p. 83.

(60) *Mus. Thor-*
p. 307. No. 475

(61) *Idem*, p.
493 and 494.
An. D. 212.

(62) *Higden's*
Polychron. lib.
cap. 18, p. cci

(63) *Hist. Rom.*
Epitome, Edit.
Plautin. p. 29.

(64) *Al. Bevel*
Annales, Edit.
Hearne, p. 34
An. D. 213.
An. D. 218.
An. D. 219.

(48) *Alur. Bev.*
p. 33.
(49) *Usher*, p. 72.
An. D. 181.

(50) *Mus. Thor.*
No. 450.

An. D. 193,
194.

(51) *Id.* p. 306.

(52) A fair medal
of *Niger's* is in-
serted, No. 460.

(53) *Lugdunum*
in *Eutropius*.

An. D. 198.

(54) *Camd. Brit.*
p. 713.
and *Speed's* Hist.
p. 139. or rather
p. 111. where it
is misprinted
Olinaca and
Hekeley in
Yorkshire, for
Olicana and *Ilk-*
ley.

An. D. 211.

(55) *Ducat. Leod.*
p. 142.

An. D. 220.

Heliogabalus, the successor of *Macrinus*, exceeding all his predecessors in wickedness, it is the less wonder we have no memorial of his transactions in these parts of the world, further than that his boundless prodigality consumed all the revenues of *Britain*, *Gaul*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Paeonia*, *Lyryum*, *Greece*, *Africa*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia*, with those of other provinces and islands. Of his medals, upon some of which he is stiled SACERDOS DEI SOLIS ELAGABALUS, and represented as sacrificing to his God, the *Sun*, see the Catalogue (65), and a learned Dissertation upon the curious writing of his name in *Selden de DIS SYRIS* (66), where the author mentions also (as proceeding from the same original *Bel* or *Baal*) the British deity *Belatucadrus*, which was adored in these Northern parts of *Britain*. *Camden* mentions one altar dedicated to this topical God, and *Selden* another, to which may be added a third, found in the river *Irtham*, not far from *Scaleby*, communicated to me by the ingenious Dr *Jabez Cuy*, of *Newcastle upon Tyne*; there is a rough draught of it in the additions to the *Britannia* (67), which is to be read thus, *De sancto Belatucadro Aulus Decius Camillus vocis feceravit*. By which we see the Romans of later ages had the same notions that the Assyrians had in the former, who, having led away captive the ten tribes, desired the priests of *Israel* to teach their Assyrian colony the manner of the God of the land. Besides those of *Baalam*, with *Sannius sacerdos*, &c. here are those of his wives, *Julia Cornelia Paula*, and *Julia Aquilia Severa* (once a vestal virgin) with *Julia Mersa* his grandmother; to which the learned Dr *Ben. Langwith*, Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of *Somerset*, added a very rare medal of *Julia Saccennias's*, his unhappy mother, who not only ruined her son by the most infamous lasciviousness, but endeavoured by all means to destroy her sister's son, *Alexander Severus*, who, notwithstanding all her malice, succeeded him in the empire. This repairer of the almost ruined Commonwealth was basely murdered, though not in *Britain* (as some pretend) (68), but in *Gaul* (as the judicious *Camden* (69) has it) at the instigation of the gigantic *Maximinus*, who, with his son *Maximus*, had the like fate two years after.

(65) Mus. Thoresb. No. 520 and 527.
(66) Synagoga 21. cap. 1.

(67) Camden's Brit. p. 344.

An. D. 223.
(68) Speed, p. 132.
(69) Britannia, p. lxxi.

An. D. 236.
An. D. 238.

An. D. 243.

An. D. 245.
An. D. 250.

An. D. 254.

An. D. 261.

Under the short-lived Emperors, *Balbinus*, *Pupienus*, and *Gordian* the Elder, we find no account of *Britain*; but under the young *Gordian* it appears, by an inscription upon a votive altar found in *Cumberland*, that *Emilius Crispinus* commanded that part of the army under *Nonnius Philippus*, Proprætor of *Britain*. *Gordian* was slain by *Philip*, anno 243, as he and his son *Philippus Caesar* was in the year 250, when *Decius* was by the army made Emperor against his will: his successor *Gallus*, with his son *Volusianus*, were slain by *Emilianus*, who enjoyed the government but about three months, being murdered to make way for *Valerianus*. This Emperor being taken prisoner by *Sapor* King of *Persia*, was by that savage monarch made his footstool, whenever he was disposed to take horse; a just punishment for his most barbarous persecution of the Christians. Heaven and earth seem'd to threaten the ruin of the Roman empire, *Gallienus* his son's reign being the most confused and calamitous of all that were before him, not only by the invasion of the barbarous nations, but by its own intestine divisions: the soldiers, in all parts, electing their own generals, advanced no less than thirty at once, who assumed the title of Emperors, but are generally recorded by the name of the thirty tyrants.

And now we have too much of the British affairs; for *Posthumus*, *Victorinus*, *Marius*, and *Tetricus*, both father and son, usurped and reigned here, as appears both by the Roman historians, and the great quantity of their monies found in *Yorkshire*, and elsewhere in *Britain*. *Posthumus*, the most illustrious of all the thirty, was called the *Gallie's Hercules*: I have a medal of his, with a galley upon it, inscribed LÆTITIA AUG. which an author, curious enough in these matters, takes to relate particularly to *Britain* for some naval victory (70). He associated *Victorinus*, an excellent commander; but he was slain, together with his son *L. Aurelius Victorinus*: whereupon his mother *Victoria*, or *Victorina*, who for her masculine courage was stiled mother of armies (and is supposed to be designed by *VICTORIA* upon the reverse of some of his medals) to support herself, procured *Tetricus*, a Senator of *Rome*, who had a command in *Gaul*, to proclaim himself Emperor, and to make his son, *C. Pius Tetricus*, his Cæsar: of all whose monies found in these parts, see the Catalogue (71). As also for *Marius*, who some say was born in *Britain*; he was originally a finith, and, after a short reign of three, or, as others say, seven, days, was slain by a sword of his own making, having first obtained a victory

in *Britain*, as appears by *VICTORIA AUG.* upon his monies; so that it is rationally supposed, that he reigned a longer time than is assigned him.

Claudius, surnamed *Gotbicus*, for his memorable victories over the *Goths*, was a mighty support to the declining empire during these confusions. He generously resolv'd to march first against the *Goths*, as enemies to the Commonwealth, rather than against *Tetricus* and the other Usurpers, who were only enemies to himself; a public wrong, as he said, being to be revenged before a private injury. This Emperor, after a short but glorious reign, died a natural death, which was rare in those times. His brother *Quintillus* was proclaimed Emperor by the senate; but, after seventeen days, was constrained to give place to *Aurelianus*, whom the Senate had advanced to that dignity.

Tacitus's short reign of six months, and *Florianus's* of two, will admit of no enlargement in this Breviary. Though, about this time, *Bonofus*, a Briton, usurping the government, occasioned a disturbance to *Probus* the Emperor; but being overcome, and despairing ever again to make head, put his own into a halter, of whom it is said, he being an insatiable vassal to *Bacchus*, there hangs a barrel, not a man. *Probus*, having subdued the *Germans*, *Vandals*, and *Burgundians*, &c. had nine kings prisoners at the same time. The *Vandals* he sent to inhabit this country, who, being desirous to leave their names at the place of their settlement, were very probably the raisers of the fortifications at *Berwick in Elmet*, called to this day *Wendall-hill* for *Vandal-hill* (72). The *Vandals*, though invaders and enemies in *Gaul*, were serviceable and auxiliaries in *Britain*. Other places in this neighbourhood seem to have received their names upon the like occasions. So *Almonbury* is much more probably deduced from the *Almanes* (who were auxiliaries to the Romans) than from *St Albans*; and the learned Dr *Gale* was of opinion, that *Mexburgh*, *Banburgh*, and *Duisburgh*, &c. received their names from other auxiliaries, the sixth legion having many camps in these parts of *Yorkshire*.

I shall only add, that the great quantities of Roman coins, found of late years near *Doncaster* in *Yorkshire*, and at *South Holland* in *Lincolnshire*, were probably concealed upon the arrival of the *Vandals*, by those that had made the insurrection, who being slain in the conflict, their treasure lay hid above 1400 years. There were no less than thirty-six pound weight of these found in the midst of the vastest flat, or level, in *England* (73); and one of the pots found near *Edlington* (74), contained about two gallons. I bought sixty of the former, and the Right Honourable the Lord *Molesworth* sent me a present of near 200 of the latter, and there was not in either parcel one elder than *Gallienus*, or later than *Quintillus*; so that they seem to have been concealed in one common calamity about *Probus's* time.

Carus succeeding *Probus*, an. Dom. 283, associated his two sons, *Carinus*, whom he left to govern *Britain*, and *Numerianus*. *Carinus* was slain by *Diocelesian*, who joined *Maximianus* to himself in the government, and upon some commotions in the Empire, each made choice of a Cæsar, viz. *Galerius* and *Constantius Chlorus*.

Carausius, an Irishman, being deputed by *Maximian* to guard the coast, became rich by the spoils of the Pirates, which he never returned to the owners, nor accounted for to the Emperor; but assuming that title himself, became so powerful, that *Maximian* was glad to make peace with him, leaving him the command of the island, upon condition, he should defend it against the Barbarians, which he did for seven years together. Upon this success, he stamp'd money with *PAX. AVG.* one of which I have, it was found at *Aldburch* in this *West-riding*. Upon others are *ML. Moneta Londinensis*, and *SPC. for signata pecunia Cumeloduni*. He recovered the outer boundary, and there erected a wall of stone, fortified it with seven castles, and upon the bank of the river *Carun*, so called from him, built a round house of hewn stone (probably a temple to *Terminus*) with a triumphal arch in memory of his Victory; but, in the conclusion, was expelled by *Constantius*, and slain by his own familiar friend, *Allectus*, perhaps at *Carausfield* (75), now *Caversfield*, two miles from *Allebeester*, so denominated from this *Allectus*, upon some of whose coins are *ML.* upon others *QL.* for *Moneta Londinensis*, and a *Quartarius* coined at *London*, or *Quæstor* (Treasurer) of *London*.

Allectus having retained the government three years, was slain by *Constantius Chlorus*, who scoured the British seas, which had been infested by the Saxons and Gauls, and settled the Kingdom in peace. This excellent Prince married *Helena*, daughter of *Coit*, a British King, by whom he had issue *Constantine* the Great. It is not

An. D. 271.

An. D. 276.

An. D. 277.

(72) I need not repeat, that the Romans pronounced their V as our W, as *Vallum*, *Wallum*,

(73) See Phil. Trans. No. 279.

(74) Selden, No. 303.

An. D. 284.

An. D. 287.

An. D. 293.

(75) History of Allebeester, annexed to Dr Kennet's Parochial Antiquities, p. 683.

An. D. 296.

An. D. 262.
(70) Ob. Walker, of coins and medals, p. 291.
An. D. 268.

(71) Mus. Thoresb. p. 317, 318, 319.
An. D. 269.

a little for the honour of York, that this pious Emperor, endowed with all moral and christian virtues, had there his Royal Seat. The remains of many valuable Roman monuments are scattered up and down that ancient city, which it is a pity that none of the many learned men thereof have illustrated, as Dr *Lifter* has done the multangular tower and Roman wall there (76), of which I have the original drawing by the ingenious Mr *Lodge*, a native of *Leedes*. Here also *Constantius* died, and was deified (77), as appears by his medals in this Museum, inscribed DIVO. CONSTANTIO. PIO. round his veiled head. Reverse, MEMORIA FELIX Exergue PLN. *Pecunia Londini Notata*. A noted Antiquary observes; in respect of this coin, that Rome, in the height of its greatness, had not a more glorious shew to exhibit (78), than the apotheosis of their Emperors hereby represented. At the dissolution of Religious Houses, there was found always burning a lamp in a kind of grot, or vault, where constant fame reported the reliques of *Constantius* were laid (79): Monies were also coined in honour of his wife, the celebrated St *Helen*: *Camden* mentions one that was minted at *Triers*; but I have one more valuable, as coined at London; which, at her request, was surrounded with a wall by her son *Constantine*, if not by herself; as Henry of Huntington affirms (80). Of this fabric, and the composition of this ancient Roman wall, there is an accurate description by the learned and ingenious Dr *Woodward* (81). This medal has her head inscribed FL: HELENA. AVGVSTA. Reverse, SECVRTAS REIPVBLICAE. Exergue P. LON. This excellent Princess was born at Colchester in Essex, which she also walled, and which has for the arms thereof a Cross between four Crowns, in memory of the Cross, which she found at Jerusalem, where she built a Church in the place where our blessed Saviour suffered: she also founded another Church, where the Inn had stood that he was born in. So that in old inscriptions, she is stiled *Priissima & Venerabilis Augusta. St Helensford* near *Tadcaster* is generally supposed to be denominated from her, though the learned Dr *Gale*, late Dean of York, told me he rather inclined to deduce it from the goddess *Nebellmia*, who was *Præses artis calcariæ, seu cretariæ*; and I am apt to think it might be so; by the *Calcarientes*, or heathen Romans employed in burning the lime-stone, wherewith this tract abounds to this day; but by the Christian Romans be afterwards applied to *St Helen*.

That her son *Constantine* the Great was born in Britain, is not only affirmed by our own Historians (82), but acknowledged by *Baronius* himself, and the generality of learned Authors; and though a very few Writers would have it at *Colchester* or *London*, yet the most, and most considerable, do assign the honour to York; and to use the words of a very learned man, lately deceased, *all those who assert Britain to have been the place of his birth, must needs acknowledge him to have been born at York* (83). And that this was the current opinion, not only of private persons, whose works are particularly enumerated by the judicious Bishop *Usher* (84), but the public also, is evident, because the Embassadors of England asserted it in the hearing of the learned world, both at the Council of Constance, and at Basil: where they condescend to mention the very particular place in York, where he was born. *Petræ natum in Eboracensi civitate*, by which is indisputably meant *Bedern*, which is verily thought to have been part of the Imperial Palace in old time, as in after ages it was a College of Vicars; the Saxon name may be deduced either from *Beod-erne Refektorium*, or from *Beod watio* and *erne locus*, their place of prayer; and Trinity, or Christ's Church, in that part of the city, is in his Grace the Lord Archbishop's register, stiled *Ecclesia Sæ Trinitatis in Curia Regis*. But to proceed,

Constantine, who had been many years detained in the Court of *Dioclesian*, and after of *Galerius*, as an honourable pledge, finding treachery intended against him, made his escape from Rome, and arrived safe at York, to the great joy of his dying father, who shortly after expired in his arms. By his father's will, and consent of the army, he was unanimously saluted Emperor, which his modesty refused, till prevailed on by their importunity, and especially by *Erocius*, King of the *Almains* (85), who had accompanied him in his flight from Court, whose auxiliary forces lay, no doubt, at *Almanbury*, in this West-riding of the county of York, as is before intimated.

From all this it may justly be inferred, what figure York made in the secular affairs of the world, it being the seat of the Roman Emperors; I shall now add, for

the Ecclesiastical glory of *Eboracum*; that it was adorned with an Episcopal See by *Constantine*, and that *Eborius*, the Bishop thereof, was present at the Council of *Arles*, called to take notice of the cause of the *Donatists*, wherein were present, to represent the British Churches, *Eborius*, Bishop of York; *Restitutus*, Bishop of London; and *Adelfus de civitate Colonia Londinensium*; *Sacerdos*, a Priest both by name and office; and *Arminius*, a Deacon: of what place the third Bishop was, hath been much controverted by learned men; Archbishop *Usher* thought it was *Colchester*, Mr *Selden*, and Sir Henry *Spelman*, took it for *Camelodunum* [*Malden* in Essex]; but Bishop *Stillingfleet* fixes it most probably at *Caerleon* in Monmouthshire, from the way of summoning Bishops to Councils at that time, viz. one out of a Province (86); and therefore, that as the other two Bishops were out of the other two Provinces, *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Britannia Prima*, the third Bishop was out of the third Province, *Britannia Secunda*; his arguments from thence to prove the great antiquity of Episcopal Government in Britain, and that the Pagan Hierarchy was rather in imitation of the Christian, than that the Christians borrowed it from them, may be seen in that very learned Author's *Origines Britannicæ*, Chap. II. What more immediately appertains to this county, is the note of a Critic upon the name *Arminius*, the Deacon: 'It is worth taking notice of, says he, that the name remaineth still intire in Yorkshire in a very noble and religious family, after so many ages (87), of which I shall, in the sequel of this History, give an instance in the Memoirs of the no less pious, than Right Honourable Lady; the Lady Mary *Armine*, whose benefactions to these parts were considerable.

The British Bishops being summoned, and appearing at this Council of *Arles* before, and at those of *Sardica* and *Arminum* afterwards, it is more than probable, that they, and the Bishop of York at the head of them, (as before) were present at the famous, and indeed the first general Council of *Nice*, which this pious Emperor called to suppress the Arians and Quartodecimani, ann. Dom. 325. It being very unlikely, that *Constantine* should omit those of his native country; though *Athanasius's Synodicon* (wherein all their names were set down) being long since lost, we are forced to make use of probabilities, but such as are very convincing, as managed by the learned Bishop of Worcester (88).

When *Constantine* went against *Maxentius*, he took divers of the nobles and others with him, who, planting themselves in the West sea-coast of France, called it Britain. He was victorious over the *Franks*, as well as over *Maxentius*, and as he had formerly been over the Sarmatians, against whom he was sent by *Galerius* with a few men on purpose to be destroyed; but he overcame them, and in person drew a fierce young *Sarmate* by the hair of the head before *Galerius*: I have a medal, struck upon this occasion, inscribed SARMATIA DEVICTA, whereupon is represented victory, with a palm, carrying a trophy, and a captive at her feet (89). But as to the affairs of our own country, *Octavius*, taking advantage of his absence, caused the Britons to revolt, and assumed the kingdom; whereupon, faith *Alured* of *Beverley* (90), *Constantine* sent *Trabern* against him; but it is evident from *Eusebius* (91), that himself came again in person to Britain, surrounded by the sea, and became Victor. The joyful memorial of this expedition is registered to posterity upon a medal exhibited by *Speed* (92). In this Museum is one somewhat different, though coined at the same place in London, trampling an enemy under the horse's feet, CONSTANTINUS. P. F. AUG. reverse, ADVENTUS AUG. Exergue P. LN. (93). In this his head has a laurel; upon another (94) he is represented with a helmet, and a spear in his right hand; whereby it appears there were two different mints at the same city; upon a third, whereon he has a scepter, it is expressly P. LON.

When *Constantine* new modelled the empire, Britain was governed by a Lord Deputy, whose blazonry was a book shut with a green cover (95): he was honoured with the title of *Speſtabilis*. The other officers may be seen in *Camden's Britannia* (96), to which we refer; it may suffice, that these parts, called *Maxima Cæsariensis*, were under the *Dux Britannicus*, as the Southern were under the *Comes Britanniarum*.

Upon the death of this ever famous Emperor, May 22, 337, and division of the empire amongst his three sons, Britain (together with *Spain*, *Gallia*, and *Germany*) fell to the share of his eldest son, *Constantinus Junior*, who enjoyed it but three years, being slain, anno 340, by his brother *Constans*; yet are there four distinct medals of his, all minted at London (97). His death was much lamented by his brother

(76) Phil. Transf. No. 149.

An. D. 306.
(77) Obit Eboraci atque inter Divos relatus est Eutrop. Lib. X. P. 516.

(78) Burton's Comment on Antonin. Itiner. P. 78.

(79) Idem vide etiam, Camden's Britan. p. 719.

(80) Lib. I. p. 176. inter Savi- lii Scriptores rerum Anglic.

(81) Letter to Sir Christ. Wren, in Leland's Itin. Vol. VIII. p. 147.

(82) Constantinus Flos Britannicæ . . . Britannicus genere et patria. Henry Huntington, p. 176.

(83) Dr Hicke's Moral Shechemah, Vol. I. of his Serm. p. 313.

(84) Usher de primordiis, &c. Cap. VIII.

(85) Victor in Epitome Rom. Imperii, p. 348.

An. D. 314.

(86) Stillingfleet's Origines Brit. p. 75.

(87) Burton's Com. on Antoninus's Itin. p. 85.

An. D. 325.

(88) Orig. Brit. chap. 3.

(89) Mus. Thor. No. 920.

(90) Edit. Hearne, lib. 3. P. 37.

(91) Euseb. Life of Constantine, cap. 19.

(92) Speed's Chron. 157, 159.

(93) Mus. Thor. No. 894.

(94) Idem, 915 and 916.

(95) Selden's Jani Anglorum facies altera, cap. 16.

(96) p. lxxviii.

An. D. 337.

An. D. 340.

(97) Mus. Thor. No. 328.

brother *Constantius*, to whom Britain submitted itself; and I have of his money also coined at London (98). *Julian* the *Apollate* was made his successor, having dissembled his religion, but afterwards publicly restored the Pagan altars and temples: while he resided at *Paris* (99), he heard of the incursions of the Scots and Picts into the province; but, not daring to come himself, he sent *Lupicinus* to repress the troubles (100). *Jovian*, his successor, was an orthodox Christian, and refused to act, except he had liberty of his religion, and, when Emperor, severely punished idolatry; but his short reign affords nothing relating to these parts. *Valentinian* succeeded, in whose time the Scots, Picts, and Attacosts, destroyed the North, as the Saxons and Franes did the South; but these being subdued by the forces he sent over under *Theodosius*, learning and arts began a little to revive; and in the *Theodosian* code there is an edict of *Gratian*, who succeeded in the empire, anno 376 (101), requiring all the chief cities in these parts of the Roman empire to settle and maintain in them professors of learning, both of the Greek and Roman languages, amongst which cities Bishop *Stillingfleet* expressly mentions *London*, *York*, and *Caerleon* (102); so that these parts, as long as the Roman power continued, had the same advantages for learning as the other provinces. This brave general *Theodosius*, having thus happily reduced these Northern parts to their pristine state, obtained leave to have them named another province, and it was thenceforward called *Valentia* in honour of the Emperor (103).

Maximus, a commander in those parts, having by his affability won the hearts of the Britons, set up himself for Emperor in the year 381, according to Sir *Henry Savile* (104), whose chronology I entirely follow. Some would make *Maximus* a Spaniard; but the Saxon annals, published by the learned Bishop of *Lincoln* (105), say expressly, he was on *Bretan* londe zeboren. With this agrees *Wheloc's* edition of the Saxon chronology, save that, being less correct, the Emperor is called *Maximianus* (106). With this agrees also *Fabius Etbelwerdus* (107), and *Henry of Huntington* (108); and all authors acknowledge he was declared Emperor in Britain, and that he was a man just and valiant, and worthy of the honour, if he had not come to it by usurpation. After his victory over the Picts and Scots, he transported the flower of the British troops, and fixed his court at *Triers*, and, by the meer terror of his name, raised taxes among the barbarous nations. After *Gratian* was slain, he made his son *Victor*, *Cæsar*, and entered Italy with so great terror, that *Valentinian* fled, and the cities opened their gates: there is yet extant at *Bononia* an inscription in honour of him (109); but after five years reign he was slain at *Aquileia*: his coins, and those of his son *Victor*, are very rare; yet of both are found in these Northern parts, where he performed his most noble acts against the *Caledonians*. I have of his, coined both at *Triers* and *Aquileia* (110); and, since the Catalogue was printed, *Edward Thompson*, jun. Esq; sent me a most rare one of *Victor*, whereon he is stiled *Augustus*, which, with many others of the later Emperors, were found, anno 1720, at *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*.

The British historians set this matter in a different light, and say, that, after *Constantine* the Great, one *Oñarius* reigned, and that he gave his daughter to *Maximus, cum regno Britannico* (111). Some historians misapply the peopling of *Armorica* from this island to him; for Bishop *Stillingfleet* proves it was called by the old name, and not *Britannia*, near fourscore years after this time (112).

But what more immediately relates to these times and parts of Britain is, that, by reason of these inroads of the Picts and Scots, who continually infested the Northern parts, *Fraomarius*, King of the *Almains* (113), (who at that time were eminent for their strength and number) was sent here to check the Barbarians. And that they not only resided in these parts of *Yorkshire*, but left their name to a noted camp at *Cambodanum*, is evident from the name of a place which is called *Almanbury* to this day, which is far more probably deduced from the *Almans* than from the pretended *St. Alban*; and to this opinion I have the sanction of *Dr. Gale*, the late learned Dean of *York*. *St. Alban* reminds me of *St. Ursula* and the 11000 martyred virgins, whose story is generally placed in the reign of this *Maximus*, though *Ser. Cressy* makes it to be anno 453; but the thing is not material; I should not have thought it worth the mentioning at all, but that a worthy gentleman brought me from *Coleu* one of the antique arrows that are there exposed as the instruments of that barbarous slaughter; the Monk that attends there told him, that, though many are given away, the number is

[miraculously] made up again in a small time, which, one word excepted, is, I believe, the truest part of the legend.

The Emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, to oblige *Maximus* to withdraw his forces out of *Gaul*, are said by the author of the *Eulogium*, as cited by Bishop *Usher* (114), to enter into a league with the Gothic Picts, and help them with ships to convey them into the Northern parts of Britain, who coming hither in greater numbers, and finding the country naked and without defence, settled themselves with greater encouragement than ever. The Britons, in this distress, chose *Marcus* for their Emperor, and after him set up *Gratian*, a native of Britain, anno 409; but, falling into a dislike of him too, after a reign of four months they dethroned him, and chose *Constantine*, one of the common soldiers, upon the sole account of his name, which they took for a good omen. He defended *Valentia* with great bravery; and I have one of his coins minted in Britain (115). But he afterwards fixed the seat of his empire at *Arles*, and was presented with an imperial robe by *Honorius* (116); but was slain anno 414 (*). Britain was now again happy for a while under the gallant and wise conduct of *Victorinus*, who put a stop to the inroads of the Scots and Picts: and perhaps we may add the happiness of these parts in *Faslidius*, as Archbishop of *York*, who flourished anno 420, and was not only a man of wit and eloquence, but, which is infinitely preferable, of great piety, and an excellent preacher. He, being stiled *Britanniarum Episcopus*, is by many concluded Archbishop of *London*, which they suppose the metropolis of Britain; but the famous Archbishop *Usher* rather inclines to the opinion of *Bertarius*, that *York* was then the metropolis of Britain, not only because it was a Roman colony, but because the *Prætorium* and Emperor's palace were there. However this shall not be insisted on, because the generality of historians place *Faslidius* among the Bishops of *London*. What we are more concerned for is, that *Honorius* was constrained to recall the brave *Victorinus* to maintain the heart of the empire, Rome the head of it being taken and sacked by *Alaric* the Goth (117).

Miserable was the state of the Britons thus forsaken; their earnest supplications to the Romans for assistance, and what supplies were granted, may be read in our general histories. I shall here only add in brief, that under *Valentinian III*, the last wall for their defence against the Barbarians, was built not of *Turf*, but solid stone twelve feet high, and eight broad, now known by the name of the Picts wall. Afterwards the Romans intirely abandoned the nation, about 476 years after *Cæsar's* landing. Thus the natives being forced to it, stood in their own defence, and were awakened to that degree, that they made their enemy quiet for some time.

But as their own Historian, *Gildas* (118), complains, though their foes left our people, our people left not their iniquities, excessive drinking, treas, oppression, divisions, &c.; so that their old enemies observing their intestine divisions, did again invade the land, and reduced them to that extremity, which was aggravated by a severe famine and plague, that it was finally resolved by *Vortigern*, to send for the Saxons. These arrived anno Dom. 449, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*; but having overcome the common enemy, the Saxons turn against the Britons, and make a miserable destruction: all the cities and churches were burnt to the ground from the east to the western ocean, the inhabitants destroyed with horrible devastation (119), some escaped to the mountains, or hid themselves in caves, and others went over into foreign parts, which was the foundation of the *Armorican* colony in *Little Britain*. This *Hengist* descended from their idolized *Woden*, was the founder of the Kingdom of *Kent*, the first of the *Saxon Heptarchy*. There were for many years bloody wars betwixt the Britons and Saxons; but I shall chiefly confine myself to the northern transactions.

Hengist was so successful, that he not only erected for himself a Kingdom in the South, but gave to his brother *Otho*, and his eldest son *Ebusa*, all *Northumberland*, by which is to be understood, not only the county that bears the name, but all the land north of *Humber*, afterwards divided into two Kingdoms; *Deira*, from the *Humber* to *Tine*; and *Bernicia*, from thence to the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*: all this was conquered under *Hengist's* Commission, by *Otho* and his son, and held as feudatory Earldoms, and transmitted to their successors, who, for ninety-nine years, used no other title than *Ealderman*, *Dux*, or *Comes*, which words, in those days, were synonymous (120).

- (98) Mus. Tho- reb. No. 982.
- An. D. 363.
- (99) Dr. Brady's Hist of England, p. 34.
- An. D. 364.
- (100) Animan. Marcell. lib. xx. p. 1.
- An. D. 376.
- (101) Sir Henry Savile's Fasti.
- (102) Stillingfleet, Orig. Brit. p. 215.
- (103) Am. Marcell. lib. 28. c. 7.
- An. D. 381.
- (104) Fasti ad calcem rerum Anglicarum scriptores.
- (105) Gibbon's Chron. Saxon, p. 9.
- (106) Wheloc's Bede, p. 506.
- (107) Ethelwerd, p. 474.
- (108) Henry Huntington, p. 176. Both published by Sir Henry Savile in his rerum Anglicarum scriptores, an. 1596.
- (109) Camd. Brit. p. lxxxiii.
- (110) Mus. Tho- reb. p. 332.
- (111) Alared Beverlac. Annales, lib. 3. p. 41.
- (112) Orig. Brit. p. 181.
- (113) Briton. p. lxxx.

- (114) Usher de Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 590. 480.
- An. D. 409.
- An. D. 410.
- (115) Mus. Tho- reb. p. 303.
- An. D. 414.
- (116) Camden's Brit. p. lxxxiv.
- (*) The British historians pretend, that *Constantine* reigned sixteen years in Britain, and in the seventeenth died at *York*, contrary to the Greek and Latin historians, both heathen and Christian, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* observes, p. 294.
- An. D. 420.
- (117) In the last cited treatise, p. 97.
- (118) Gildas, § 18.
- An. D. 435.
- An. D. 449.
- (119) Idem, § 24.
- (120) Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 616.

Among the Britains that first opposed *Hengist*, the papum, none more stout than *Vortimer*, who was so successful in four battles, that he expelled the Saxons into the isle of *Thanet*; but upon his death (by treachery and poison), and the arrival of more forces, they return, and are victorious, till restrained by *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and his brother *Uter Pendragon*, who coming from Little Britain, infused new life into the Britons, who at the battle of *Maisbelly* (121), routed the Saxons, and put them to a disorderly flight; upon which *Hengist* retired to *Connisborow*, near *Doncaster*, to secure himself, and a few days after took the field a second time against the Britons, who pursued him; but it proved fatal to himself and his army, which was intirely defeated, and himself beheaded, if, saith a noted Historian (122), the authority of the British History is to be preferred in this matter before that of the Saxon Annals, which report him to have died a natural death, being worn out with fatigue and business. But to this may be appositely replied, what the learned Editor of the Saxon Annals affirms, that not any of them do say so; but on the contrary, those Historians, who seem best acquainted with such ancient records, assert plainly, that he was slain, (as *Matthew of Westminster* expresseth it) *captus amputato capite ad Tarcara destinabatur*: to which may be added that of *Polydore Virgil*, *Hengisto primo impetu occiso* (123), and saith the memory of the victory was fresh among the neighbouring inhabitants, even to his time, which was above a thousand years after: and we are further told, that before the gate is an agger that tradition saith is the burying-place of *Hengist* (124).

After this victory, *Aurelius Ambrosius* called the Princes and great men together at York, and gave orders for repairing the churches, which the Saxons had destroyed. For though the Historians of those contending nations differ very much as to the battles, it is agreed on all hands, that *Ambrosius* was very zealous in repairing the British churches, setting up divine worship, and giving great encouragement to the Clergy to perform divine offices. In a solemn Council of the Britons, ann. 490, he appointed two Metropolitans for the two vacant Sees at that time, viz. *Sampson*, one of eminent piety, for York; and *Dubritius* for *Caerleon*. *Sampson* was afterwards driven over to *Armorica*, or Little Britain (125).

He was succeeded by his brother, *Uter Pendragon*, who hearing that *Oeta*, the son of *Hengist*, after he had destroyed the North (*ab Albania usque Eboracum* (126)) had besieged the city of York, hastened thither, gave them battle, discomfited their forces, and took him and his brother *Eosa* prisoners. Before his death, there was a pitched battle between *Cerdic* and *Natanleod*, whom some make *Uter's* General, others a mighty King; *Henry Huntington* saith expressly (127), he was *Rex Maximus Britannorum*; and then it implies, that the Britons, as well as the Saxons, had several Kings at the same time: but of as great fame and pride as he was, *Cerdic* slew him and 5000 men, at a place which bore his name. *Camden* says, he had been very curious in search of the place, but could not find the least footsteps of that name (128). If this county was not too much northward for the other circumstances of that engagement, why might not *Natanleod* put in for it? some indeed call him *Naxaleod*; but the Saxon Annals say expressly *Natanleod* (129).

The celebrated King *Arthur* succeeded *Uter*, ann. 517, whose mighty feats are most amply related by the British Historians. But in respect of this Prince, I am much of *Bishop Stillingfleet's* opinion, that both parties are to blame; those who tell such incredible tales of him as are utterly inconsistent with the circumstances of the British affairs at that time; and those, who on the other hand deny there was any such person, or of any considerable power; for doubtless he was a valiant Prince, and victorious in many battles against the Saxons. Of the twelve battles so much celebrated, I shall only mention such as we have most certainty of, and do also relate to these northern parts. As that *Arthur* having defeated the Saxons in Northumberland, besieged *Colgrin* in York, which yielded to him ann. 521, this is indisputable; but there are other transactions that are commonly supposed to be more Southward, which yet do more strictly, I presume, appertain to these northern parts, and particularly the seventh battle, wherein he slew 6000 Saxons. This is expressly said to be at *Cair Loid Coit*, or *Cair Luit Coit*, which later Writers frequently misapply to *Lincoln*; but not in my opinion only, but that also of *Dr Gale*, the late Dean of York, is more applicable to *Leedes*, that the very name imports as much, appears by the etymology (of which before) and all the circumstances countenance it. The Britons

having driven the Saxons out of Lincolnshire northward, we find mention of *Cair Loid Coit* as a place further north. That *Holinshed*, and other Writers, should herein be misled by *Alured Beverlacensis*, is no great wonder in affairs transacted 1200 years ago, when in a matter so late as King *Edward the Third's* reign, the nativity of a Prince of the Royal Blood, is almost universally placed at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, and even by such, as writing the genealogy of the Kings of England, might have been presumed more knowing in those affairs (130); whereas, undeniable evidence from records, manifest that it was at *Hatfield* in *Yorkshire* (131). It is the less wonder that later Authors mistake in an affair of so great intricacy, when the Archdeacon of *Huntington*, who writ his History 500 years ago, owns fairly, that as to the places of the twelve battles, *loci nostræ ætati incognita sunt* (132). I am apt to suspect that the express mention of the *Sylva Celydonis*, with respect of this very transaction, has induced some to place it at *Lincoln*, least it should be referred to the Scotch Caledonian woods, *quo Saxones nunquam penetrarunt*; but this very passage of the wood, that *hugste Celydon*, may be justly improved as an argument, that it was in these parts of *Yorkshire*; *Celidon* in British signifying *Hassel*, and *Hassel* wood is adjoining to *Bede's Sylva Elmetæ*: which the very learned *Dean Gale*, in his *Emendations of Nennius*, acquaints us is *territorium agri Ebor. prope Leedes* (133).

This famous King *Arthur* was slain in the year 542. Persons of greatest repute in his time for learning and sanctity were *St David* and *Kentigern*. The memory of the first continues famous to this day in *Wales*, and of the other in *Scotland* and these parts, by reason of a noted spring that bears his *Noriff* name, *St Mungo*. An eminent Physician, that writ of the four famous medicinal wells near *Knareburgh* (134), confesses himself at a loss for the meaning of the true name *Magnus* or *Mugnus*; but *Archbishop Spotswood* has since told us, it is *Mongab* or *Mungo*, that signifies a dear friend (135). The cures wrought there are justly ascribed to the activity of the coldness, rather than the intercession of the Saint, though by the credulous believed to be the son of a pure virgin. The legend may be seen in the *Romish authors* (136), formerly belonging to *New-Abbey* (or *St Mary de dulci corde*) in *Galloway*. The learned *Bishop Nicolson* has observed, from a rare manuscript breviary now in this *Museum*, that this Saint's day was *January 14*; but the *English martyrology* (137) says, that, at *Glasgow*, the deposition of *St Kentigern*, son to *Eugenius*, third King of *Scotland*, is the 13th. The author of this book (which is a great curiosity) is not commonly known, but a learned Vicar of *Leedes* acquaints us (138) that it was one *Wilson*; it is remarkable that, in the annexed catalogue of the late Martyrs in *England*, *Richard Oldcorne*, Priest, and *Henry Garnet*, Superior of the *Jesuits*, are both recorded as such, though executed for the Gunpowder treason.

What more immediately appertains to this place is, that the northern Britons, after some time, came to an agreement with the Saxons, and by their permission enjoyed the Christian religion; and that *Ida* and *Alla* from *Aldermen* (of which before) became now Kings of *Northumberland*, in which new erected kingdom there was a succession of twenty-one Kings, of whom four were Pagans, and seventeen Christians, some of whom were chief monarchs of the whole island, and had their royal seat at *Leedes* when *Cambodunum* was burnt down by the enemy (139). It continued 245 years, from anno 547 to 792. This, as was intimated before, being divided into the kingdoms of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, was sometimes under one monarch, and sometimes had two distinct Kings. *Ida* reigned over both for twelve years, *Adda* succeeded him, and reigned five years in *Bernicia*; but in *Deira*, *Alla*, the son of *Yffus*, ruled thirty years. This *Alla* was father to the famous *Edwin*, the first Christian King of *Northumberland*. In his time was *Careticus*, the fifth British King from *Arthur*, who began his unfortunate reign anno 586; he was unyoking to God and to Britons (140), which the Saxons perceiving, began to war upon him, and in fine drove him to the mountains of *Wales*. Near *Aburford*, in this neighbourhood, is the foundation of an old castle still visible, supposed to be called from him *Castle-Cary*; this, with all the territory called *Elmet*, was conquered and taken from him by the said *Edwin*. If it be objected, that it is very uncertain whether this was the monarch, or another of the same name, that was only King of *Elmet*, I must answer with *Father Cressy*, that the records of those times afford us so small light, that it is extremely difficult to determine whether they were monarchs of the Britons,

(130) Sandford's Genealogy, p. 177.

(131) Camden's Brit. No. 2. p. 725.

(132) Henry Hunting. p. 180.

(133) Gale's Script. Britan. Vol. I. p. 132. An. D. 542.

(134) Dr French of the Yorkshire Spaw, p. 119.

(135) Spotswood's History of the church of Scotland, p. 11.

(136) Cressy's church history, lib. xi. c. 5.

(137) Printed permiffu superiorum 1608.

(138) Camden's Brit. p. 711.

An. D. 547.

(139) Gibson's Chron. Saxon, p. 20.

An. D. 559.

An. D. 586.

(140) Ran. Higden's Polychron. p. clxxxix.

London in 1724. 8vo. [I]. He did not long survive this publication. He was always inclined to a thickness of blood (*m*), which subjected him to a pain and numbness in the back part of his head, accompanied sometimes with faintings to the loss of his senses, and other apoplectic symptoms. These he looked upon as so many prognostics of his death: nor was he mistaken, though he lived long beyond his expected period. In October this year, 1724, he was struck with a violent palsy, from which stroke, however, he so far recovered, as to speak intelligibly, and walk with help: but the following year, he was attacked again by the same distemper, on the 10th of the same month, under which, after languishing six days, he departed this life, October 16, 1725, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. His corpse was interred among his Ancestors, in the chancel of St Peter's [the Parish] Church of Leedes. His character for learning is seen in the books he published, which shew him to have been a great Master of the History and Antiquities of his own Country; to attain which, it became necessary for him to be thoroughly skilled, as he was, in Genealogy and Heraldry. He appears, from these books, to have been also an industrious Biographer. However, that which sets his reputation the highest as a Scholar, was his judicious skill and knowledge in Coins and Medals. But Mr Thoresby may be said justly to have been a great man, because he was truly a good man. How diligent soever he was in cultivating the laudable accomplishments of the Gentleman and the Scholar, yet he never suffered his beloved studies to interfere with his religion (*n*); but managed all his affairs in subserviency to it. In his principles, after his conversion, he was orthodox; in his affections, catholic, comprehending therein all denominations of Christians [K]. He read the Scriptures many times over, with the best Commentators; nor was he unacquainted with the intricate controversies of Religion; but books of warm practical Divinity were the joy of his heart. He was modest and pure, temperate and abstemious to an uncommon degree: though, being one of the Lords of the Manor, and a governing Member of the Corporation (*o*), he could not always avoid public meetings and festivities, yet he was a sparing partaker, even of innocent diversions. He was constant and regular at his private devotions, which were invigorated with an unusual degree of fervency. Exemplary in the government of his family, he called them together morning and evening to prayer, and reading the Scripture. Extremely careful of the religious instructions of his children, he was not unmindful of the moral behaviour of his servants. He was a kind relation, compromising the distressed affairs of some that were very near to him, by expensive journeys, irksome applications, and money almost beyond his abilities. He was charitable to the utmost of his power, not seldom solicited others, and was always a faithful dispenser of whatever was entrusted to his care. He was constitutionally slow to resent, and, upon Christian principles, ready to forgive, great injuries; and, being of a pacific temper himself, he often had the satisfaction of composing differences among contending friends. He left behind him a mournful widow, sincerely pious, and remarkably humble. She was an affectionate wife, a tender parent, and discharged the several duties of her station, with unblemished fidelity and prudence. She survived him near fifteen years, and was buried in the same grave with him, having brought him ten children, of whom three survived him, two sons, and a daughter named Grace, who was born in 1694, and was disposed of by her parents in marriage to Mr John Wood of Leedes. His sons were both bred to the Church; the elder, *Ralph*, was born March 24, 1697-8 (*p*), bred at Queen's College in Cambridge, where he took the degree of A. M. His father had the satisfaction to see him collated to the Vicarage of Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, by Dr Gibson, Bishop of London; he is now, by the recommendation of the same Patron, Rector of Stoke-Newington in Middlesex. His Lordship likewise preferred the younger son, *Richard*, born in 1702, and a graduate of Catharine-Hall in Cambridge, to the Rectory of St Catharine Coleman, in Fenchurch-street, London; which he still enjoys. They are both worthy Clergymen, and well respected in their several parishes.

(m) This was peculiar in his constitution, that he had not the usual quantity of matter; and though he could spit upon some very extraordinary occasion, yet it was a force upon nature, and in his usual course he did neither hawk nor spit in many years: but found no inconvenience from it there being spittle enough to suffice for moistening the larynx, and a soft digestion. Parat. Leod. In the Appendix. p. 616.

(n) Upon his conforming to the Church, he was chosen into the Common-Council. On the occasion, he objected to the oaths always taken against the solemn League and Covenant, as an antiquated affair; and it was laid aside from this time. He paid his fine, and resigned this office some years before he died.

(141) Cressy's church history, b. xii. c. 7.

Britons, or Princes that lived in several Provinces, and reigned at the same time (141). Here ends the manuscript.

[I] *Vicaria Leodiensis.*] This work was undertaken by him purely out of a hearty love to his native place; but the subject being narrow and confined, he has enriched it with observations on the original of parochial churches, and the ancient manner of building them, as also on the old way of passing estates by delivery of pledges, subscription of golden crosses, and pendant seals, &c. And besides the memoirs of many worthy Divines, successively Vicars of Leedes, he has added the lives of the Doctors Matthew Hutton, Edwin Sandys, Tobie Matthew, John Thoresby, Archbishops of York, and of Henry, Earl of Huntington; to which he has likewise added a list of the Lords Presidents of the King's council at York, from the first erection of that court to its dissolution: with an appendix of original records and manuscripts, concluding with an account of Trinity church, which was then building at Leedes (†).

[K] *His benevolence extended to all denominations of Christians.*] For instance, when the pious Philip Lord Wharton began his charity of distributing Bibles among the poor, on condition of repeating memoriter a few Psalms, and the assembly's catechism, he desired Mr Thoresby's assistance at Leedes, which he cheerfully embraced, and, for many years, painfully executed. In

the same spirit, he was from his youth a promoter of private assemblies for prayer and holy conferences, and some good was done in that method. In the latter part of his life, a number of well-disposed young men applied to him for his advice and countenance, and he attempted, with the approbation of the Vicar, to settle them upon Dr Woodward's plan of a religious society. But this laudable design was defeated by the extravagant enthusiasm of one of them, who was too opinionated to be convinced, and not contented with his own ideal perfection, was continually imposing it upon others, as a necessary article of salvation. In the like spirit, when a Charity-school was first erected at Leedes, Mr Thoresby was a zealous Advocate for it, and was named for Treasurer, which, though he out of modesty declined, yet he voluntarily offered to be one of their Collectors, and performed the office with fidelity and activity. Lastly, the pious Robert Nelson, Esq; recommended him for a corresponding member of the Society in London for promoting Christian Knowledge; and he took a great deal of pains to effectuate their design, by recommending subscribers, and dispersing many pious books among the poor; whereupon, at his death, Mr Newman, their Secretary, wrote a letter to the Reverend Mr Robinson, lamenting the loss of so serviceable a correspondent.

(n) He often lamented the great consumption of time, occasioned by the numerous visitants to see his Museum, but took care they should not hinder his private, or public worship.

(p) He had a son born before Ralph, but he died of the small-pox in Novemb. 1689. Ducat. Leod. p. 612. where is related an instance of an extraordinary memory in a young woman, who repeated her Minister's, Mr Sharp's, Sermons, though composed in long sentences, and a lofty stile, once a fortnight, to a considerable number of her own sex, more perfectly than most could take them in shorthand; which, considering her sex, is more remarkable than that of Dr Fuller (omitted in his article) who was able to make use of any man's Sermon that he had but once read, or heard. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 523.

(†) This church has been since finished and endowed by the Benefactors mentioned in the conclusion.

TILLOTSON [JOHN], Archbishop of Canterbury, was descended from the Tilsons of Tilson in Cheshire [A]. The name of that branch of the family, to which we owe our Archbishop, being changed by his great grandfather, Thomas Wookliff, in the parish of Carlton, in that part of Yorkshire called Craven, from whom it was derived to his son George, who by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Ellis Natter of Pendleforest, in Lancashire, had Robert, his heir, who became a considerable Clothier at Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax in Yorkshire (a), where John, his eldest son, the subject of this Memoir, was born, at a house called Haugh-end, about Michaelmas-day, 1630, being baptized on the 3d of Octob. following (b). His father being a very rigid Puritan and Calvinist (c), was particularly careful to breed up his son in the same principles, and finding that he made an extraordinary progress at school, he kept him there till he was fit for the University, and then sent him to Cambridge, where he was admitted Pensioner of Clare Hall, under the tuition of Mr David Clarkson [B], an eminent Presbyterian Divine, April 28, 1647, being matriculated in the University on the first of July following. Here (d) he followed his studies with a commendable diligence, but not so as to have the character of a hard or plodding student [C], and declined appearing in public exercises as much as he could, but performed them very well when required (e). Midsummer 1650, he took the degree of A. B. and on the 27th of November the following year, was admitted Fellow of the College (f), having about half a year before (g) begun to take pupils, of whose behaviour and manners he was very careful [D], being himself of a serious and religious turn: he had a very good gift of performing extempore prayers, then much in use, and was a great frequenter of sermons [E]. In 1654, he proceeded A. M. and at the public commencement the following year, being appointed to keep the Philosophy Act, he performed it with great applause, and beyond expectation (b). In the latter end of 1656, he left the College, where he had met with extraordinary respect from his first admission, and after he became Fellow, the Seniors did nothing in public affairs of the Society without consulting him (i). Some time before he quitted Cambridge, having met with Chillingworth's book, intitled *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation*, the reasoning of that excellent Author had opened his mind so far, as to release him from the narrow notions of his education: in which he had always found something not agreeable to the natural sweetness of his temper (k) [F]. However, he still

(c) His prejudices were scarce to be moderated by all the reasoning of his son, whom he lived to see Dean of Canterbury. Birch's Life of the Archbishop, p. 2. Dr Hickeys says, he early turned Anabaptist. Some Discourses, &c. p. 62. Edit. 1695. 4to.

(d) Le Neve's Lives of the Protestant Bishops, p. 222, 223. from a MS. of Thomas Baker, S. T. B.

(g) When he was made Probationer Fellow. Beardmore, p. 381, who was his first pupil, was admitted Sizer and Pupil to Dominus Tillotson, April 7, 1651. College-Register.

(b) Beardmore, p. 402.

(i) Whiston's Memoirs of his own Life, Vol. 1. p. 29.

(a) His mother was Mary, daughter of Thomas Dobson of the same place, Gentleman. Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 4. Edit. 1717. 8vo. p. 11. She unhappily lost her understanding many years before her death. Archbishop's Prayers before his Consecration, printed in his Works, Vol. III. Edit. 1752. fol.

(b) Calamy's Account, Vol. II. p. 795. Edit. 1713.

(c) Memoirs of the Archbishop by Beardmore, subjoined to his Life by Birch, p. 400.

(f) Le Neve, as before, from Baker's MS.

(k) His Funeral Sermon, by Burnet, p. 10, 11. Edit. 1694. 4to.

[A] Descended from the Tilsons in Cheshire.] The first known ancestor of this family was Nicholas de Tilston, Lord of the manor of Tillton, from whom descended Nicholas de Tilston in the 9th year of Edward III, whose grandson and heir, Roger Tilston, Esq; in the reign of Henry V, married Catharine, second daughter of Sir John Leigh of Baguley in Cheshire, Kent. His son and heir, Thomas Tilston, married the daughter and heiress of Hugh Heath of Huxley in the same county, whose second son, Richard, marrying Maud, daughter of Richard Bostock, had several sons, of whom the third, Ralph of Newport in Shropshire, had by his wife (daughter of William, second son of Sir Thomas Leighton, Kent. of Wattleborough in the same county) Thomas of Wookliff, his third son, in the parish of Carlton in Craven in Yorkshire, who changed the name from Tilston to Tillotson, and was great grandfather to our Archbishop (1).

[B] Mr David Clarkson.] The Oxford Antiquary files him a learned Nonconformist, says he was one of those who, with Dr John Owen and several others in 1682, undertook the continuation of Poole's English annotations on the Bible; but that he disowned the piece against Dr Stillingfleet, ascribed to him, entituled, *No evidence of Diocesan Episcopacy, or any Bishops, without the choice and consent of the people, in the Primitive times*, published in 1681, 4to; though he was the author of another, entituled, *Primitive Episcopacy* (2). According to Mr Baxter, he was a man of moderate healing principles (3). Upon resigning his fellowship, he put his pupils under the care of Mr Tillotson.

[C] He was no plodding student.] His method of study was not to note, or pick out by way of common place, or otherwise, passages out of the books he read; but only marked those that he meant to familiarize with a black lead pencil (4). He read Tully well, and not improbably Twisse's *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, an author in great vogue at that time (5); yet it was not his principles which pleased our student, but his acuteness in disputation. This we have from Mr Beardmore, who observes, that he was a person of a very good wit, sharp and acute, pleasant in conversation, but with much decorum and gravity for his years (6).

[D] He was very careful of his pupils.] He was at these years a very good scholar, an acute logician and philosopher, a quick disputant, of a solid judgment, and no way unqualified, though so young, for the trust and charge of a tutor. He spoke Latin exceeding well, read lectures in Burgerdicius's (7) logic with great smart-

ness and judgment, and, continues Mr Beardmore, when we went to take a new lecture, he examined us about the former, according to the author's and his own explanations: When he went to prayers in his chamber at night, he put us for some time at first upon construing or reading into Latin a chapter in the Greek testament, in which he was a very great critic, and afterwards he used to put some one or other promiscuously upon giving an account of the day's reading, and then required him to defend his author, which was always done in Latin. He sometimes had them to dispute or declaim before him in his chamber in the afternoons. We also, continues Mr Beardmore, went to him to prayers for the most part duly on Sunday nights, when he examined some or other of us about the sermons heard that day; this was done in English; for that was the only day when he spoke to us, and we gave him our account, in English. His prayers were, according to the use of those times, of that sort which are called *conceived* prayers, in which he had a very great facility; but always performed them with gravity and fervour, as he did also when it was his course to perform prayer in the chapel. In the week days, when he had done his prayer, as we were going out of his chamber, he usually recalled some one of us, and then would use those he called with a fair freedom, discourse them kindly, encourage them to studiousness, seriousness, and diligence; or tell them of any fault he either observed or heard of in them, and those that deserved it, he would reprove very sharply. The same Writer proceeds to observe as follows; he prayed much in secret in his bed-chamber, using his voice, but so as none could hear him, as I think, except myself, who kept just over him. He seemed to be much contrite in his devotions (8).

[E] A great frequenter of sermons.] He generally heard four sermons every Sunday, besides the weekly lecture at Trinity church on Wednesdays, which was preached by a combination of the worthiest and best preachers in the University, all of them fellows of colleges. At that time the prevailing men, being generally Contraremonstrants [Calvinists] used to preach much upon those subjects, especially Dr Hill (9). Him Mr Tillotson heard constantly on Sunday mornings at St Michael's church, and in the afternoons often at Trinity (10).

[F] The natural sweetness of his temper.] We should not have inserted this in the text upon the authority of Bishop Burnet's panegyric, had not we found it confirmed by Mr Beardmore. This more impartial and no less friendly writer to Tillotson's memory, having informed

(8) Beardmore, p. 382, 383.

(9) He was bred at Emanuel college, but then was Master of Trinity, in the room of Dr Comber, ejected by the parliament, before whom Hill was a frequent preacher. He died in 1653. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 224.

(10) Beardmore, &c. p. 383, 384.

(1) Birch's Life of the Archbishop, p. 1. 2d Edit. 1753, from a manuscript, communicated by Mr John Tillotson, furmaster of St Paul's school, and great nephew of the Archbishop, being grandson of his brother Israel.

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 747 and 873.

(3) Reliq. Baxteriana, Part 3. p. 97.

(4) Sir Isaac Newton used the same method.

(5) See an account of this Author in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 80, 81, 82.

(6) Appendix to Tillotson's Life by Birch, p. 384.

(7) An author still read by tutors in that University.

still persevered in asserting the Presbyterian form of Church Government, as well as the Protector's Supremacy, continued steady in his allegiance to the *covenant* and the *engagement*, according to the oaths he had taken [G]; and being in great favour with that party, he was now called from the University to be Tutor to the son of *Edmund Prideaux*, Esq; of Ford-Abbey in Devonshire, Oliver's Attorney General, in whose family he likewise officiated as Chaplain, but without any ordination (l), agreeable to the principles of those times. As this employment brought him to London, he was there at the death of his Patron's Master, the Protector, in 1658; and about a week after, was present at a scene in Whitehall, which gave him a disgust to some leading Divines of his own persuasion (m). At the same time, he likewise fell into the acquaintance of some worthy Clergymen of another character, by which he was much improved (n). And soon after the Restoration, in 1669, he took the opportunity that offered of being episcopally ordained, without any oaths or subscriptions, by Dr Thomas Sidserf, Bishop of Galloway in Scotland [H], who was then in London, and where, by this practice, he gave great offence to the English Bishops. Notwithstanding this ordination, Mr Tillotson still adhered to the Presbyterians, and the same year was removed from his Fellowship [I] at Clare-Hall, by the Fellows of the College, at the instance of Dr Peter Gunning, who had been ejected by the Parliament, in 1643, to make way for Mr *David Clarkson*, Tutor and immediate Predecessor in that Fellowship to Mr Tillotson, who had given the profits to the College during all the time he was possessed of it. About this time, he made a visit to his friends in Yorkshire, and there preached his first sermon in the Church of Oswaldkirk, near Helmsley, which living was then held by his fellow pupil in the College, Mr *John Denton* [K]. In July 1661, he attended the Presbyterian

(l) This is plainly intimated by Dr Hicke's in *Some Discourses*, &c. p. 52, and not controverted by Burnet.

(n) Particularly Bishop Browning, who was then Preacher of the Temple; Dr Flacket, afterwards Bishop of Litchfield, of the Church of England; and of the other persuasion, Dr Bates, for whom he professed a great esteem, both on account of his learning and good temper. Beardmore, p. 493.

(m) See Dr. John Owen's Article in remark [D].

(11) Then fellow of Queen's college, afterwards minister of St Mary Woolnoth in Lombard-street, where he died June 12, 1650. Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 802.

(12) Afterwards Rector of Loughborough in Leicestershire, and then Chaplain to the Princess of Orange before the Revolution, and after it Dean of St Asaph. He published Vol. I. of Dr Lightfoot's works, 1684, fo.

(13) Life of Tillotson, p. 6.

(14) afterwards Bishop of Dro-more in Ireland.

(15) Author of *The Select Discourses*.

(16) Memoirs, before, p. 385.

(17) Ibid. p. 387.

formed us how fond his tutor was of Dr Hill's [the Presbyterian's] preaching, intimates that he did not imitate those principles. Diverse young preachers, says he, came up in those times, who were of a freer temper and genius; such were Mr Samuel Jacomb (t. 1), Mr Bright of Emanuel-college (12), Mr Patrick, now Bishop of Ely, and others who went not that way. Mr Tillotson seemed to be an eclectic man, and not to bind himself by opinions. The same writer observes also, that his tutor did not appear to be hotly biased to the presbyterian government after he came under him. Dr Birch observes (13), that there was then a set of as extraordinary persons in the University as perhaps any age has produced; Dr *Ralph Cudworth*, Master of Christ's college; Dr *Benjamin Wicbeck*, Provost of King's; Dr *Henry More*, and Dr *George Rust* [14], Fellows of Christ's; Dr *J. Worthington*, Master of Jesus's; and Mr *John Smith*, Fellow of Queen's (15).

[G] *The oaths which he had taken.* This is collected from the following observation of Mr Beardmore: 'There was a kind of feud, says he, in the college betwixt the old and the new fellows; for it is well known what differences in opinion and affection the civil wars created in the nation; which extended to the Universities, and the particular colleges and societies therein, as well as to other places. The old fellows that then remained in the college had indeed so far dispensed with their judgments, as to have either taken the *covenant*, and after that the *engagement* as it was called, or otherwise to have complied so far with the prevalent powers of those times, as to have kept their fellowships; but yet still very likely in their inward thoughts and inclinations to lean to the ancient government both in church and state. I believe Mr Tillotson then, according to the prejudices of his education, might be something biased the other way, (though not very hotly after I came under him) and so was one of those who lay rather under the disgust of the senior fellows (16).'

[H] *He was ordained by the Bishop of Galloway.* This remarkable fact we owe to the ingenuity of Mr Beardmore, who assures us, that he had it from the Archbishop's own mouth (17); I mean that he was ordained by this Bishop in 1660, and the ordination passed without any oaths or subscriptions, as appears from the following remarks made by Dr Burnet upon the conduct of this Prelate at that time. 'Dr Thomas Sidserf, says he, the only Scots Bishop who was living at the Restoration, came up then to London, not doubting but that he should be advanced to the primacy of Scotland; though he failed of his expectations, having given offence to the English Bishops by his promiscuous ordinations when he first came to England. For, when the act of Uniformity required all men, who held any benefices there, to be episcopally ordained, he who, by observing the ill effects of the former violence of the Scots Bishops, was become very moderate with others of the Scots clergy, who gathered about him, ordained all those of the English clergy who

came to him, without demanding either oaths or subscriptions of them (18).'

[I] *He was ejected from his fellowship.* This whole affair, so much bandied on both sides, seems to be cleared up by Mr Beardmore in the following account. He, Tillotson, was a probationer to a fellowship in 1651, which I think was by mandamus from the higher powers; yet he was not actually admitted into a fellowship of some considerable time, but lived at his own charge. At length, two fellowships being declared void, he was received into one of them; and one Mr Newce, who had also lived as probationer, was taken into the other. I have heard him say, continues Mr Beardmore, the society dealt not fairly with him about that matter. For when, after the Restoration in the year 1660, those fellows, who had been turned out upon account of their not taking the Covenant, came to be admitted into their fellowships, and, among the rest, the famous Dr Peter Gunning, he being then a man of interest and power, would needs have it, that the fellowship, into which Mr Tillotson had been admitted, was formerly his, though the latter told me he was sure it was not, but one that was fairly and legally void upon a fellow's leaving it by cession. But the aforesaid Dr Gunning, having some personal pique against Mr Tillotson (though at the same time he said he could scarcely tell wherein he had disobliged him); yet, I say, Dr Gunning so wrought with the society, as that they complied with his pretences, and so put Mr Tillotson out of his fellowship. This, I have heard him say, he had reason to take amiss from the society, as not having done him right, but dealing unkindly with him, who, if there had been nothing else in it, deserved to be esteemed a benefactor to the College. For instance, while he was Tutor to Prideaux's sons, he obtained, by the Attorney's means, 1000l. to be paid out of the Exchequer to the College for wood and stone prepared for carrying on its building (19). Moreover, while he resided at London, he fell into the acquaintance of an old gentleman, one Mr Diggons, who had formerly been fellow commoner of Clare-hall, and, being a very humourous person, had taken disgust against some of his own relations. In this temper he was prevailed upon to leave 300l. per annum to the College by Mr Tillotson, who also let the profits of his fellowship go to the College. As for Dr Gunning, he was very hot and earnest to put this disrespect upon him; for though he knew that he was to be chosen Master of Bennet college the very next day (20), and though Mr Tillotson's merits to the College were insisted on and pleaded by some at least of the society, yet he was so vehement in the business as to say, *Let Justice be done first; and then, if they were minded to do Mr Tillotson a favour, they might do that afterwards* (21).

[K] *Mr Denton.* This gentleman contracted a most intimate friendship at the College with Mr Tillotson, to whom he was then particularly serviceable during a dangerous sickness, attended for some time after with a very uncommon kind of intermittent delirium, and a constant

(18) Burnet's hist. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 132, 133, who says, he was supposed to do this merely for the fees for the Instrument of orders, for he was poor. Burnet elsewhere stiles him a very learned and good man, p. 26.

(19) This however was seized by the parliament party towards fortifying the castle at Cambridge.

(20) Upon the vacancy, by the death of Dr Love, of whom see some account in Archbishop Tenison's article.

(21) Beardmore's memorials, p. 386, 387.

(o) Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, Part I. p. 337. It was at this time that he advised Mr Beardmore, in his preaching, not to cry up the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church. Beardmore's memoirs, p. 399.

(q) His Sermon of the Advantages of an early piety on Ecclef. xii. 1. was preached at St Laurence Jewry 1662, as appears by the title-page.

(t) Le Neve, p. 223.

(u) From the books of that Society.

(w) In the first edition, of 1664, it makes sixty-four pages in 4to. and he afterwards enlarged it to the size we now see it in the front of his Works, in 1752. fol.

(22) Tillotson's life, by Anon. and Dr Birch.

(23) The inscription upon his tomb-stone in the church of Stonegrave.

(24) The preachers names were omitted in the first edition, but were inserted in the subsequent ones.

(25) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 966-968. This sermon is reprinted in the edition of Tillotson's works, Lond. 1752, in 3 vols folio.

(26) Beardmore's memoirs, p. 388. See what is said of this matter in Mr Calamy's article, rem. [L].

terian Commissioners as an Auditor, in the conference at the Savoy for the review of the Liturgy (o); and in September following, he supplied the turn of Dr Bates in preaching at the morning exercise at Cripplegate Church, London, undertaken by several eminent Presbyterian Divines in the city [L]. The same year he complied with the Act of Uniformity, and was appointed Curate to Dr *Thomas Hacket*, Vicar of Chessunt in Hertfordshire, where he distinguished himself by his persuasive eloquence (p), and as the short distance of that place from London allowed him opportunities of visiting his friends in the city, he was frequently invited into the pulpits there (q); and being presently taken notice of for his excellent talent at preaching, he was elected Minister of St Mary Aldermanbury by the Parishioners on the 10th of December, 1662; but declined it, because the vacancy had been made by the refusal of Mr *Edmund Calamy* [M] to comply with the Act (r). However, being presented in June the following year to the Rectory of *Ketton*, or *Kedington* in Suffolk, worth 200 l. per ann.; he accepted it, though vacated by the ejection of another nonconforming Minister (s), in pursuance of the same Act of Uniformity. He had been possessed of this living but a short time, when happening to be in London, he performed the duty of the stated Tuesday's Lecture at St Laurence Jewry (t). That Sermon procured him the place of Preacher to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn [N], into which he was elected on the 20th of November, 1663; having the appointment of a chamber, and a salary of 100 l. per ann. payable by equal portions at the end of every term, with commons for himself and a servant in term-time, besides 24 l. allowed him for vacation commons (u). This remove bringing him back among his friends, he made no hesitation in preferring it to his Living in Suffolk, where he was not at all liked [O]. He therefore now willingly resigned it, having engaged himself to reside constantly at Lincoln's-Inn. Soon after his settlement in this conspicuous station, he was desired to appear in the pulpit before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, at St Paul's, where, in March 1663-4, he preached his famous Sermon against atheism and infidelity, which at their request was afterwards published with great additions (w), under the title of *The Wisdom of being religious* [P]. A little before this, viz. on the 23d of February preceding, he had married Mrs *Elizabeth French*, Oliver Cromwell's niece, and now daughter-in-law to Dr *John Wilkins*, Rector of St Laurence Jewry (x), where Mr Tillotson was elected Tuesday-Lecturer the following year. About this time, the

constant correspondence was kept up between them (22). Mr Denton was ejected from this living in 1662; but he afterwards conformed, and, being reordained, was collated to Stonegrave, within two miles of Oswaldkirk, and also to a Prebend in the church of York, which he held till his death (23).

[L] *The exercise at Cripplegate by several presbyterian Divines.* The chief promoter of this exercise was *Samuel Aneley* or *Aneley*, then Pastor of that church, and LL. D. which degree he took on account of his then holding the rich living of *Cliffe* in Kent (a peculiar, with a jurisdiction belonging to the Incumbent). His contemporaries looked upon the conferring of this degree upon him as a scandalous thing. Nay, says Mr Wood, some of the grave fellows there, particularly Dr Barlow, have said it diverse times in my hearing, that, if the said *Samuel Aneley* could have told the meaning or definition of the word *Pandectæ*, he should have freely had their votes for that degree. On the 26th of July the same year, 1648, he preached before the House of Commons, persuading them to do justice upon the King, and not to treat with him any more, yet highly extolled and affirmed the obligation of the Covenant. He afterwards took the Engagement, and was appointed one of the commissioners for the approbation and admission of ministers by the act of March 14, 1659: and after the Restoration he refused to conform. Among other things he published, *The Morning Exercise at Cripplegate, or several Cases of Conscience practically resolved by sundry Ministers, Lond.* 1661, 4to. The first sermon is his; and the tenth, entitled, *Wherein lies that exact righteousness that is required between man and man*, was preached by Mr Tillotson (24), then a Nonconformist (25).

[M] *On the refusal of Mr Edmund Calamy to comply with the act.* Mr Beardmore gives us the following curious anecdote relating to Mr Calamy's refusal. Mr Tillotson, says he, in the year 1661, told me, that the good old man [Mr Calamy] deliberated about it some considerable time, professing to see the great inconvenience of the presbyterian parity of ministers. And said, if Mr Calamy had accepted of the Bishoprick of Litchfield, which was offered him, Dr Bates had been Dean, and Mr Miles and himself were designed for two of the Canons. But, as he added also, though Mr Calamy was in a manner induced to a willingness to have embraced the King's offer, yet Mrs Calamy, being against it, over-ruled her husband, and so the matter went off (26).

[N] *This sermon procured him the preacher's place at Lincoln's-Inn.* Mr Atkyns, afterwards Lord chief Baron

of the Exchequer, then Bencher of that Inn, being present at this sermon, was so pleased with it, that, going to him in the vestry, he offered him his interest for the place at Lincoln's-Inn, which would be soon vacant. The offer being accepted by the preacher, he was accordingly elected upon the salary above mentioned, which had been allowed to his predecessor (27). Five Masters of the Bench were appointed to acquaint him with his election, and to inform him of the duty expected from him, that he should preach twice every Lord's day in term-time, and next before and after term, and in reading time, and in every Lord's day in the vacation, and as other occasions should require, and administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper together with the Chaplain of the house every term and vacation, and reside constantly in the Society, not absenting himself thence without the leave of the Masters of the Bench in Council (28).

[O] *Where he was not at all liked.* It seems the people there, being generally infected with the Solifidian and Antinomian doctrines, prevalent in that age, had been deliciously fed by their former Pastor with those favours expressions of *reclimbing and resting and rolling upon Christ*. Thus pampered, they took great offence at his successor's more rational discourses from the pulpit. This being soon discovered by the preacher, he communicated to his patron his design of quitting them upon that account. Sir Thomas, with great civility, endeavoured to persuade him that he was mistaken in his suspicion: but his lady, more open, being desired to speak her mind, acknowledged ingenuously, that neither herself nor even Sir Thomas, however he might affect to disguise his sentiments, were at all of a different opinion from the rest of the parish, who universally complained, that Jesus Christ had not been preached amongst them (29) since Mr Tillotson had been settled there (30).

[P] *The wisdom of being religious.* Upon this occasion he incurred the just reproach of having more zeal than knowledge. In the dedication he calls Mr Hobbes a dabbler in mathematics, a censure which was neither just in itself, nor at all becoming the character of the censurer, who was no competent judge of what he here asserted, and it was very imprudent in him as a Divine, since it might be easily foreseen, that this single slip might be sufficient to defeat, if any thing could defeat, all the good intentions of this discourse, excellent as it is, in the front of which it appeared. Mr Hobbes, as was well known, had been the King's Preceptor in Mathematics, and was confessedly an able Mathematician, as well as Dr Wilkins: though both fell into notorious paralogisms in some parts of that science.

(p) He prevailed with an old Oliverian soldier, who preached among the Anabaptists in that town in a red coat, and was much followed, to desist from that, and betake himself to some other employment. His Life by Anon. p. 7, 9. (r) Kennet's Register and Chronicle, p. 343. (s) Mr Samuel Fairclough, of whom there is some account in Clarke's Lives of eminent men, p. 153.

(x) They were married by Dr Wilkins. See Regist. of that Church.

(27) Mr Thomas Greenfield, a remarkable Loyalist. See his sermon on Wednesday, June 12, 1661; before the House of Commons.

(28) Birch, p. 26 from the book of that society.

(29) He seems to allude to this in his sermon against Evil-speaking. I fore see, says he, what will be, because I have heard it often said in the like case, that there is not a word of Jesus Christ in all this.

(30) Bateley's edition of Sorner's antiquities of Canterbury, Part III. p. 12.

sincerity of his affection for the legal establishment of the Church began to be suspected by some of his old friends and admirers [2]. However, this Lecture suited so particularly with his talents, and was so agreeable to his humour, that he presently became the most popular Preacher of that time, and his manner was observed to be so uncommonly prevalent and persuasive, that we are told his Lectures were attended by a great concourse of persons of quality and distinction, and likewise of the Clergy, who came thither to form their minds (1). But Mr Tillotson's labours were not confined to the pulpit alone; his early zeal against Popery engaged him in a controversy with the Author of *Sure Footing*, &c. against which he wrote his *Rule of Faith*, and published it in 1668, 8vo. [R]. At the same time, he was one of the first encouragers of that laborious Work, the *Synopsis Criticorum*, &c. (2), undertaken this year by Mr *Matthew Pool*, an ejected nonconformist Minister, who joined in the controversy against the Papists (aa). This year, 1666, likewise Mr Tillotson proceeded D. D. (bb): and in January the next year, entered into the design of forming a comprehension with the Dissenters, then proposed by Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and countenanced by Judge *Hales* (cc), Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and though the scheme then plainly appeared to be against the general bent of the nation [S], yet our Doctor kept it still upon his mind, and even continued to push it till his death, whenever he thought the times were favourable (dd). On the 15th of November, 1668, he preached the Sermon at the Consecration of his father-in-law, Dr *Wilkins*, to the Bishopric of Chester (ee). This discourse gave general satisfaction, and the Preacher's merit began now to be taken notice of at Court. So that in the following year, the King made him one of his Chaplains, and gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral of Canterbury, into which he was admitted March 14, 1669 (ff); but quitted it in Octob. 1672, when he was advanced to the Deanery of that Church by his Majesty (gg), notwithstanding he had a little before this intimated his apprehensions of the King's tendency to the Romish Religion [T], and preached that noted Sermon at Whitehall in the beginning of the year, upon *the hazard of being saved in that Church* [U]. In 1674, he joined in a second attempt to bring about his much desired accommodation with the Nonconformists; but having yielded to many articles that were disapproved by the Bishops, he was again disappointed therein [W]: However, this year, by the interest of Dr *John Sharp*, with Lord Chancellor *Finch*,

(y) *Le Neve*, p. 224. and *Funerall Sermon* by *Burnet*, p. 20.

(z) His name is subscribed to the *Proposals* for that Work. See also the *Prefatio*, p. vi, vii.

(cc) See his article.

(dd) This will appear in the course of the present Memoir.

(gg) In the room of Dr *Turner*, deceased. His friends on this occasion were Archbishop *Sheldon*, the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Berkeley*. *Beardmore*, p. 393. In the interim, he was chosen a Fellow of the *Royal Society*, Jan. 25, 1671, having been by his own request proposed as a candidate by Dr *Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose successor at *St Laurence Jewry* was Dr *Wilkins*, one of the chief ornaments of the R. S.

[2] He began to be suspected by some of his old friends.] Mr *Beardmore*, having given Dr *Wilkins* his just character, proceeds thus (31); 'I remember that, about May, 1655, being at *Coventry*, I went to wait upon Bishop *Hacket*, as he was returning from *London* to *Litchfield*, who spoke much to the commendation of Mr *Tillotson* as to his learning and preaching, and particularly praised his sermon, then newly printed, called, *The wisdom of being religious*, as the best thing that ever he saw against *Atheism* in the compass of a sermon. But, says he, he is now fallen in with Dr *Wilkins*, and is become a *presbyterian*, and an enemy of the church of *England*. or to that purpose; and, says he, he never came to see me all this time I have been at *London*; whereas formerly I have conversed with him with great familiarity. I did, continues Mr *Beardmore*, by letter acquaint him of the importance of the Bishop's complaint of him, who returned to me, that the opinion which I myself had expressed of Dr *Wilkins*'s worth was true and just; that the Bishop's fears of himself being become a *presbyterian* were causeless and groundless; for that he had long before fixed his principles about church-government, and was in no likelihood of altering them; and that it was by reason of his much business that he had not waited on his Lordship when in town.'

[R] His rule of faith.] In return to this, Mr *Serjeant* (whose true name was *Smith*) published *A letter of thanks from the author of sure footing to his answerer, Mr J. T.* (32), and this was seconded the following year by *Faith vindicated from the possibility of falsehood; or The immovable certainty and firmness of the motives to the Christian religion asserted against that tenet, which, denying infallibility of authority, subverts its foundation, and renders it uncertain* (33). In this piece he attacked a passage in p. 31 of Dr *Tillotson*'s sermon on *the wisdom of being religious*. The Doctor replied to his exceptions to that, and to his *Rule of Faith*, in the preface to the first volume of his sermons, printed in 167, 8vo. To this there came out a *Rejoinder* the following year, entitled *Reason against Raillery, or a full answer to Dr Tillotson's preface against J. Serjeant*.

[S] Plainly appeared to be against the general bent of the nation.] Dr *Stillingfleet* and Mr *Hezekiah Burton* also joined in this project, which was to bring in as many as they could to the communion of the church, and procure a toleration for the rest; Dr *Bates*, Dr *Manton*, and Mr *Baxter*, being called on the side of the *presbyterians*. The scheme consisted chiefly of those things which the King had promised in his declaration from *Breda* in

1660. But the great point of reordination being given up, it was proposed, that those who had *presbyterian* ordination should be received to serve in the church by an imposition of hands, accompanied with words importing, that the person so ordained should be received to serve as a minister in the church of *England* (34). When this treaty came to be publicly known, it was universally condemned, inasmuch that when a bill, drawn up by Lord chief Baron *Hale*, was to be presented to the parliament, a resolution passed against admitting any bill of that nature (35). This is the plain fact, stripped of the colouring given to it by Bishop *Burnet* from his zealous attachment to this scheme, and under that caution the following remark of his upon it in another place is to be read. "But this treaty, says he, becoming the subject of common discourse, a clamour was raised, especially by the friends of the Earl of *Clarendon*, disgraced in August, 1667, and now in banishment, that the church was undermined and betrayed (36)."

[T] His apprehensions of the King's inclination to popery.] Upon his Majesty's proclamation for liberty of conscience, March 15, 1671, the Bishops in general, and my Lord of *London* in particular, charged the clergy to preach against popery. The King complaining to Archbishop *Sheldon* of this, as done on purpose to inflame the people, and alienate them from himself and his government, that prelate called together some of the clergy to consider what he should say to his Majesty, if he pressed him any further on that head; when Dr *Tillotson*, who was one of these, suggested this answer, that, since his Majesty professed the protestant religion, it would be a thing without precedent that he should forbid his clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he declared himself of it. But there was no occasion for this or any other answer, his Majesty never renewing the motion (37).

[U] A sermon on the hazard of salvation in the church of Rome.] This, they say, says Mr *Beardmore*, so nettled the duke of *York*, who was present, having to this time concealed himself, and, being a Papist in masquerade, frequented the King's chapel, that he forsook it afterwards, and never more appeared there (38).

[W] He was again disappointed.] This attempt was in conjunction with the same persons as the former, *Tillotson* and *Stillingfleet* declaring they had encouragement of several Lords both spiritual and temporal. They were at first met by Mr *Baxter* alone, with whom having considered and canvassed various draughts, one was at length fixed on in which they agreed, and, being communicated to the other Nonconformists, was satisfactory

(aa) See his article.
(bb) *Le Neve*, as before.

(cc) See his article.

(ff) In the room of Dr *Gubning*. *Le Neve*'s Fasti, p. 10, 14.

(31) In his memoirs, p. 391.

(32) According to the title printed at *Paris*, but really at *London*.

(33) This too was printed at *London*, though said, in the title-page, at *Louvain*.

(34) *Calamy*'s abridgment of Mr *Baxter*'s list of his life and times, p. 317-322, 2d edition.

(35) *Burnet*'s life of Sir *Matthew Hale*, p. 42, 43.

(36) *Burnet*'s history of his own time, Vol. I. p. 259.

(37) *Id.* p. 269. N. B. The King, on the address of the House of Commons, recalled that declaration.

(38) *Beardmore*'s memoirs, p. 392.

(bb) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 147, 192.

(kk) Le Neve, p. 224. He succeeded Dr Sancroft, then advanced to the See of Canterbury.

(mm) See Lord Chancellor Talbot's article.

Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, the Dean was presented, December 18, 1675, to the Prebend of Ealdland, in the Church of St Paul's (bb); and the same year, he published Dr Wilkins's *Principles of Natural Religion* (ii), with a recommendatory Preface. The year 1617 was lucky to him, in presenting the opportunity he had of shewing a particular regard for the Prince and Princess of Orange at Canterbury, in their way to Holland, after their marriage [X]. On the 14th of February the same year, 1667-8, resigning his Prebend of Ealdland, aforementioned, he obtained that of Oxgate, together with a Residentiaryship of the same Church (kk). In 1678, the Dean published Dr Barrow's *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, in pursuance of the Author's dying request to him (ll). The same year he lost his brother, Joshua Tillotson, who died on the 16th of September, of a vomiting of blood [Y]. But this month was more remarkably distinguished by the discovery of the problematical Popish Plot, and the Parliament meeting on the 21st of October, a few days after the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Dean was appointed to preach before the Commons on the 5th of November following. As from the whole tenor of his Sermons and other writings, his thoughts appear to be continually agitated with the apprehensions of Popery, so this appointment furnished him with the fittest occasion that could be of opening all his mind upon that subject, and he even excelled himself therein [Z]. Yet this excellence was presently tarnished, by his Sermon preached on the 3d of December following, at the Yorkshire feast, when the high tide of his zeal for a comprehension, drove him foul against that rock upon which he had so often run before, to the no small damage of his reputation [AA]. This damage seems however to be sufficiently repaired, by the great share he had in bringing the Earl of Shrewsbury to the Church of England (mm), in 1679 (n). But the heat of his zeal against Popery, betrayed him into such an excess, as laid him open to the censures of all parties [BB]; and upon the death of Wilmot,

(ii) See Dr Wilkins's article.

(ll) To this he annexed the Doctor's treatise concerning the unity of the Church.

(nn) This year Dr Burnet submitted the MS. of his History of the Reformation to the Dean's perusal and correction, whose reputation was judged by the Author would be of great service in recommending his Work to the public. Preface to that History.

satisfactory to them; but, the Bishops refusing their consent to many particulars in it, the treaty was soon at an end. Mr Baxter sent to Dr Tillotson to know whether he might have leave to speak of it, in order to the promoting concord, and to signify how far they were agreed, that their names might be some advantage to the work. Upon which the Doctor returned him an answer, April 11, 1675, informing him, that he had taken the first opportunity to speak to the Bishop of Sarum [Dr Seth Ward] who promised to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the Bishop of Chester [Dr Pearson] with it, in order to a meeting. But, upon some general discourse, he plainly perceived several things could not be obtained. That however the Bishop of Sarum had promised to appoint a time of meeting; and that he had not heard from his Lordship since. For his own part he was unwilling that his name should be used in this matter; not but that he did most heartily desire an accommodation, and should always endeavour it; but that he was sure it would be a prejudice to him, and signify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which, as circumstances were, could not pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the Bishops, and the countenance of his Majesty, which, for the present, he saw little reason to expect (39).

(39) Calamy's abridgment, &c. p. 343.

(40) In the Appendix, p. 11, of his History of England.

[X] *He made his court to the Prince and Princess of Orange.* Notwithstanding Mr Eachard's account (40) of this incident has been shewn, by Dr Birch, liable, in some circumstances, to exception; yet that writer does not controvert the fact of their Highnesses calling at Canterbury, where the Dean supplied them with some necessaries, and invited them to lodge at the Deanery; which is sufficient to support our assertion.

(41) Life of Tillotson, p. 51, 52.

[Y] *He lost his brother Joshua.* This brother was an oilman in London [41], and, being frequently visited by the Dean, happened to be there, when Mr Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, coming in upon business with the brother, that incident gave rise to the acquaintance and friendship that ever after subsisted between the two Archbishops (42). Mr Joshua Tillotson (43) left a small provision for his son, who was taken care of by the Archbishop during his life, and afterwards Mrs Tillotson sent him to Clare-hall, where she supported him till he became Fellow; and, during the course of his education, was honoured with the favour of Lord Somers, out of regard to his uncle's memory, which was acknowledged by him in a Latin letter still extant. Upon entering into orders he was presented to the Sinicure of Elme, of considerable value, in the isle of Ely, by the Executors of the Archbishop, to whose disposal that option was left (44). Upon this preferment he resigned his Fellowship; but, continuing unmarried, lived in lodgings at Cambridge, where I knew him sometime between the years 1722 and 1728.

(42) See Archbishop Sharp's article.

(43) The Dean was much affected with his death, and wrote, on the occasion, a consolatory letter to his Father, who was still living at Sowerby in Yorkshire.

(44) Archbishop Sharp's article, p. 343.

[Z] *He excelled himself therein.* The following passage is so extremely beautiful, and besides so perfectly characteristic of him, that I cannot forbear laying it before the Reader. 'I can truly say, as the Roman Orator

did of himself upon another occasion, *me natura misericordem, patria tenerum, crudelium nec patria nec natura esse voluit*; my nature inclines me to be tender and compassionate: a hearty zeal for our religion, and concernment for the public welfare of my country, may perhaps have made me a little severe; but neither my natural disposition, nor the genius of the protestant, that is, the true Christian, religion, will allow me to be cruel.'

[AA] *His sermon at the Yorkshire feast hurt his reputation.* The obnoxious passage is as follows: 'It is not for private persons to undertake in matters of public concernment: but I think we have no cause to doubt but the governors of our church, notwithstanding all the advantages of authority, and we think of reason too, on our side, are persons of that piety and prudence, that, for peace sake, and in order to a firm union among Protestants, they would be content, if that would do the business, not to insist upon little things, but to yield them up, whether to the infirmity or importunity, or perhaps, in some things, to the plausible exceptions of those who differ from us.' Mr Beardmore, having cited this passage, tells us, a Doctor that he was in company with expressed himself very much dissatisfied with it, saying, what had he to do, being but a private Doctor, to undertake this without the consent of his superiors; a censure which is left without any particular answer by this friend (45).

(45) In his memoirs, p. 402, 403.

[BB] *A sermon which laid him open to the censures of all parties.* It was intitled, *The Protestant religion vindicated from the charge of singularity and novelty*; where he has these words: 'I cannot think, till I be better informed, which I am always ready to be, that any pretence of conscience warrants any man, that is not extraordinarily commissioned, as the Apostles and first Publishers of the Gospel were, and cannot justify that commission by miracles as they did, to affront the established religion of a nation, though it be false, and openly to draw men off from the profession of it, in contempt of the magistrate and the law. All that persons of a different religion can in such a case reasonably pretend to, is to enjoy the private liberty and exercise of their own conscience and religion, for which they ought to be very thankful, and to forbear the open making of profelytes to their own religion (though they be never so sure that they are in the right) till they have either an extraordinary commission from God to that purpose, or the providence of God make way for it by the permission of the magistrate.' Dr Hickes observes (46), that a witty Lord, standing at the King's elbow when this was delivered, said, *Sir, Sir, do you hear Mr Hobbes in the pulpit?* which is confirmed by Dr Calamy, who tells a long story of the Dean's being catechized by Mr Howe so severely as to draw tears from him, and a confession of his mistake (47). Dr Hickes further says, that not only Dr Gunning, then Bishop of Ely, complained of this sermon in the House of Lords, as containing a doctrine that would serve the cause of Popery, but

(46) In some discourses, &c. p. 48. and Mr Leslie tells us this witty Lord was the Earl of D— Charge of Socinianism against Tillotson considered, p. 13.

(47) Memoirs of the Life of John Howe, p. 75 who had been Chaplain to Cromwell, when Protector.

Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, attended with a signal repentance the following year, the Dean made a remark in favour of the opinion, espoused afterwards by Mr Bayle, that idolatry is worse than atheism [CC]. In the mean time, he appeared warmly this year on the side of the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York, and employed his interest with Lord Halifax to divert him from opposing it (mm). He likewise refused to sign the address of the Clergy of London to his Majesty, upon his declaration that he could not consent to such a bill (*); before the end of the year, he censured the Bishops for opposing the two bills, then in agitation, for an indulgence and union with the Dissenters [DD]. In the summer of 1681, he lost the younger of his two daughters (nn); and in 1682, he wrote an admirable letter to the Lady *Henrietta*, daughter to the Lord *Berkeley*, on her yielding to a criminal conversation with *Ford* Lord Grey of Werke, who had married her sister (oo). This year he also published Dr Wilkins's Sermons, with a Preface, which shews how capable he was of being carried to excesses upon some occasions [EE]. In 1683, he published Dr Barrow's Sermons, in three volumes folio, with a criticism upon them, under the title of an Advertisement (pp) [FF]; and the same year he preached the Funeral Sermon of Dr Benjamin Whicohocot, successor to Dr Wilkins in the Vicarage of St Laurence Jewry, in which church the Dean still held the Tuesday's Lecture. This proved a melancholy year for the Dean, by the discovery of the Rye-house and Fanatic Plot, wherein some of his intimate friends were engaged, especially the Lord John Russell, for whom he appeared as a witness at his trial, and attended him after his condemnation. During this attendance, he was greatly abused by a misrepresentation of that Lord, given to him by Dr Burnet, which occasioned the writing of his much canvassed letter in vindication of the principle of non-

(mm) Burnet's Hist. of his own time, Vol. I. p. 199.

(nn) Her name was Elizabeth; she had not been married. Birch's Life of the Archbishop, p. 88. Edit. 1752.

(oo) See the trial of Lord Grey in State Trials. This incident gave birth to a spurious Collection of Letters pretended to have passed between her and her gallant.

(*) The declaration was made Jan. 4. 1680-1, in answer to the address of the House of Commons. Life of the Archbishop by Anan. p. 17. Edit. 1717. fol.

(pp) This task had employed the Dean for several years, and cost him as much pains as would have produced many more of his own. The Sermons chiefly commended by him, are those upon the vices of the tongue, and the two against pragmatism.

(48) There was also this passage in the sermon: Religion is the band of human society, and God so necessary to the welfare and happiness of mankind, as he could not have been more, &c. which he altered thus: Religion is the band &c. and so necessary &c. that it could not have been more, &c.

(49) It is in the 9th Sermon, and in that Volume.

(50) Tillotson's Eccl. p. 71.

(51) The same remark, in almost the same words, is inserted into the account of Lord Rochester's death by Burnet, p. 117. edit. 1724.

but cites an extract of a letter from Dr Patrick to Dr Samuel Parker, then Archdeacon of Canterbury, full of the sharpest animadversions upon it. But Dr Calamy's story does not agree with what the Dean wrote to Mr Nelson on this occasion on the 27th of July the same year, that these animadversions did not seem to him very considerable: 'However, I am sorry, continues 'he, that any thing of mine should occasion so much 'talk and noise.' Accordingly he republished the sermon the same year, without taking notice of a new edition in the title-page, in which, after the word *permission*, he added, *or connivance of the Magistrate* (48). All the subsequent separate editions passed without any more alterations: but in the third volume of his sermons (49), in 1686, 8vo, he added a paragraph of near a page, after the words *permission or connivance of the magistrate*, beginning thus; not but that every man hath a right, &c. and ending with the word *sufferings*.

[CC] *Idolatry is worse than Atheism.* Among some other reflections entered into his common-place book on this occasion, Dr Birch has given (50) us the following: 'Atheism and Infidelity do not bind up the senses 'of men strongly enough, but they may be awakened 'by the apprehensions of death, or some great calamity 'coming upon them. A false religion, if a man be 'sincere in it, will bear up a man's spirits against torments and death, because every man's conscience is a 'kind of God to him. And the strongest opiates in 'this world are Enthusiasm and Popery. These may 'lock up men's senses against the power of truth to 'awaken them, as we see in the murderers of our late 'Sovereign, and in our present Romish conspirators.' These remarks are dated October 1: and in a letter to Mr Nelson, wrote August 1st preceding, the Dean expresses himself on the same occasion thus: 'I am sorry 'that an example, which might have been of so much 'use and advantage to the world, is soon taken from us. 'But God had pity on him, and would not venture him 'again in such circumstances of temptation as were 'perhaps too hard for human frailty (51). This diving into the secrets of God's moral government (so far as is signified in these last words) above what he has given us to know, is not peculiar to Dr Tillotson. It is a faculty which we see too frequently assumed by God's spiritual ministers. Though it would be hard to prove any except a prescriptive right, obtained by immemorial custom, that they have to it.

[DD] *He censures the Bishops.* It is in a letter to Mr Nelson, then at Paris, dated March 7, 1680-1, where he acquaints that friend, that 'there was little 'progress made the last parliament towards a reconciliation of Dissenters. Two bills were brought into the 'House of Commons for that purpose: the one called 'a bill of Indulgence, to mitigate the severity of the 'laws towards those who would not come into the 'national constitution; the other of Union, by which 'the new subscriptions were to be taken away, and the 'ceremonies left indifferent. I never saw the bills, 'but this was the substance of them, which, so far as 'I can learn, pleased neither side. The Bishops thought

'this too much, and the Dissenters too little. I have 'no great hopes of any good issue of this matter, till 'the minds of men become more calm (52).'

[EE] *A preface which shews him capable of being carried to excesses.* In defending the Bishop against a character given of him in the *Historia & Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* he avoids mentioning any author. 'This, he says, *he was 'not curious to know.*' And indeed Mr Wood was as obnoxious to him as Bishop Fell, or any others concerned in that book, being hearty against his comprehension project, and besides under the displeasure of Dr Burnet, who had dignified him with the title of a Scribbler, and one that had no reputation to lose (53). However, Dr Birch has ventured to fix the drawing of this character of Dr Wilkins upon Bishop Fell (54), proper notice of which has been already taken in the course of this work (55). But we have an undeniable authority, that this was not any of the insertions complained of by Mr Wood, from his remark under Dr Wilkins's article in the *Athen. Oxon.* where, having given that Bishop a very high character, he concludes thus: 'To pass by 'the character given of him in discourse by the great 'men of the church, Archbishop Sheldon, Bishop Fell, 'and Archbishop Dolben, who did malign him for his 'wavering and unconstant mind in religion, which I 'know will be displeasing to many (56), &c.' This being wrote after Dean Tillotson's censure, now in question, it is much more than probable, that the Historian would in this place have taken notice of any alteration in the article mentioned in his former book, had he entertained the least suspicion of it. On the contrary, we find he was not without some suspicion of Tillotson's having altered the *Athen. Oxon.* and expressly charges him with revising his manuscript without his privity or consent (57). After all, great allowances ought to be made for an Author's life, written to be prefixed to his works, which is therefore very excusable in this now before us, and the more so on account of the relation between them. But this made it more necessary, upon the plan of our work, impartially to set the fact as far as might be in its true light. Neither does Archbishop Tillotson's character stand in need of being set off by a foil made at the expence of Bishop Fell, which will unluckily prompt a remark in his favour, that, not long before the publication of this preface, he had preached his celebrated sermon before the House of Commons (58), wherein he warmly and smartly exposes Tillotson's comprehension scheme, and where, at the same time, he shewed himself such a perfect master in the gift of rebuking with authority, as naturally leads to a reflection upon Tillotson's remarkable defect in that most useful talent of a Preacher.

[FF] *He published Dr Barrow's sermons.* It was suggested, that great part of the Dean's excellence as a preacher was owing to his use of the works of this friend. But this reflection is inconsistent with the chronology of their lives. Dr Tillotson was eminent in his profession in the year 1663, and had given the public the first volume of his sermons in 1671. In which year appeared the first and only sermon published by Dr Barrow.

(52) Birch, p. 81, 82. See Bishop Burnet's Hist. of his own time, Vol. I.

(53) Burnet's letter to the Lord Bishop of Coventry, &c. p. 9.

(54) His life of Tillotson, p. 95.

(55) In Mr Locke's article.

(56) *Athen Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 516.

(57) See his plea, put into the Chancellor's court at Oxford, in 1695.

(58) On the Fast, Dec. 22, 1680, and printed immediately by order of that house.

(99) See the article of Lord Russell, and the General Hist. of England, and Samuel Johnson's article.

(ss) He published also a Discourse upon the same subject, written by Mr Henry Pendlebury. The Dean had published in 1666, *The Nullity of the Romish Faith*, in 8vo. and *A Dialogue between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant*, in 1667. 8vo.

(xv) His Life, in 1717, p. 9.

(xx) The Letter is too long to be inserted, but is well worth reading in Birch, p. 126. — 129.

(yy) In this Sermon he applied to that crisis of the public affairs this line of Virgil, *Nunc animis opus, Æneæ, nunc pectore firmo.*

(zz) Particularly the Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Bucks, and Dr Crew, Bishop of Durham, who had both incurred the law by acting in the Ecclesiastical Commission of King James II. Burnet's Hist. of his own time, p. 138. Vol. I. fol. Edit.

(ddd) On the 24th of May. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year.

(eee) It was rejected in the House of Lords, where the votes were equal. Burnet's Hist. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 10, 11.

(ggg) Nichols's Apparatus ad Defensionem Ecclesie Anglic. p. 93.

(bbb) Burnet's Preface to his Essay toward a new book of homilies printed with his sermons on several occasions, in 1713. 8vo.

resistance and passive obedience (99). All successful plots are observed to strengthen the hands of the Crown, and invigorate those measures in the Administration, which it is their aim to overset; so after the defeat of this plot, that was conducted by the protestant party, the Papists, as was natural, triumphed more boldly, and grew more daring than before. By this means our Dean being ill at ease in town, purchased a house at Edmonton (rr), whither he retired about this time; and as the Papists became the prevailing power in the succeeding reign, he kept his residence still in this country-house till the Revolution. However, all the time he continued his preaching, both at Lincoln's-Inn, and St Laurence, with his usual freedom, or rather with more zeal and fervency against Popery. His *Discourse on Transubstantiation* (ss), printed towards the end of King Charles the Second's Life, begun the debate with that doctrine, and led the way into the controversy with the Papists, which was kept up as long as King James II. kept his seat on the Throne; and in 1685, the Dean shewed himself warmly in the cause of the French Refugees [GG], who had fled into England on the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. In the latter end of this year, he gave great offence to the famous *William Penn*, the Quaker, by confirming the reflection that was then thrown upon him, of being a Jesuit; but being afterwards convinced that his suspicions were groundless, he asked that Gentleman's pardon, and at his request gave him all the satisfaction that he required, in justice to his character (tt). In 1687, the Dean lost his eldest daughter, and last surviving of his children (uu), and not long after, was himself seized with an apoplectic fit, which, however, went off at this time without any fatal consequences (vv). Under these impressions, he wrote a consolatory letter to a friend, then ill of an incurable cancer (x). In the season next year, 1688, he went to Tunbridge wells for the re-establishment of his health, where he had the honour of conversing frequently with the Princess Ann of Denmark, and having preached before her against Popery (y), on the 2d of September, he went immediately to Canterbury, whence he wrote two letters to Lady Russell, declaring his opinion, that the nation was more inclined to his darling scheme of a comprehension, than it had been. Upon the Revolution, his share was one of the most distinguished in the national good fortune. As soon as the Prince of Orange had settled himself at St James's, the Dean was desired to preach before him, on Sunday January the 6th, being Twelfth Day, and upon the thanksgiving day on the 31st of that month, in a Sermon at Lincoln's-Inn, he laboured to prove *that* deliverance to be wrought by an immediate divine agency. His situation, with respect to the Court, was so much improved, that he became a successful Intercessor on this change for others (zz), who had occasion for his kindness, and he was so zealous a friend to King William, that he prevailed with the Princess Ann, much against her inclination, to resign her eventual claim to the Crown upon her sister's death (aaa); though he must needs be sensible, that it was likely in the issue to prove, as it actually did, more than a single injury to that Princess. On the 27th of March, 1689, he was appointed Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty (bbb), and easily obtained the Deanery of St Paul's from the King; who then communicated to him his intention to promote him to the See of Canterbury, if Dr Sancroft, as he seemed determined, should incur a sentence of deprivation (ccc). This the Dean took pains to avoid, as being very disagreeable to his temper. Notwithstanding the Act of Toleration passed this year (ddd), yet *that* not satisfying the Dissenters, their friends made another attempt for a comprehension, which was laid before the Parliament, under the title of *A bill for uniting all Protestant Dissenters*. But the Dean observing the unlikelihood of succeeding in the design that way (eee), persuaded the King to take another method, which was to lay it before the Convocation, to be passed there (fff). In pursuance of this advice, a Commission was issued out by the King, on the 13th of September, to ten Bishops, and twenty Divines, among whom was our Dean. They opened their Commission at the Jerusalem-chamber, on the 10th of October following; but so greatly was this affair disliked, that some of these Commissioners declined to assist at their meetings, and upon the assembling of the Convocation on the 21st of the next month, when those members of the lower house who were friends to the Dean's design, put him up for the place of Prolocutor, he was rejected by a majority of two to one in favour of Dr Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, who, upon his presentation to the upper house, in order to shew their fixt resolution to oppose it, concluded his speech by way of triumph with those famous words, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*; and to make this scheme for carrying that design the more odious, it was branded with the title of a *new Ecclesiastical Commission* (ggg). Notwithstanding this spirit against any alteration at all, yet on the miscarriage of his new design, the Dean formed another, of a new book of homilies, to be added to that already established. About the same time their Majesties having published proclamations against profane swearing, sabbath-breaking, lewdness and drunkenness; the Dean desired Bishop Burnet to draw, for an essay, homilies on those subjects, promising to take a large share of the rest of the work on himself (bbb). On the 7th of March this year, he preached before the Queen at Whitehall his remarkable Sermon against *the absolute eternity of hell torments*, which being published soon after, helped to render him more unpopular to the Clergy than before (iii). In 1690, being appointed to preach on several public oc-

(rr) Beardmore's Memoirs, p. 412. In this retirement he published the Sermons of Dr Hezekiah Burton, in 1684.

(tt) See Penn's article, remark [T].

(uu) She was wife to James Chadwick, Esq, a Nottinghamshire gentleman, in which county he had an estate of about 300 l. per ann. She left him two sons and a daughter. Birch, p. 125.

(aaa) Dutches of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 22, 23, 24.

(bbb) Birch, p. 139.

(ccc) In August this year, the Dean had been appointed by the Chapter of his Cathedral to exercise the archiepiscopal jurisdiction of that province, upon the suspension of Dr Sancroft. Id. p. 143.

(fff) The thought of laying it first before the convocation was probably taken from Archbishop Sancroft, who in his scheme for a comprehension, had proposed that method. Wake's Speech at Dr Sacheverel's trial, March 17, 1709-10.

(iii) He espoused the opinion of Episcopius, in his Institutiones Theolog. p. 67. Edit. Amsterd. 1650. folio. The point is thoroughly discussed by Dr Edmund Law, in the notes upon his translation of Archbishop King's Latin Discourse concerning the origin of evil.

[GG] He promoted the charity to the French refugees.] King James having granted briefs for collecting this charity, Dr Beveridge, then a Prebendary of Canterbury, objected to the reading of one of them, as contrary to

the Rubric. For which he was rebuked by the Dean in this short reprimand; *Doctor, Doctor, Charity is above Rubrics* (59).

(59) Birch, p. 121, 122.

casions before the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor, and the Queen, he performed each in a strain intirely devoted to the Court, and the See of Canterbury becoming vacant, by the deprivation of Archbishop Sancroft on the first of February (*kkk*) the last year, though he still endeavoured to avoid that dignity, notwithstanding the King's repeated importunities for his acceptance of it then, and for several months after (*lll*); yet he yielded at length, about the month of October, having obtained a promise from his Majesty to provide for his wife if she should happen to survive him, which promise in a few days was likewise confirmed to him by the Queen (*mmm*): who having received a MS. tract from Dr *Frederic Spanbeim*, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, tending to promote the comprehension, put it into the Dean's hands, to whom the Professor had likewise sent a Latin letter on the same subject; in his answer to which, the Dean dissuades this foreigner from intermeddling with the disputes in England, and charges the Dissenters, as well as the Churchmen, with too much stiffness upon that point. This letter is dated February 6, 1690-1 (*nnn*); and upon the King's return from Flanders in April following, the Dean was nominated to the Archbishopric on the 23d of that month. The Conge d'elire was made out on the 1st of May, and he was elected on the 10th, confirmed on the 28th, and consecrated at Bow-Church on the 31st. He was sworn of the Privy-Council on the 4th of June, and on the 11th of July had a restitution of the temporalities belonging to his See. The Queen likewise granted him all the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding, amounting to upwards of 2500l. (*ooo*). However, he continued at the Deanery-house of St Paul's, till he had built a large apartment for his wife at Lambeth; he also repaired the whole palace, altered the windows and lights of the Archbishop's lodgings, wainscotted several rooms, and made other improvements, which being finished, he removed thither on the 26th of November, 1691 (*ppp*). Upon this promotion, he experienced the truth of what he constantly apprehended, and indeed might easily be foreseen in the then present temper of the nation, some very severe censures that were thrown out against him (*qqq*) in print. But, when the King, who was much interested in his reputation, ordered some of the publishers and dispersers of the papers to be apprehended, he used all his power to stop the prosecution (*rrr*) [*HH*]: and the year was not expired, when he began to write down for his own use, such reflections as the several occurrences of his new station suggested to him. In the beginning of the next year, 1692, the Archbishop having drawn up a circular letter for his Province, in the prosecution of his project for a comprehension, communicated it on the 11th of April to eight Bishops, who unanimously approved the design (*sss*). The same month, he was found to be excluded the offer of pardon in King James the Second's declaration (*ttt*), sent over to England previously to his successful attempt to recover the throne. The same year he had the satisfaction of seeing how highly pleasing his favourite scheme of an union with the Dissenters at home was to the Protestants abroad (*uuu*). October 27 this year, he preached a thanksgiving Sermon before their Majesties, in which the ardor of his devotion for the King, laid the Preacher open to the severe lashes of his enemies [*II*]; whose heat, on the other hand, betrayed them into some unwarranted aspersions upon his conduct, with regard to the Episcopal Church of Scotland [*KK*]. In 1693, he revised and published four Sermons

[*HH*] He endeavoured to stop the prosecution; viz. on his own account: but this having given some uneasiness to the Lady Russel, at whose instance this prosecution was begun in defence of her Lord's memory, his Grace wrote to her Ladyship as follows: 'I intreat you to give my very humble service to my Lord of Bedford, and to let his Lordship know how far I have been concerned in this affair. I had notice first from Mr Attorney-Generall and Mr Solicitor, and then from my Lord —, that several persons, upon the account of publishing and dispersing several libels against me, were secured in order for prosecution: upon which I went to wait upon them severally, and earnestly desired of them that no body might be punished on my account; that this was not the first time I had experience of this kind of malice, which, how unpleasant soever to me, I thought it the wisest way to neglect, and the best to forgive it. None of them said any thing to me of my Lord Russel, nor did it ever enter into my thoughts to hinder any prosecution on his account, &c. (60).' One of these pamphlets was a letter, first sent to the Archbishop's Lady for him, and also a copy to the Countess of Derby for the Queen, and then published in print. In this his Grace's letter to Lord John Russel was reprinted, with several animadversions, suggesting his insincerity, or his apostacy, as it is there called, from what he had formerly preached and written (61); and to the same purpose, soon after his promotion, while a gentleman was with him who came to pay his compliments upon it, a packet was brought in, sealed, and directed to his Grace, upon opening of which there appeared a mask inclosed, but nothing written. The Archbishop, without any signs of emotion, threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; and, on the gentleman's expressing great surprize and indignation at the affront, his Grace only smiled, and said, that this

was a gentle rebuke, if compared with some others that lay there in black and white, pointing to the papers on the table (62). We have another story to the same effect, told by Dr Sherlock, that, after the Archbishop's death, there was found in his study a bundle of papers, on which was written by his Grace; *These are libels; pray God forgive them; I do* (63). We must not however from hence infer, that he sat so tamely under these abuses as to make no kind of reprisals. On the contrary we are assured, that, in a sermon which is lost, he took occasion to complain of the usage he had received from the Nonjuring party, and to expose in return the inconsistency of their own conduct, remarking particularly, that, upon a just comparison of their principle of non-resistance with their actual non-assistance to King James II, they had little reason to boast of their loyalty to him (64).

[*II*] A sermon which laid him open to the lash of his enemies. In this sermon, taking notice of Lewis XIV's unprincipally manner of insulting over King William, when he believed him to have been slain at the *Boyne*, he adds, that no mortal man ever had his shoulder so kindly kissed by a cannon bullet. A piece of false eloquence, which, though not usual in his Grace's writing, was severely handled by Dr Hickee (65), and rallied by Dr South as a peculiar strain of rhetoric (66).

[*KK*] His conduct with regard to the episcopal church of Scotland. In a letter from Mr Robert Pearse, Vice-principal of Edmund-hall in Oxford, dated January 11, 1715, and printed in the life of our Archbishop in 1717 (67). We are told, that there was found in the study of Mr Creech of All-Souls College, when his books were sold by auction at Oxford, the following memorandum: That whatever steps were taken, and all that was done for the abolishing of Episcopacy and subversion of the Church of Scotland, was done by the contrivance, advice, and approbation of Dr Tillotson.

This

(*kkk*) Le Neve, Vol. 1. p. 212.

(*lll*) Several Letters of his to Lady Russel, with her answers, printed in Birch's account of his life, from p. 205 to p. 211. and from p. 222 to p. 229; and a remarkable one of this Lady to the Dean is inserted in Lord Russel's article, in this work.

(*nnn*) First printed in Birch's account, &c. p. 234 to 236.

(*ooo*) Beardmore says, he discharged a considerable debt of his predecessor's. *Memoirs*, p. 396.

(*ppp*) Birch, p. 240, 241, 242.

(*qqq*) Mr Beardmore observes, that he heard some say, upon the first talk of the Dean's advancement to Canterbury, *Actum est de Ecclesia Anglicana*. *Mem.* p. 403.

(*sss*) His Letter to Bishop Burnet printed by Birch, p. 266, 267.

(*ttt*) This declaration is said to be drawn up by Sir James Montgomery, Author of a very severe pamphlet against the Government, intitled, *Great Britain's just Complaint*, printed in 1692.

(62) Communicated by the late Dr Johnson, Chancellor of Ely.

(63) Sherlock's sermon at the Temple, Dec. 30, 1694.

(64) Birch, p. 350, 351.

(65) Some discourses, p. 58.
(66) South's sermons, Vol. III. p. 570, edit. 1698.

(67) in p. 52, 53.

(*mmn*) His Letter to Lady Russel, dated Octob. 25, 1690, in Birch's account, p. 225 & seq. The widow of an Archbishop of Canterbury would now, as the Dean observes, be an odd figure in England, there being only two instances of it, and those so long ago as the time of his predecessors, Cranmer and Parker.

(*rrr*) Before the expiration of the year, he joined with the Queen in engaging Bishop Burnet to write his pastoral care, and at the same time concurred with that Prelate in a design of bringing a bill into Parliament for restraining pluralities. See Humphrey Prideaux's article.

(*uuu*) Limborch's Dedication to his Grace of his *History of the Inquisition*, published in the latter end of this year, 1692.

(60) See the whole letter in Birch, p. 242, 250.

(61) It was reprinted in Kettlewell's life, p. 233, et seqq. the Editor of which adjudges it to one of his friends; and the Editor of Lord Somers's pamphlets has prefixed to it the name of Charles Wood Lawton, Esq;

mons preached many years before, on the *Divinity and Incarnation of Christ* [LL], with a view of clearing himself from the charge of Socinianism, which he managed so impolitically, as served to aggravate the charge [MM]. This undeserved malice of his opposers, joined to the defection of his friends, who now began to look more coolly upon him than before, made so deep an impression upon the sensibility of his temper, as sunk him into a degree of melancholy [NN]. In 1694, he published six Sermons upon the advantage of an early piety; and towards the end of June this year, he drew up a prayer of intercession for Lady Ruffel, then afflicted with the loss of her eye-sight, wherein the execution of Lord Ruffel is signified to be unjust (www). After this, he assembled another meeting of several of the Bishops at Lambeth, who concurred with him in many regulations concerning the Church. These he at first designed to enforce by his own authority in conjunction with those Bishops; but upon more mature consideration, he thought it better, upon the suggestion of Dr Burnet, they should appear under that of their Majesties in the form of royal injunctions, to which purpose he made a draught then in a letter intended to be signed by their Majesties, and communicated them to the Bishops Stillingfleet and Burnet for their correction and approbation (xxx). This being done in the King's absence, he laid them before the Queen, by whom the execution was deferred to the King's return from Flanders (yyy). In the interim, he revised and altered in several places, Bishop Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, which had been undertaken by that Prelate, at the request of the Queen, with the concurrence of the Archbishop (zzz), who in a letter, dated October 23, to the Author on this occasion, declared himself unsatisfied with the account given therein of Athanasius's Creed, and wished it might be expunged out of the Liturgy (aaaa). He did not long survive the writing of this letter, for on Sunday the 18th of November following, he was seized the second time with an apoplectic disorder, in the Chapel at Whitehall. The fit coming on slowly, he bore it so well as not to interrupt the service; but it seemed to be fatal, and soon turned to a dead palsy, which deprived him, in a great measure, of the use of his speech; but his understanding was still clear (bbbb): he continued serene and calm, and in broken words said to this effect, that *he thanked God he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait the will of Heaven* (ccc). The two last nights of his illness, he was attended by his friend, Mr Robert Nelson, in whose arms he

(www) The words are, whom thy holy and righteous Providence permitted under a colour of law and justice, to be unjustly cut off the land of the living. Birch found a copy in short-hand in the Archbishop's common-place book.

(zzz) See the Preface to that book.

(bbbb) Burnet in his Funeral Sermon, p. 331.

(ccc) Idem, in Hist. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 134. folio Edition.

(xxx) Gen. Hist. of England.

(yyy) Which not being till the 9th of Novemb. a total stop was put to them by the death of the Archbishop not many days after. (aaaa) His words are, The account given of Athanasius's Creed seems to me in no wise satisfactory; I wish we were well rid of it. Birch, p. 325.

This I had from Johnson, who was certain of it, and knew the whole matter when I was in the North. In answer to this Dr Birch observes, that, as the Episcopal party, after the Revolution, still continued to adhere to King James, it was not possible for King William to preserve Episcopacy, which was abolished by an act of the Scots parliament on July 22, 1689 (68), but so as that the Episcopalians should submit to the Presbyterian form of church-government then [in 1693] established, viz. by Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and a General Assembly: and after this, though it appears that his Grace was sometimes consulted with regard to the terms of a comprehension between the Episcopal and Presbyterian ministers, yet he endeavoured to moderate the terms insisted on by the latter (69). In reality there seems to be no more in this charge, but that he used no means either to preserve or restore Episcopacy, to which the King in this affair shewed no inclination. And this is all that ought to be understood by the memorandum here cited. For it has been already observed (70), that the Author of this censure, Mr Johnson, was a most inveterate enemy to the Archbishop, whose friendship to him was at the same time equally inextinguishable.

[LL] His sermons on the Incarnation and Divinity of Christ. He sent a copy (one of the first) from the press to Mr Firmin (71), who published an answer to them, and gave it himself to his Grace (72), who, having read it over, said to him, *My Lord of Sarum shall humble you*. Mr John Williams wrote a rejoinder (73) to Mr Firmin's piece, and to it is subjoined a letter to the Author from Dr Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, in which he speaks with great contempt and severity of the late pieces published in England in defence of the Unitarian principles.

[MM] He increased the load of that charge. This may be seen in a piece already cited (74), entitled, *The charge of Socinianism against Dr Tillotson considered, &c.* Edinburgh, 1695, 4to, which the Author declares to be written before the Archbishop's death. But it is worth while to see what Mr Fortin says of this and other aspersions of the Archbishop on this account. 'Tillotson, says that smart Writer, published these sermons on the Divinity of Christ, to vindicate himself from the charge of Socinianism, that is, from an accusation entirely groundless. I have been told that Crellius, a Socinian, (and a descendant from the more celebrated Crellius) who used, when he came over hither, to visit

the Archbishop and converse with him, justified him on this head, and declared, that Tillotson had often disputed with him in a friendly way upon the subject of the Trinity, and that he was the best reasoner, and had the most to say for himself, of any adversary he had ever encountered.

But then Tillotson had made some concessions concerning the Socinians, which never were nor ever will be forgiven him (75), and hath broken an ancient and fundamental rule of theological controversy, *allow not an adversary to have either common sense or common honesty* (76).

[NN] He grew melancholy. In a letter to Lady Ruffel, dated October 19, 1693, he writes thus: 'The King's return is now only hindered by contrary winds; pray God to send him safe to us, and to direct him what to do when he is come. I was never so much at my wit's end concerning the public. God only can bring us out of the labyrinth we are in, and I trust he will. Never, since I knew the world, had I so much reason to value my friends. In the condition I now am, I can have no new ones; or, if I could, I can have no assurance that they are so. I could not at a distance believe the upper end of the world was so hollow as I find it. I except a very few, of whom I can believe no ill, till I plainly see it (77).' Agreeably to this Bishop Burnet tells us, that, as his Grace did not enter into any close correspondence, or the concerting measures with the ministry, but lived much abstracted from them, they likewise (as well as the clergy) endeavoured to depress him all they could. This made a considerable impression upon him, and he grew very uneasy in his great post (78). We find this dejection still increased; for, in the preface to his sermons upon the advantage of an early piety, published the next year, 1694, he expresses his hope that he should be released for the remainder of his life from the irksome and unpleasant task of controversy and wrangling about religion, and his resolution of turning his thoughts to something more agreeable to his temper, being sensible how fast the infirmities of age were coming upon him. *I knew very well, continues he, before I entered upon this great and weighty charge, my own manifold defects, and how unequal my best abilities were to the due discharge of it. But I did not feel this so sensibly as I now do every day more and more.*

(75) viz. in this passage, beginning, And yet to do right to the writers on that side—and ending, they want a good cause, which if they had, they have reason, and wit, and temper enough to defend it.

(76) Birch, in Appendix, No. 111. p. 426, 427.

(77) Id. p. 289.

(78) Burnet's hist. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 118.

(68) Kennet's hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 555, 572, 575; and Burnet's history of his own time, Vol. II. p. 23.

(69) Birch, p. 280 to 286, from an original letter and other papers of his Grace in short-hand.

(70) In Samuel Johnson's article

(71) A noted Socinian. But Bishop Burnet tells us, that his principles were really those of Arius. Hist. of his own time, Vol. II. p. 211.

(72) It is entitled, Considerations on the explications of the doctrine of the Trinity, 1694.

(73) Entitled, A Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson's four sermons, and the Bishop of Worcester's sermon on the mysteries of the Christian Faith, 4to, 1695, according to the Printer's era. (74) in note (33).

expired on the fifth day of it, Thursday November 22, 1694 (*dddd*), in the sixty-fifth year of his age (*eeee*). His death was universally lamented, and his funeral was attended by a numerous train of coaches, filled with persons of rank and condition, who assisted at that solemnity from Lambeth to the Church of St Laurence Jewry, where his corpse was interred on the 30th of that month, and a neat monument, with his bust, afterwards erected to his memory by his widow [*OO*]. His Funeral Sermon was preached by Bishop Burnet, in the course whereof he was interrupted by a short flow of sighs and tears, which, we are told, forced their way, as was visible to the audience, who accompanied it with a general groan. The Sermon, however, being published soon after, was animadverted on by Dr Hicke, which being answered by the Bishop, a rejoinder was soon after wrote by the Doctor, but never printed. In reality, Archbishop Tillotson's character may be trusted to posterity upon the facts related of him, and the testimony of his own writings, both private and public. His charity and generosity, with the expence of coming into the See, and the repairs and improvements of his palace, had so exhausted his fortune, that if his first fruits had not been forgiven, his debts could not have been paid. He left nothing to his family but the copy of his Posthumous Sermons, which was afterwards sold for twenty-five hundred guineas. The King therefore, according to his promise, granted to his widow on the 2d of May, 1695, an annuity of 400 l. for her life, which, upon some unforeseen losses suffered by her afterwards, he augmented with another annuity on the 8th of August, 1698, of 200 l. more (*†*). They were both continued till her death, on the 20th of January, 1701-2; and his Majesty was so solicitous for the regular payment of her pension, without any deduction, that he always called for the money quarterly, and sent it to her himself (*ffff*). Such are the testimonies given of his respect to the memory of our Archbishop by that Prince, who attributed his safety on the throne, in a great measure, to this most loyal subject; and he has been thought of such importance to the nation, and so great an honour to it, that his character is become deservedly the subject of General History, to which, added to the display of it in his Funeral Sermon by Bishop Burnet, we refer the reader. But we must not conclude without giving him a sketch of the Archbishop's person, as follows: His countenance was fair and very amiable, his face round, his eyes vivid, and his air and aspect quick and ingenuous, his hair brown and bushy: he was moderately tall; very slender and thin in his youth; his constitution tender and frail to outward appearance. He became corpulent, when grown in age, which encreased more and more as long as he lived, but yet was neither a burden to himself, nor in the least unseemly to others. This is the picture of his person, as drawn by his Pupil Mr Beardmore (*gggg*), who very appositely to that connexion, has set his Tutor's character in the most affecting light, by proposing the pattern of his temper and life to his own imitation, as that which, next to that of his Saviour and his blessed Apostles, he hoped would most sensibly affect him. 'Let me, says he, imitate his great wisdom, his blameless and unspotted life; his humility, his meekness, his sweetness of temper, his obligingness, and readiness to do good, his excellent preaching so far as I am able; his constancy to good principles, his moderation and candour; his looseness from the love of the world and earthly riches; his unwearied diligence in preaching, and that from such principles, by such rules, and to such ends, as he did (*hhhh*).' At the same time, this most affectionately grateful Pupil did not believe his Tutor to be absolutely perfect; on the contrary, he expressly intimates, that he had his faults and blemishes. The Readers therefore may justly expect our mentioning some, at least, of these. The blemish which stands foremost in the Archbishop's frame, was his obstinate attachment to the comprehension. In labouring which, though others were equally, and perhaps Bishop Burnet more concerned, yet the odium of that exploded project, is generally thrown upon him. Indeed the excess of his complaisance for the Presbyterians (*iiii*), apparently had its root in his education among them, whence his natural tenderness sucked in an inbred fellow-feeling of all their complaints. Add to this what has been before observed, that he had a very extraordinary talent at *conceived*, or extempore prayers, which must needs strengthen his inclination to their way of worship; however it had this good effect, that after his own conversion, he converted more Dissenters, whether Presbyterians, Independents, or Anabaptists, to the established Church, than any other Divine of his time, besides his preserving others, especially non-conforming Ministers, from being troublesome to the Church, bringing them to some temper and moderation: for the rest, he was sensible of their perverseness, and has frequently rebuked their hypocrisy, and confuted their peculiar tenets. The same prejudice of education gave him an antipathy to Popery, which coming upon the tenderness of his nature, rendered him too apt to be affrighted with any shadow of that Doctrine; whence he was sometimes betrayed even into ridiculous censures that way [*PP*]. This seems to be the greatest blemish in his Sermons (*kkkk*); the stile of which has

(*eeee*) He was born in the latter end of Sept. or beginning of Octob. 1630, and consequently was near two months above sixty-four at his death. This must be observed in reading the words *Ætatis sue LXIIII.* upon his monument, which are not to be understood in the sixty-fourth year of his age, but aged sixty-four, a sense that we see frequently (tho' certainly very inaccurately) used, in monumental inscriptions.

(*ffff*) Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 345, 346. Edit. 1753.

(*gggg*) Memoirs, as before, p. 412.

(*hhhh*) Ibid. 414.

(*iiii*) Mr Beardmore suggests it as his opinion, that the Archbishop had strained a little with the farthest toward gaining them into the Church. Mem. p. 408.

[*OO*] A monument in the church of St Laurence, Jewry.]

The town of Halifax likewise, out of regard to a man, who did so much honour to their parish, put up this inscription in letters of gold in the church there: JOHANNES TILLOTSON, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, natus Sowerbiæ, renatus Hallifaxiæ tertio Octobris, 1630, denatus Lambethiæ 22 Novembris A. D. 1694, ætatis 65 (79).

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[*PP*] Betrayed into ridiculous censures that way.] One of these is mentioned by Mr Jortin. It is a passage in the 140th sermon, Vol. III. of his works, where he has these words: 'I know not what some men may find in themselves; but I must freely acknowledge, that I could never yet attain to that bold and hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing for this reason, because it was impossible.—So that I am very far from being

(*ddd*) A: Ave in the afternoon. Birch, p. 345. from Wharton's MS. Collections.

(†) See Mr Nelson's Article, Rem. [H], and Dr Will. Sherlock's Article, Rem. [P].

(*hhhh*) It is far from our intention to dispute the reasonableness in those times of preaching against Popery, or to detract from the real merit of the many excellently useful Animadversions upon it in these Sermons. One of which deserves particular notice; it is in that discourse on the 5th of Nov. 1678, where he observes, that those remarkable letters of Sir Everard Digby (mentioned in Remark [E] of that Conspirator's Article) were then in his hands. And they were subjoined to a new edition of the history of that Plot, published by Bishop Barlow in 1697, 8vo. with a Preface to them, ascribed to his Grace in his Life by Dr Birch, p. 379.

(79) We see here this word *ætatis* taken in the true grammatical sense, viz. the 65th year of his age.

(mmmm) It was this meekness of his temper that threw him into the hands of Bishop Burnet, a connexion which served to encrease the number and animosity of his enemies.

(nnnn) Dr Tenison.

(80) Sir Thomas's words are, Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith. I can answer, all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution of Tertullian, *Certum est quia impossibile est*.

(81) Birch, in Appendix, No. III. p. 432.

(a) J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, Edit. 1610, Vol. II. p. 981. and Edward Halle, in Henry VIII. fol. 227.

(c) J. Foxe, as above, and Edw. Halle.

(e) Canonicus Secundæ Classis. Vide Wood. Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p. 249. & Ath. Vol. I. col. 42. where he questions this fact.

(b) Enechiridion Militis Christiani.

(1) Ibid. of the English Translations of the Bible, 8vo, p. 73.

been selected as a pattern to our politest Writers (llll.) And as a Preacher, he is universally allowed to carry the first prize. In which character it has been well observed, that his most distinguishing excellence lay in teaching so, as at once both to enable and incline men to teach themselves. And in this he followed the natural complexion of his temper, which was sweetly gentle and tender; but on that very account, not so well adapted for public business (mmmm), as the more hardy constitution, the *Socratism* [22] and *Stoicism*, of his Successors (nnnn), who for this reason, is said to have been more agreeable to King William (oooo).

' being of his mind, that wanted not only difficulties, but even impossibilities, in the Christian religion, to exercise his faith upon.' The person, says Mr Jortin, whom Tillotson had in view, was the Author of *Religio Medici*. But by impossibilities Sir Thomas Brown, as well as Tertullian, meant *seeming* not *real* impossibilities (80), and what he says should be looked on as a *verbum ardens*, a rhetorical flourish, and a trial of skill with *Tertullian*. Our Critic proceeds to cite Sir Thomas Brown's words, and then makes this candid and just remark: 'Tillotson, judging that the Papists would make an ill use of this, and such passages as this in Protestant writers, was willing to pass a gentle animadversion upon it.' Afterwards, to evince the propriety of that animadversion, it is observed, that Sir *Kenelm Digby*, a Roman catholic, who criticises several things in the *Religio Medici*, yet gives his loud approbation to these pious fallies: *I am extremely pleased with him when he saith, there are not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith, &c.* Extremely pleased, continues our Critic, without question, and full of hopes, that this young Author might at last *unreason* himself into implicit belief, and go over to a church which would feed his hungry faith with a sufficient quantity of impossibilities.

Tendimus in Latium.

Among many things which may be mentioned in favour of Tillotson this should not be forgotten, that, of those who have passed their judgments upon him, there never was a *son of absurdity* that did not *dislike*, or a *sensible Reader* who did not *approve*, his writings (81).

[22] *Socratism* he wanted.] If a person, says the

last mentioned writer, were to offer himself a candidate for honest reputation, what could he wish and hope more than to share Tillotson's fate, and to find the same Censurers and the same Defenders? Yet it has been said of this great and good man, that his spirits were in some degree broken, and his health impaired, by the insolence and calumnies of petulant adversaries. If it be true, it is a melancholy instance of human infirmity; and a proof that a little Stoicism and Socratism is a desirable possession. To forgive enemies, though difficult to many, was easy to him, assisted as he was by good-nature and by religion; but to despise their attacks, was a task rather too hard for his gentle temper and sensibility; so that in this respect, and under these disadvantages, he was not a match for men who could neither blush nor feel. 'A man's good name, says he (82), is a tender thing, and a wound there sinks deep into the spirit even of a wife and good man; and the more innocent any one is in this kind, the more sensible he is of this hard usage; because he never treats others so, nor is he conscious to himself that he hath deserved it.' Every thing, continues this ingenious author, they say, hath two handles. When *Socrates* was under sentence of death, *Xantippe* took on bitterly, and, refusing comfort, cried, 'O my husband, what grieves me most is, that these wicked Judges should treat an Innocent man thus, and condemn thee unjustly and for nothing at all.' 'Wife, said he, why should that grieve thee? Hadst thou rather then that they had condemned me justly (83)?' P

(lll) A Critic upon them is collected from several Authors by Dr Birch, p. 335 to p. 343. (oooo) Gen. Hist. of England compared with Tillotson's Life by Birch, p. 345.

(82) In Vol. II. Sermon XLII.

(83) Birch, p. 432.

TINDALE, or TYNDALE [WILLIAM], otherwise surnamed *Hitchins*, the first Publisher of the Holy Scriptures in English, was born about the borders of Wales (a); in what county is not mentioned; but the family seems to have sprung from Robert Tindall, of Tanfover in the county of Northampton, who was living the 16th of Edward I. and descended from Adam de Tindale, Baron of Langley in South-Tindale in Northumberland (b). He was brought up from a child in grammar, logic, and philosophy in Oxford, particularly for the most part in St Mary Magdalen's-Hall [A]; where having imbibed the doctrine of Luther, he privately instructed in it some of the junior Fellows of Magdalen-College, and other Scholars. His behaviour, at the same time, was such, as made him be looked upon as a man of a most virtuous disposition, and unspotted life (c). So that, on account of his merit (d), he was admitted a Canon of the College newly founded by Cardinal Wolfey (e), now better known by the name of Christ's-Church. But, for espousing too openly Luther's opinions, being obliged to quit it [B], he retired to Cambridge, where he diligently applied himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and Divinity, and took a degree (f): having taken his degrees before at Oxford [C]. After a convenient stay at Cambridge, he went and lived, at Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire, with Sir John Welch, Knt. who had a good respect and esteem for him; and was Tutor to Sir John's children (g). Moreover, to be as useful as possible, and to plant true Christianity in that neighbourhood, he frequently preached in and about Bristol. And, in order to give the Knight and his Lady good impressions of Religion, and to confirm them in the truth, he put into their hands Erasmus's Manual of a Christian Soldier (h), translated by him into English. The resort of many Abbots, and dignified Clergymen, at Sir John's plentiful table, gave our Author an opportunity to

(b) Mr Jekyll's Genealogies MS.

(d) Ob egregias ingenii dotes. Cl. Tanneri Bibliotheca, sub voce *Hitchins*.

(f) Tanner, ubi supra.

(g) Ibid. and Foxe, as above.

[A] For the most part in St Mary Magdalen's-Hall.] His picture is preserved in the Library of this Hall, with the following inscription, ————— 'Resert hæc Tabella (quod solum potuit ars) Gulielmi Tindal effigiem, hujus olim Aulæ alumni simul & ornamenti, qui post felices purioris Theologiæ primitias hic depositas, Antwerpiz in Novo Testamento, nec non Pentateucho in vernaculam transferendo operam navavit, Anglis suis eo usque salutiferam, ut inde non immerito Angliæ Apostolus audierat. Wilfordiæ prope Bruxellas martyrio coronatus an. 1536. Vir, si vel adversario (Procuratori nempe Imperatoris generali) credamus, perdoctus, pius, & bonus.' Mr Lewis tells us, that the picture is but ill done (1).

[B] But for espousing too openly Luther's opinions, being obliged to quit it.] So Bishop Tanner informs us, in these words: 'Postquam autem compertum fuisset Gu-

lielimum Lutherani dogmatis fautorem esse strenuum, collegio ejectus est.' i. e. But when it came to be known that he was a strenuous favorer and encourager of Luther's doctrine, he was expelled the college.— And to the same purpose says A. Wood:—'Verum Lutheri dogmata sequutus, inde amotus est (2).'

[C] Having taken his degrees before at Oxford.] So I infer from these words of J. Foxe (3). 'Thus he in the University of Oxford increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in *Degrees of the Schooles*— But A. Wood says, 'Whether he took a Degree, either by the name of *Tyndale* or *Hitchins*, it doth not appear in the Registers' (4) of the University. . . . However this is no evidence to the contrary: For his name might have been omitted through negligence, or design.

(2) Tanner, ubi supra. A. Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Lib. II. p. 249.

(3) p. 981.

(4) Ath. as above.

converse,

converse, and often to dispute, with them upon the most important points of Religion; and he appealed to the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and establish his opinions [D]; a method not much then practised among the rigid Catholics. His frequent victories over them [E], caused them to look upon him with an evil eye, revile him, count him no better than a heretic [F], and endeavour to have him punished as such. Accordingly, they preferred articles against him to the Chancellor of the Diocese, before whom he appeared, and was severely reprimanded and threatened, but no further proceeded against, at present. However, observing that he could no longer stay in the country with any quiet and comfort, and that his Patron, Sir John Welch, could not protect him without bringing himself into great dangers and difficulties, they mutually parted by common consent (i). Mr Tindale thereupon came to London, and preached for some time in the Church of St Dunstan's in the West. At length, having conceived a great opinion of Dr Cuthbert Tonstall, promoted to the Bishopric of London in 1522; on account of the great commendations given him by the much admired Erasmus, he imagined that he would be a happy man, if he could but be admitted into his service, as one of his Chaplains. For that purpose, he applied to Sir Henry Guildesford [G], Master of the Horse, and Controller, to King Henry VIII. who was a great Patron of learned men, a particular friend to Erasmus, and an acquaintance of Sir John Welch's: And he presented to him an Oration of Isocrates, which he had translated from the Greek; an undoubted proof of our Author's being uncommonly learned, since Greek at that time was a language understood by very few here in England. Sir Henry readily complying with Mr Tindale's request, not only recommended him to the Bishop of London, but advised him to write an Epistle to his Lordship, and carry it himself. This he did, and delivered the Epistle to an old acquaintance of his, a servant of the Bishop. But the Bishop's answer was, 'That his house was full; he had more than he could well provide for; and therefore advised our Author to seek out in London, where, he said, he could not well miss of employment (k).' Not being able to obtain any, he was supported by Mr Humfrey Monmouth, Alderman of London [H], a favourer of Luther's opinions; who took him into his house for half a year, where he behaved in the most sober and temperate manner (l), studying night and day. His thoughts were then bent upon translating the New Testament into English, as the only means to root out Popery, and establish the true Doctrine of Jesus Christ [I]. But being

(i) J. Foxe, as above, p. 981, 982.

(k) Foxe, p. 982.

(l) Eating only boiled meat, drinking small-beer, and wearing no linnen. J. Foxe, p. 909.

[D] *And he appealed to the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and establish his opinions.* As he was learned, and well acquainted with the Old and New Testament, he scrupled not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgment in most points, as he thought: and when they at any time varied from him in opinion and judgment, he would lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus they continued for a while, reasoning and contending together, till at length his opponents grew weary, and not being able to answer or convince him, bore a secret grudge in their hearts against him (5). He complains, in his Prologue to the first book of Moses, of their ill usage towards him; testifying that he suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned Priests: being full rude and ignorant (sayth he) God knoweth; which have seen no more Latin than that only which they read in their Portesses and Missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read.

[E] *His frequent victories over them.* In one of his Disputes, he pressed his antagonist so hard, that the latter burst out in these words: 'We were better to be without God's Laws than the Pope's.' But Tindale zealously and warmly replied, 'I defy the Pope and all his Laws: adding, that if God spared him life, e'er many years, he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture, than he [his antagonist] did (6).'

[F] *Count him no better than a heretic.* He was so much superior, and too strong for them in all Disputes, that they called him a heretic in Sophistry, a heretic in Logic, a heretic in Divinity. And told him, that he mightily depended upon the Gentlemen in that country; but, notwithstanding, he should shortly be otherwise dealt withal. He replied, that he was contented they should bring him to any country in all England, giving him Ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more than to teach children and preach (7).

[G] *Sir Henry Guildesford.* This noble person was an acquaintance of the celebrated Erasmus, and his great favourite, as appears from several letters of Erasmus to him. He was descended from a very ancient family, famous for considerable services to the public. In his younger years he went into Spain, and engaged himself in the service of Ferdinand and Isabella in their wars against the Moors, where he behaved with that exemplary resolution, that upon the reduction of Granada, the abovementioned Prince added to his paternal coat,

an augmentation of a pomegranate slipped upon a canton, which were the arms of that regained Province, and likewise dignified him with the order of Knighthood. Upon the reputation of his martial abilities, he was sent with the fleet against the French, under the command of Sir Charles Brandon. He carried the royal standard at the siege of Terouenne; and at Tournay was created a Banneret. In the 7th of Henry VIII. he was constituted Master of the Horse for life, and had an annuity of 50l. during the like term for executing the office of Esquire of the King's body. In the 14th he was appointed to attend on the Emperor at his coming hither. He was one of the Knights who in parliament subscribed the letter to the Pope. The 24th of April, 1526, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and installed on St George's feast following. He died in June 1531, being about forty years old: Though he was twice married, he left no issue (8).

[H] *Mr Humfrey Monmouth, Alderman of London.* He was a Draper; a man of good wealth, and great charity. In 1535, he was knighted, being one of the Sheriffs of London: and dying about the year 1537 was buried in the church-yard of All-hallows, Barking (9).

[I] *And establish the true Doctrine of Jesus Christ.* He thought no way more conducive thereto, than if the Scriptures were translated into the Vulgar Tongue, that the poor people might also read and see the pure and plain word of God. For, first, reflecting with himself, he perceived by experience, that it was not possible to establish the laity in any truth, except the Scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text. For else whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the Truth would quench it again; either with apparent reasons of sophistry, and Traditions of their own making, no way founded in Scripture; or else, juggling with the text, expound it in such a sense, that it would be impossible to perceive the right process, order, and meaning of any particular passage. Again, he well perceived and considered, that the only or chief cause of all Mischief in the Church, was, 'That the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes. For, so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaical [Popish] clergy, could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was, with might and main to keep it down: so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and

(8) Register of the Garter, published by John Anstis, Esq;

(9) Stow's Survey, with Strype's Additions, book II. p. 33. and book V. p. 131.

(5) See J. Foxe, p. 981.

(6) J. Foxe, p. 982.

(7) lb. 4.

fenfible he could not fafely do it in England, he refolved to go abroad into Germany, as a place of greater fecurity, and more liberty. This he was enabled to do by the affiftance of Mr Monmouth, and other well-difpofed perfons; who gave him an annuity of ten pounds a year (m), then a fufficient maintenance for a fingle man, and which would go as far as a hundred pounds a year now. At his firft leaving England, he went as far as Saxony, where he conferred with Luther, and other learned men in thofe parts. Then he came back into the Netherlands, and fettled at Antwerp, where was then a very confiderable Factory of Englifh Merchants, many of which were zealous profefors of Luther's doctrine. Here he immediately fet himfelf about his favorite work, the Englifh Translation of the New Testament, in which he had the affiftance of the learned John Fry, and a Frier named William Roye (n), who wrote for him, and helped him to compare the texts together (o). It was printed in 1526, in octavo, without a name [K]: and Mr Tindale added at the

(o) Preface to the Parable of the wicked Mammon.

(m) J. Foxe, p. 909, 982, 983. J. Lewis.

(n) This poor man was afterwards burned in Portugal. Sir Thomas More's Englifh Works, p. 451.

(10) J. Foxe, a little altered in the ftyle, p. 982.

(11) Edward Halle's Chronicle, under King Henry VIII. fol. 227.

(12) Fuller's Abel redivivus, p. 128. A. Wood fays, it was finished in 1527. Ath. Vol. I. col. 42.

(13) See Catalogue of his Books, No. 1252. and his History of Printing, p. 490.

• and fo entangle thofe who rebuked or defpifed their abominations, with arguments of Philofophy, and with worldly fimilitudes, and apparent reafons of natural wifdom: Alfo, by wrefling the Scripture to their own purpofe, contrarie to the procefs, order, and meaning of the text, would fo delude them in defcending upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many fenfes laid before the unlearned laie people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert fure that all were falfe that they faid, yet couldft not thou folve their fubtile riddles (10).—Ed. Halle, our Author's contemporary, gives much the fame account of his defign—Luther, fays he, fettyng fourth certaine workes againft the Byfhop of Rome, Tyndale occafioned by them to fearche the Scriptures whether Luther fayd the trueth or no, did therby not onely himfelfe attaine the knowlege of the ufurped authoritie of the Byfhop of Rome, and his fuperftitious and damnable doctrynes that he had taught and published through all Chriftendome, but alfo lamentyng the ignoraunt ftate that his native country of England was in, who altogether were wrapped in errors, thought it his dutie, for that God had reveled the light of his Gofpell to him, to beftowe his talent to the honour of God and proffite of his cuntry, and thought no waye fo good to reduce the people from their error as fyrft to make them acquainted with Goddes woorde, that they might know what Goddes will was that we should do, and what the Byfhop of Rome faid that we muft do: and therefore fyrft, as is aforefayd, he tranflated into Englifhe the Newe Testament, a woorke no doubt very notable, and to him verye paynefull, for that he was forced to flye his owne native cuntry, and to lyve in a ftraunge lande among people that as well varied from his manners as the perfones to him were unknown (11).—So that it was pure Love for Truth, and an earneft defire of Benefiting his Country, that fet Mr Tindale upon this arduous undertaking, amidft a thoufand difficulties and dangers, and for which he was at laft crowned with Martyrdom.

[K] It was printed in 1526, in octavo.] Some have placed the firft publication of it under the year 1527 (12), and fome later. But, that it was publifhed as early as the year 1526, is demonftrable from Bifhop Tonftal's Commiffion in the next note, which was dated Oct. 23, 1526. As there were only 1500 printed, and that all the Copies which could poffibly be got in England, were committed to the flames, this firft edition is therefore very difficult to be met with. The late induftrious Mr Wanley hath fet down the following memorandum, in the margin of his Wood's Athenæ, now in our poffeffion: 'I never yet, notwithstanding all my fearches, faw any one copie of this edition, which ought to answer to Sir Thomas More's Remarks.' But there was one in the ingenious Mr Jof. Ames's collection (13). W. Tindale acknowledged, in the Preface to his fubfequent Edition, that there were in this 'many fautes whyche lacke of helpe at the beginnyng and overfyght dyd fow therein.' Therefore he fet himfelf about looking over and correctyng it again, though his own fecond Edition did not come out till 1534.—But the Dutch Printers, finding it was a book in great request, publifhed a new edition of it in 1527, 12mo, and, about a year after, another, in a larger letter and volume, with figures in the apocalypfe; in all about 5000 copies: fo that thefe Testaments became plentier and cheaper than ever they were, or than they could be afforded by W. Tindale. The price of thefe was feven or eight groats a-piece; but the Dutchmen fold them at the rate of thirteen pence each, or three hundred for 16l. 5s. But the Printers not underftanding Englifh, committed a great many faults. However they printed a third edition in 1529, which went off fo well, that

this, as well as the two former, were all fold before 1530. In which year, they proceeded to a fourth edition, of about 2000, in a fmall volume and letter; more incorrect than even the former: which however were foon all difpofed of. And in 1534, the Dutch printed a fifth edition, which they got George Joye to correct. [He was a Bedfordshire man, educated at Peterhoufe in Cambridge, where he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts 1512-13, that of Mafter 1517, and April 27, the fame year, was admitted Fellow. But being accused of herefy, he was forced to fly beyond fea, and retire to Strafburg in Germany.] Not contented with correctyng the typographical errors, he ventured to alter, and amend as he thought, the former tranflation of W. Tindale. But Tindale refented that Joye should take that liberty, and likewife foreftall his Second Edition of the New Testament which was juft ready to come out; therefore, at the end of his Epiftle to the Chriftian reader, he added another Epiftle, which begins thus: 'W. Tindale yet once more to the Chriftian reader.' wherein he has thefe words: 'Wherefore if he [Joye] wold have altered the Text, he should have put it forth for his own tranflation and not for myne.' And exprefles otherwife a great deal too much paffion and refentment. This occafioned Joye to publifh 'An Apology . . . to fatisfy, if it may be, W. Tyndale, to pourge and defende himfelf agaynft fo manye flanderouse Lies fained upon him in Tyndale's uncharitable and unfober Piftle, fo well worthy to be præfixed for the Reader to induce him into the underftanding of his New Testament, diligently correctyng and printed in the yeare of oure Lorde MCCCC and XXXIII, in November.'

W. Tindale's own Second Edition of his New Testament was 'Imprinted at Antwerp by Martin Emperour, Anno M. D. XXXIV.' 8vo.—In 1536, there came out another edition, with this title, 'The Newe Testament yet once agayne correctyng by William Tyndale. Printed in the yere of oure Lorde God, M. D. and XXXVI. in a broad 4to.'—And, the fame year, another edition, printed very probably in Scotland, in a large 4to. Likewife one in a leffer 4to, and a fmall 8vo, and fome others in 8vo, 12mo, and 16mo (14).

For a fpecimen of this tranflation, we fhall give here a few paffages in it, out of the Epiftle to the Romans.—Ch. i. ver. 16, 17. 'For I am not afhamed of the gospel of Chrift, becaufe it is the power of God unto Salvacion to all that beleve, namely to the Jewe and alfo to the gentyle. For by it the ryghtewefnes which cometh of God is opened from fayth to fayth.'—Upon which he hath this marginal note . . . 'from fayth to fayth, that is, from a weke fayth to a ftronger, or from one bataile of fayth to another; for as we have efcaped one jeopardy thorowe fayth, another invadeth us, through whiche we muft wade by the helpe of fayth alfo.'

Ch. v. ver. 15, 16. 'But the gyfte is not lyke as the fynne. For yf thorow fynne of one many be deed: moche more plenteous upon many was the grace of God and gyfte by grace: Whiche grace was geven by one man Jefus Chrift. And the gyfte is not over one fynne, as deeth cam thorow one fynne of one that fynned. For damnacion came of one fynne unto condemnacion: but the gyft came to juftifye from many fynnes.'

Ch. viii. ver. 28, 29. 'For we knowe that all thynges worke for the beft unto them that love God, which alfo are called * of purpofe. For thofe which he knew before, he alfo ordeyned before, that they fhulde be lyke fashyoned unto the fhape of his

* The marginal note here, is, 'God teacheth of his own godnes and mercy thorough the Gofpell: juftifyeth thorough fayth, and glorifieth thorough good workes.'

• Sonne,

(14) Lewis's History of the Tranflations of the Bible, 8vo, p. 75—91.

end an Epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amende, if ought were founde amyse. There were but fifteen hundred copies printed of this first impression (p), and most of them being imported into England, were very industriously dispersed, and as greedily bought up and read. At this, the great supporters of Popery were extremely disturbed and alarmed. Conscious that Ignorance was the mother of their spurious Devotion; they well saw, that a fair translation of the Scripture would make men wiser than they wished them to be, and enable them to discern the groundlessness and absurdity of their most gainful and favourite Tenets. They cried out therefore, that there were a thousand heresies in this translation; that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said, it was not possible to translate the Scripture into English; some, that it was not lawful for the laity to have it in their mother tongue; some, that it would make them all Heretics. And, in order to draw the temporal rulers into the quarrel, they furnished and affirmed, that it would make the people rebel and rise against the King (q). William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, both great and learned men, except where superstition had distorted their minds, issued out immediately their several orders and monitions, to bring in all the New Testaments translated into the vulgar tongue, that they might be burnt, and to prohibit the reading of them (r). Bishop Tunstall's Commission was dated October 23, 1526 [L]. Not satisfied with that, he preached publicly against these books at St Paul's, and told the people, there were no fewer than 2000 texts in the translation wrong translated. To destroy the books more effectually, the Bishop being at Antwerp in 1526 or 1527, procured Augustin Packington, an English Merchant (s), to buy up all the copies of the English Testament which remained unsold, and they being brought to England, were publicly burnt at Paul's cross. But this ill-judged policy only took off many copies which lay dead upon Tindale's hands, and put a good sum of money into his pocket. So that he was enabled to prepare another Edition, more correct than the former; which however was not printed till 1534. But of the first Edition, about 5000 copies were reprinted in 1527, and 1528: This made the books plentier and cheaper than ever they were. At which Bishop Tunstall being amazed, he sent for Packington, and asked him, how there came to be so many Testaments about, when he had promised him he would buy them all? Packington answered, surely he had bought all that were to be had, but he perceived they had printed more since: and he could not see how they could be kept from doing that, unless his Lordship would likewise buy the types and presses. About the same time, George Constantine, who was suspected of heresy, being examined by Sir Thomas More, and asked, by whom Tindale, Joye, and others beyond sea, were furnished with money from hence; he said, it was the Bishop of London who had helped them, for he had bestowed among them a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that had been, and yet was, their only succour and comfort (t). The above order for bringing the Testaments in, being but imperfectly and slowly complied with, strict search was made among those who were suspected of importing and concealing them; of whom John Tindale, our Author's brother, was prosecuted, and condemned to do penance (u). Humfrey Monmouth, his great Patron and Be-

(p) J. Foxe.

(q) Our Author's Prologue to Genesis.

(r) Concilia, &c. Edit. Dr Wilkins, Vol. III. p. 706. and J. Foxe, p. 928.

(s) He was a secret friend to W. Tindale. J. Foxe, p. 929.

(t) J. Foxe, p. 929. and Sir Thomas More's article in remark [RR].

‘ Sonne, that he myght be the first begotten Sonne amonge many brethren. Moreover which he appointed before, them also he called. And which he called, them also he justified; which he justified, them he also glorified *.’

And the controverted passage in 1 Ep. of St John, ch. v. ver. 7, 8, is thus: ‘ And it is the Spete that beares witness, because the Spete is truth. (For there are three which beare recorde in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Wholy Goost. And these three are one) For there are three which beare recorde in earth, the Spete, and water, and blood, and these three are one.’ The Epistle to the Hebrews is placed after the Three of St John, and before that of St James, which immediately precedes the Revelation.—Besides marginal notes, and texts of reference, there are Prologues to most of the books; some of a considerable length; and abounding with excellent observations.—His Prologue to the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans concludes thus—‘ Now go to reader, and according to the order of Paul's writing, even so do thou. First beholde thyselfe diligently in the lawe of God, and se there the iuste damnacion. Secundarely turne thyne eyes to Christ, and se there the exceeding mercy of thy moost kynd and lovinge father. Thyrdly remember, that Christ made not this attonement that thou shuldest anger God agayne: nether dyed he for thy synnes, that thou shuldest lyve styll in them: nether clenseth he the, that thou shuldest retourne (as a swyne) unto thyne olde podel agayne: but that thou shuldest be a rewe creature, and lyve a new lyfe after the wyll of God, and not of the fleshe. And be diligent lest thoro ve thyne own negligence and unthankfulnes thou lose this favour and mercye agayne.’

[L.] Bishop Tunstall's Commission was dated October 23, 1526.] The main of it was in these words . . . ‘ Wee

* The marginal note here, is, ‘ God teacheth of his owne goodness and mercy through the Gospell: justifieth thorough fayth, and glorifieth thorough good werkes.’

‘ having understanding . . . that many children of iniquitie, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickednesse, wandring from the way of truth and the catholicke faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many hereticall articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to prophanate the majestic of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same: of the which translation, there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocesse of London in great number: which truly without it be speedily forescene, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flocke committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresie, to the grievous perill and danger of the Soules committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine majestic. Wherefore we . . . grievouslie sorrowing for the premisses, willing to withstand the craft and subtely of the ancient enemy and his ministers, which seeke the destruction of my flocke . . . desiring to provide speedie remedies for the premisses, doe charge you . . . and by vertue of your obedience, straitly injoyne and command you, that by our authoritie you warne or cause to bee warned all and singuler, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty daies space . . . under paine of excommunication, and incurring the suspition of heresie, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our Vicar general, al and singuler such books as containe the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue &c.’ (15).—Archbishop Warham's Commission, much to the same purpose, to the Bishop of Exeter, is dated Nov. 3, 1526 (16).

(15) J. Foxe, p. 428. See Strype's Eccles. Memor. Vol. I. Appendix, p. 44.

(16) Concilia &c. edit. D. Wilkins, V. III. p. 706.

(w) J. Foxe, p. 909. See Strype's Life of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 81. and his Memorials, Vol. 1. p. 316.

(y) Lewis, Hist. of the Translations of the Bible, p. 71.

(z) Regist. Warham, fol. 188. a. printed from thence in Spelman's Councils, Vol. 11. p. 732, &c. and in Dr Wilkins's Edit. Vol. III. p. 728, &c.

(bb) J. Foxe, p. 983.

hefactor, was imprisoned in the Tower, and almost ruined (w). But all these rigorous measures not having the intended effect, and burning the Word of God being looked upon among the people as a shocking profanation; the great Patrons of Popery endeavoured to ridicule what they could not suppress. They employed for that purpose the noted Sir Thomas More (x), who, like all other witty men, suffered his wit to out-run his judgment, and had so devoted himself to the blindest corruptions of the Church of Rome, that he was then ready to swallow and defend them without examination, and was as severe a persecutor as any ignorant Monk. He published in 1529, a Dyaloge, wherein he treated of the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale, &c. [M], and in which, among other things, he says, 'That whoso called these books which were burnt, New Testaments, gave them a wrong name, since they were rather Tyndal's or Luther's Testament, it being so corrupted and changed from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to their own devilish heresies, as to be quite another thing.' Mr Tindale, in 1530, published An Answer to this Dialogue of Sir Thomas More (y). But all the methods used for destroying William Tindale's Translation having continued hitherto ineffectual and unsuccessful, the secular arm was called in. For at the instance of some zealots, on the 24th of May, 1531, King Henry VIII. came into the Star-Chamber, and there, by one whole advice and assent of the Prelates and Clerks, as well of the Universities as all other there assembled together, ordered all the books containing several great errors and pestilent heresies, contagious and damnable, then set down; and all the books containing the same, with the Translation also of Scripture corrupted, by William Tyndall, as well in the *Old Testament* as in the New, and all other books in English containing such errors; to be utterly expelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be suffered to go abroad among his subjects (z). And a Proclamation was issued out to the same purpose (aa) [N]. The Old Testament here mentioned to have been translated by William Tindale, was the Five Books of Moses, which he translated from the Hebrew into English, as soon as he had finished his New Testament. But going by sea to Hamburgh, to have it printed there, the vessel in which he went was wrecked on the coast of Holland, so that he lost all his money, books, writings, and copies; and was forced to begin anew. However, he came in another ship to Hamburgh, where, by his appointment, Miles Coverdale waited for him, and assisted him in translating the Pentateuch, from Easter to December, 1529, in the house of Mrs Margaret Van Emmerson, widow: It was printed in 1530 [O]. And he afterwards made an English version of the Prophecy of Jonas, with a large Prologue, which was published in 1531 (bb); but he translated no more books of the Scripture, as some have asserted [P].

From

[M] *A Dyaloge, &c.* We shall give the whole title, which may perhaps divert the reader with the manner of Spelling in those days. 'A Dyaloge of Syr Thomas More knyghte: one of the counsayll of oure Soverayne lorde the Kyng and Chauncellour of hys duchy of Lancafter: wherin be treatyd dyvers matters, as of the veneration and worthyp of ymagys and relyques, prayng to Sayntys and going on Pylgrymage, with many othere thyngys touchyng the Pestylent Sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone bygone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryd to be brought into England. Emprynted at London at the Sygne of the Meremayd at Powlys gate next to Chepe-syde in the moneth of June the yere of our Lord 1529.'—W. Tindale, in 1530, published, *An Aunfwere unto Syr Thomas More's dyaloge.*—And Sir Thomas replied, in his 'Confutation of Tyndale's Aunfwere to his Dyaloge, in nine books.' 1532.

[N] *And a Proclamation was issued out to the same purpose.* In that proclamation, are these very weak reasons given why the Scriptures should not be in English. . . . 'Forasmuch as it is come to the hering of our said Soveraigne lord the king, that report is made by divers and many of his Subjects, that it were to all men not only expedient, but also necessary, to have in the English tonge both the New Testament and the Old, and that his highness, his noblemen, and prelates were bounden to suffer them so to have it; his highness hath therefore semblably thereupon consulted with the said primates, and vertuous, discrete, and well learned personages in divinity forsaide; and by them all it is thought, that it is not necessary the said Scripture to be in the English tonge, and in the hands of the common people; but that the distribution of the said Scripture, and the permitting or denieing thereof, dependeth only upon the discretion of the Superiours, as they shall think it convenient. And that having respect to the malignity of this present tyme, with the inclination of people to erroneous opinions; the translation of the New Testament and the Old into the vulgar tonge of English should rather be the occasion of continuance or increase of errors amonge the said people, than any benefyce or commodity towards the weale of their soules. And that it shall now be more convenient, that the same people have the holy Scripture expounded to them by

preachers in their sermons, according as it hath ben of old time accustomed before this time. Albeit yf it shall hereafter appeare to the king's highness, that his said people do utterly abandon and forsake all perverse, erroneous, and seditious opinions, with the New Testament and the Old corruptly translated into the English tonge nowe being in printe; and that the same bokes and all other bokes of heresie, as well in the French tonge, as in the Dutch tonge, be clearly exterminate, and exiled out of this realme of England for ever; his highness intendeth to provide, that the holy Scripture shall be by great, learned, and catholique persons translated into the English tonge, yf it shall then seeme to his grace convenient to be.' . . . (17).—The whole tenor of this proclamation does but too well justify the Character given by W. Tindale of his opposers and persecutors; whom he calls 'fleshy minded Hypocrites, as making the Scripture their own possession and merchandise, and so shutting up the Kingdom of heaven, which is God's word, neither entering themselves, nor suffering them that would (18).'

[O] *It was printed in 1530.* And in a small octavo volume, which seems to have been printed at several presses, as we may suppose the times would permit. Genesis and Numbers are in the Dutch letter, and contain the one 76 leaves, and the other 67. Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, are printed in the Roman letter, with now and then a capital of the black letter intermixed, as was done in books printed about this time at Zurich. Exodus contains 76 leaves, Leviticus 52, and Deuteronomy 63. To every one of these five books is prefixed a Prologue; and at the end of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and at the beginning of Numbers, are Tables expounding certain words. In the margin are some notes: and it is adorned with ten wooden cuts (19).

[P] *But he translated no more Books of the Scripture, as some have asserted.* Edward Halle, who was his contemporary, says, that, 'besides the New Testament, he translated the Five Bookes of Moses, Josua, Judicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges, and the bookes of Paralipomenon, Nehemias, or the fyrst of Esdras, the Prophet Jonas, and no more of the holy Scripture (20).'—And Bishop Bale (21), and Bishop Tanner speak to the same purpose (22).

We

(x) Vide Wilkins's Concil. Vol. II. p. 711.

(aa) Cott. Cleop. E. V. fol. 321 and Wilkins's Concil. Vol. II. p. 740.

(17) Cott. Lit. Cleop. E. V. f. 321. and Wilkins's Concil. Vol. III. p. 74.

(18) Prologue Jonas.

(19) Lewis, above, p. 70.

(20) In Henry the VIIIth, fol. 227.

(21) Bale, cent. VIII. p. 658.

(22) Bibliotheca sub voce Hittins.

From Hamburg he returned to Antwerp, and lodged, in 1534, in the house of Mr Thomas Pointz, an English Merchant. We might think in our days, that the life of so innocent a man as Mr Tindale, could be in no danger. But in the hight of Popery, that envenomed set of people, one of whose properties is never to forgive, could not rest as long as so dangerous a Heretic, as they counted him, was suffered to live. To take him off therefore, King Henry VIII. and his Counsel suborned and employed one Henry Philips (cc), who insinuating himself both into Tindale's and Pointz's acquaintance, was treated by both as a friend. At length, when Philips found his opportunity, he got the Procurator General of the Emperor's Court at Brussels, and other Officers, to come and seize poor unhappy Tindale, though they could not but pity and admire at the time his plain honest simplicity; and to convey him prisoner to the Castle of Vilvorden, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he remained a prisoner about a year and a half. His friend Pointz, and the body of the English Merchants, procured Letters from Secretary Cromwell to the Court at Brussels, for the release of Tindale. But treacherous Philips invented a false accusation against Pointz, in order to render all his applications ineffectual; so that he was prosecuted and imprisoned, but escaped in the night (dd). Tindale's destruction being now resolved, he was brought to his trial, and offered an Advocate and a Proctor: but he refused to have any, saying, he would answer for himself; and so he did. But none of his reasons being admitted, he was condemned by virtue of the Emperor's Decree made in the assembly at Augsburg. And being brought to execution, in 1536, he was by the hangman first strangled, calling out in his last moments, 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes:' after which, his body was reduced to ashes (ee). Such was the tragical end of one of the learnedst men in his time: a man of the most unblemished character; whose only crime was, Translating into English, for the Benefit of his Countrymen, the Holy Scriptures [Q], which all Christians do and ought to look upon, as the only Rule of their Faith and Practice; and which consequently they cannot be too well acquainted with. Time it was therefore, that such a Tyranny as he fell a sacrifice to, should be abolished; as it was very soon: The measure of their Iniquities was then fulfilled. Besides his Translations of part of the Bible, and other pieces already mentioned, William Tindale was Author of other things [R], of which some account is given below.

(cc) Whose father was a Custom-house Officer at Prul. J. Foxe. See A. Wood, Vol. 1. col. 43. This Philips was then a Scholar at Lovain. Edw. Halle, as above, fol. 227. b.

(dd) J. Foxe, p. 923, 984, 985.

(ee) Idem, p. 984, 985, invictus Christi martyr, as J. Bate styles him, Cent. p. 659.

We have seen, that he published no more than the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moses; the prophecy of Jonas; and the New Testament. He might possibly have translated afterwards the other Books above mentioned. But as, upon his apprehension, his lodgings were searched by the officers that had apprehended him (23); if any of his manuscript translations of Scripture were there, and fell into such hands, we may be sure they would not be permitted to see any other light than that of the flames. The translation of the Old Testament, from Joshua to Nehemiah, in the first Edition of the English Bible printed in 1535, was done by Myles Coverdale.

[Q] *Translating into English, for the benefit of his countrymen, the Holy Scriptures.* How honestly he had acted in that work, he solemnly declares in a letter to John Fryth, part of which is as follows. . . 'I call God to record, against the day wee shall appeare before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one Syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would doe this daie if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me. Moreover I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myselfe in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keepe his laws.'—

[R] *Besides his Translations of part of the Bible . . . he was Author of other things.* These several pieces of his were collected together, and printed by John Day in one volume folio, 1572, together with John Fryth's, and Barnes's works. 1. 'A protestation touchyng the resurrection of the bodyes, and the state of the soules after this life. 2. Preface to the Pentateuch, dated Jan. 17, 1530. 3. Prologue shewing the use of the Scripture. 4. Prologues to the five Books of Moses. 5. Certaine hard words expounded in the first, second, and fourth book of Moses. 6. Prologue upon the Prophet Jonas; 7. and upon the four Evangelists, the Epistles of St Paul, the Epistles of St Peter, and St John. 8. The parable of the wycked Mammon, dated May 2, 1527. 9. Of the obedience of a Christen man, and how Christen rulers ought to governe, dated Oct. 2, 1523. Printed at Malborow in

Hesse 1535, and at London 12mo, and again in 1561. In the preface we find the name of William Tyndall, al. Hitchins. 10. An exposition on the Vth, VIth, and VIIth chapters of St Matthew. Printed first about 1531, and again in 1548, 12mo. 11. Answer unto Syr Thomas More's Dyaloge, as above. 12. The practise of the Praelates, whether the kinges grace maye be separated from hys quene, because she was hys brother's wife: written in 1530. Printed at Marpurg in 1530, and Lond. 1548, 8vo. [This was enough to procure his violent death from King Henry VIII.] 13. A Pathway into the holy Scripture. 14. Exposition of the first Epistle of St John. Printed in September, 1531, and in Southwark, 1538, 12mo. In this edition are included his Commentaries upon the three Epistles of St John. 15. The testament of M. William Tracie expounded, 1535, 12mo, and at Norimberg 1546. 16. A treatise upon signes and sacramentes. Lond. 12mo. 17. Three Letters to John Fryth, prisoner in the Tower. The last of which contains an Exposition of the 6th chapter of St. John, and 1 Cor. xi. against Sir Thomas More.'

He also translated some of Luther's works into English. . . And put a Preface to, The prayer and complaint of a Plowman:—And to the Examinations of William Thorpe, and Sir John Oldcastle, which he published.

There are likewise ascribed to him—An Exposition on 1 Corinth. vii. with a Prologue, wherein all Christians are exhorted to read the Scriptures. Printed at Malborow in Hesse 1529, 12mo.—A booke concerning the church.—A Godly disputation between a Christian shomaker and a popish persone.—The disclosyng of the man of sin.—The matrimonye of Tindall, 1529 (24).

Some of our Author's positions about Oaths, are reflected upon by Dr Richard Cosin, in his Apologie of certaine proceedings in Courts Ecclesiasticall (25). . . . And some of his notions are also censured by J. Collier (26), as he takes them from Sir Thomas More's works. But, upon the whole, he well deserved the Character given of him by the Emperor's procurator, employed in his condemnation; That he was *Homo doctus, pius, & bonus*, a learned, pious, and good man (27).

(24) J. Bale, Cent. p. 659. A. Wood, col. 42. and Tanner Biblioth.

(25) Part III. p. 174—176. edit. 1595. 4to.

(26) Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 72.

(27) Ed. Halle, as above, fol. 227. b.

TINDAL [MATTHEW], was born about the year 1657, at Beer-Ferres in Devonshire; where his father, Mr John Tindal, was Minister (a). His son was first put to school in the Country (b), and after he had made a sufficient progress in grammar learning, was sent to Oxford, where he was first admitted of Lincoln-College, under the tuition of Dr Hickes, in 1672; but removed thence to that of Exeter (c). Having taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, October 17, 1676 (d), he was from thence chosen into a Law Fellowship at All-Souls College (e). In 1679, he proceeded Bachelor of Laws (f), and was created Doctor in the same faculty in 1685 (gg). Not long afterwards, our Author became a Profelyte to the Popish Emiffaries employed in the University by King James II, publicly declared himself a Roman Catholic, and openly frequented the Maſs-houſes during the greateſt part of that King's reign. In this interval he went to London (h), and was admitted an advocate in Doctors Commons (i). While he was in town, he fell into the acquaintance of ſome perſons, whoſe converſation led him into a diſlike of Popery. He therefore renounced that Religion in the latter end of the year 1687, and returned to Oxford; he received the Sacrament publicly in his College Chapel from the hands of the Warden on Eaſter-day, April 15, 1688 (k) [A]. From this time, he grew a warm oppoſer of ſome of the powers and authority claimed by the Church of England, and falling in with the Revolution, it was not long before he became a zealous Writer in defence of it. In November, 1693, he published *An Eſſay concerning Obedience to the Supreme Powers, and the Duty of Subjects in all Revolutions, with ſome Considerations concerning the preſent Juncture of Affairs*. The ſame year Count Paleoti, an Italian, having killed one of his own domeſticks, who was a native likewiſe of Italy, proteſted againſt the power of any Engliſh Court of Law to bring him to trial for that fact (l). The caſe was referred by his Maſteſty to the conſideration of proper Delegates, conſiſting of ſome of the moſt eminent perſons both in Church and State, as well as Common Lawyers as Civilians. Dr Tindal was put into this Commiſſion, where he gave ſome diſtinguiſhing proofs of his abilities in his profeſſion. After this, he ſat frequently as Judge in the Court of Delegates (though he rarely, if ever, practiſed as an Advocate in the Courts of Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Law) and had a penſion of 200 l. per annum granted to him by the Crown (m). In the beginning of March, 1693, he published an *Eſſay concerning the Law of Nations, and the Rights of Sovereigns* [B]. As there had been a deſign on foot from the time of Dr

(a) Wood's Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1011. 2d Edit. He was preferred to that living (worth 300 l. per ann.) by the university of Cambridge, in the Civil Wars. Mr Small's account, in Memoirs of the Life, &c. of Matt. Tindal, p. 9. Edit. 1733. 8vo.

(f) Ibid. Faſti, col. 211.

(g) Ibid. col. 227.

(h) Second Defence of the Rights, ubi ſupra.

(i) Communicated by the late Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, who was Fellow of the ſame College, and an Advocate in the Commons.

(k) See his Defence, &c. ubi ſupra. Mr Wood tells us, he returned to the Proteſtant religion after King James left the nation. Athen. Oxon. ubi ſupra.

(l) History of King William III, p. 171.

(m) Communicated by the abovementioned Gentleman.

(b) The Second Defence of the Rights of the Christian Church, by our Author; p. 79. Lond. 1708. 8vo.

(c) Wood, ubi ſupra.

(d) Ibid. Faſti, Vol. II. col. 207.

(e) Ibid. Athen. Vol. II. ubi ſupra.

(f) He was qualified for this preferment according to the Founder's deſign of admitting only ſons of Gentlemen, by both his parents. His mother, Ann Hulſe, being daughter of Matthew Hulſe of Efford in Devonſhire, poſſeſſed of an eſtate of 1000 l. per ann. Small, as before.

(g) History of King William III, p. 171.

(h) Communicated by the abovementioned Gentleman.

[A] *Eaſter-day, April 15, 1688.* Our Author alledges this renunciation of Popery at this juncture as a certain proof of his ſincerity upon the point of religion. He could not, he ſays, but apprehend it would be his certain ruin, ſince the Papiſts had not only an army here, which the King was modelling for their purpoſe, but they were ſure of the aſſiſtance of the great Champion of Popery, who, the Empire being engaged in a war with the Turks, might aſſiſt his dear ally with as many troops as he pleaſed for the extirpation of the Northern Hereſy; and all things were like to go here according to their wiſhes; the Queen, as might be foreſeen without the gift of Prophecy, was to be brought to-bed of a ſon; ſo that there was nothing to ſcreen a Relapſed Heretic from their utmoſt fury. Yet this did not ſo much trouble him, as he was pleaſed with the opportunity of ſatiſfying the world that he acted out of principles, and that, as he would not ſcruple to ſacrifice his reputation in joining with the Papiſts when he thought they were in the right, ſo he was willing to run any hazard in quitting them as ſoon as he was made ſenſible of his error (1). This account of our Author's lapſe and recovery from the Popiſh religion by himſelf, is infered here in juſtice to his memory; nor indeed can the truth of it be candidly or fairly controverted. However, the ſame regard to truth obliges us not to ſuppreſs ſome inſtances relating to the moral part of his conduct, which ſhew him to have been no credit to any religion. We are aſſured, that his debaucheries with women became ſo notorious, that he was publicly reprimanded by his College as an *Egregious Fornicator*. To this purpoſe, the following fact is related upon the credit of a Canon Reſidentiary, who was one of the ejeſted Demys of Magdalen-College in King James the Second's time. The Doctor, it is ſaid, got a wench to ſwear one of his children to a Gentleman of that College, altogether as infamous at that time as himſelf. The Gentleman was obliged to ſubmit, and maintain the child: nevertheless, after ſome time, he got into the company of the mother, and aſked her how ſhe came to uſe him ſo, ſince ſhe could not be ignorant, that he was never concerned with her in the manner that ſhe had ſworn. Her answer was, that Dr Tindal had got her with child, and prevailed on her to ſwear as ſhe had done: Well then, my dear, replies the pious Reprover, I deſire you to be ſo juſt to me, as to let me get another, and that you would ſwear it to him, which was immediately a bargain, and ſtrictly executed in all its branches (2).

[B] *An Eſſay concerning the Law of Nations, and the Rights of Sovereigns, &c.* A Second Edition of this Treatiſe was published in the ſame year, to which he

added, *An Account of what was ſaid at the Council-board by the Civilians, upon the Queſtion, whether their Ma- jeſties ſubjects taken at ſea acting by the late King's Commiſſion, might not be looked upon as Pirates? With Reflections on the Arguments of Sir T. P. [Thomas Pinfold], and Dr Ol. [Oldys].* Theſe Civilians were both of opinion they could not, and Dr Oldys, in ſupport of his opinion, cited the caſe of *Antonio*, King of Portugal, who after he had loſt his Kingdom, commiſſioned privateers to ſeize upon all Spaniſh veſſels, whom, as the Spaniards met with, they hanged indeed like Pirates. But his Author gave it as an acknowledged opinion, that if *Antonio* had ever been a rightful King (as King James had been) then the Spaniards ought not to have treated thoſe acting under his Commiſſion, as they might ſuch as acted by none (3). On the other hand, Dr Littleton ſaid, that King James now was a private perſon; we had no war with him, nor he with us; or if he deſigned to have any, *Avarium non habet*, he is not in a capacity of making war; he can neither ſend nor receive Ambaſſadors, and thoſe who adhere to him are not enemies, but rogues, and conſequently theſe perſons are not Privateers, but Pirates. Dr Tindal was of the ſame opinion with Dr Littleton, and among other arguments to confirm it, obſerves, that this was a foreign Kingdom in reſpect to King James, now depoſed and deprived of it, and was properly indeed of no nation. 'Why may he not (aſks our Civilian) be puniſhed without violation of the laws of nations, or injury to any nation whatever, ſince no nation owns him ſo much as to be of their body? Therefore the King, in whoſe dominions he is, may, if his crimes deſerve it, puniſh him with loſs of life, as Queen Elizabeth, of bleſſed memory, did Mary Queen of Scotland.' It is true, the juſtice of this laſt caſe has been ſo much controverted, as may be thought to exclude it from the place, either of a governing, or even a perſuaſive precedent. But our Author will be ſtrongly defended in making uſe of it as a juſt precedent, by ſome new light which is thrown upon the conduct of *Mary Queen of Scots*, in a Collection of Papers containing the Examinations and Confeſſions of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, *John Leſlie Biſhop of Roſs*, and their dependants; as alſo by the correſpondencies between her and *Thomas Morgan*, her Agent in France, laying open, from a ſeries of intercepted letters, the various ſchemes and deſigns which were carried on, both at home and abroad, in her favour, and for the deſtruction of the government, and even the perſon of Queen Elizabeth (4).

(1) Hereupon Dr Oldys was removed from his poſt of King's Advocate, and Dr Littleton ſucceeded him, who tried the perſons impriſoned as Pirates, and condemned them; and ſome, if not all, were executed. Hiſt. of Trials for Capital Crimes, Vol. II. p. 513, & ſeq. Eſſay concerning the Laws of Nations, and Rights of Sovereigns, p. 170, 18.

(2) A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1571 to 1596, published from MSS. in the library at Hatfield houſe, by William Murden, B. D. 1759. fol.

(3) A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1571 to 1596, published from MSS. in the library at Hatfield houſe, by William Murden, B. D. 1759. fol.

(4) A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1571 to 1596, published from MSS. in the library at Hatfield houſe, by William Murden, B. D. 1759. fol.

(5) A Collection of State Papers relating to affairs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from 1571 to 1596, published from MSS. in the library at Hatfield houſe, by William Murden, B. D. 1759. fol.

Tillotson's promotion to the See of Canterbury, to make some alterations in the Liturgy, particularly with regard to the Trinity and Athanasian Creed (n), our Author, following the humour of the times, addressed *A Letter to the Clergy of both Universities concerning these two Articles*, which was published in the year 1694, and the following year he printed a Defence of it under this title: *The Reflections on the Twenty-eight Propositions, &c. in the Letter maintained against the Third Defence of the said Propositions*. In 1706, he made himself remarkable, by publishing a treatise in 8vo, intitled, *The Rights of the Christian Church asserted against the Romish, and all other Priests who claim an independent power over it: With a Preface concerning the Government of the Church of England, as by law established*. The Clergy in general being alarmed at this book, several Answers appeared to it, the foremost of which were written by Mr Wotton, Chaplain to the Earl of Nottingham, and by the celebrated Dr Hickes [C]. A Bookseller and his servant were likewise both indicted for selling it. These proceedings engaged our Author to enter into the defence of his Doctrine [D], and the dispute was kept up with great warmth on each side, till the year 1709, when Mr Oldifworth published, in three volumes 8vo, his ingenious Piece, intitled, *Timothy and Philatheus, in which the Principles and Projects of a late whimsical Book, intitled, The Rights of the Christian Church, are fairly stated and answered in their kinds. Written by a Layman*. From this time, the noise about the *Rights* was intirely drowned in the much greater cry of High-Church, occasioned by Dr Sacheverel's Sermons. Accordingly our Author at that time published a pamphlet under the title of *New High-Church turned old Presbyterian*. But having likewise published the same year, a second edition of his Defence, both this and the *Rights* &c. were ordered by a vote of the House of Commons to be burnt in the same flames with that famous Doctor's Sermons, upon March 25, 1710 (o). This occasioned our Author to put out a pamphlet that year, intitled, *A High-Church Catechism*; as also another called, *The Jacobitism, Perjury, and Popery of the High-Church Priests*, and a third, which he named, *The Merciful Judgments of High-Church Triumphant on offending Clergymen and Others in the Reign of King Charles I.* The next year, the Lower House of Convocation (where Dr Atterbury was chosen Prolocutor) having, in pursuance to a letter to that assembly from the Queen, drawn up a Representation of the present State of Religion, with regard to the late excessive growth of Infidelity, Herefy, and Profaneness, wherein it was observed, that the asserting the necessity of human actions, overturns the foundation of all Religion, both Natural and Revealed, and renders all notions of good or evil, of rewards and punishments, vain and groundless; Dr Tindal, in answer to this, published a Pamphlet [E], wherein he

(n) See *Journal* of TILLOTSON [JOHN].

(o) See *Journal* of the House of Commons for that year. The vote for burning the Doctor's Sermons passed the day before.

[C] Mr William Wotton and Dr Hickes.] The first of these wrote the following pieces: I. *The Rights of the Clergy in the Christian Church asserted, in a Sermon preached at Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamshire, September 2, 1706, at the Primary Visitation of William Lord Bishop of Lincoln*. II. *The Second Part of the Wolf stripped of his Shepherd's Cloathing, in answer to a late Book intitled, The Rights of the Christian Church asserted*, published at Lond. in March, 1707. By the latter Gentleman, there appeared two treatises, 'one of the Christian Priesthood; the other of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order, formerly written, and now published, to obviate the erroneous Opinions, fallacious Reasonings, and bold and false Assertions, in a late Book, intitled, The Rights of the Christian Church, with a large Prefatory Discourse, wherein is contained an Answer to the said Book. All written by George Hickes, D. D. Lond. May, 1707.' There came out likewise by the same hand, in 1709, in 8vo. 'Three short Treatises: viz. 1. *A Modest Plea for the Clergy, &c.* 2. *A Sermon of the Sacerdotal Benediction.* 3. *A Discourse published to undeceive the People in point of Tythes, formerly printed, and now again published by Dr George Hickes, in Defence of the Priesthood, and true Rights of the Church, against the slanderous and reproachful Treatment of the Rights of the Christian Church.*' Besides these was published, '1. *A Thorough Examination of the false Principles and fallacious Arguments advanced against the Christian Church, Priesthood, and Religion, in a late pernicious Book, ironically intitled, The Rights of the Christian Church asserted, &c. In a Dialogue between Demas and Hierarcha. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Nobility and Gentry of England; by Samuel Hill, Rector of Kilmington, and Archdeacon of Wells, in 8vo. in November, 1707.*' 2. *Adversaria, or Truths opposed to some of the Falshoods contained in a Book called, The Rights of the Christian Church asserted, &c.; by Conyers Place, M. A. London, 1709. 8vo.*

[D] Our Author to enter into the defence of his doctrine.] He wrote, first, *A Defence of the Rights of the Christian Church, against a late Visitation Sermon, intitled, The Rights of the Clergy in the Christian Church asserted, preached at Newport Pagnel in the County of Bucks; by William Wotton, B. D. and made public at the command and desire of the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Clergy of the Deaneries of Buckingham, and Newport: London, 1707, VOL. VI. No. CCCXXXI.*

in 8vo. 2. *A Second Defence of the Rights of the Christian Church, occasioned by two late Indictments against a Bookseller and his servant for selling one of the said Books; in a letter from a Gentleman in London to a Clergyman in the Country. To which are added, two Tracts of Hugo Grotius on these Questions; 1. Whether the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may be administered where there are no Pastors? II. Whether it be necessary at all times to communicate with the symbols? As also some Tracts of Mr John Hales of Eton; viz. Of the Lord's Supper; The Power of the Keys; Of Schism, &c. Lond. 1707, in 8vo.* In 1709, our Author likewise wrote, *A Discourse for the Liberty of the Press, and an Essay concerning the Rights of Mankind in Matters of Religion*, which, together with his two Essays concerning Obedience, and the Laws of Nations, were printed that year in 8vo. He also the same year printed a Second Edition of his Defence, in which he put both Parts into one Volume, with this title, *A Defence of the Rights of the Christian Church, in two Parts: Part the first against Mr Wotton's Visitation Sermon, preached at Newport Pagnel: Part the second, occasioned by two late Indictments against a Bookseller and his servant, for selling one of the said Books; with some Tracts of Hugo Grotius and Mr John Hales of Eton. The Second Edition, corrected. To which is added, A Letter from a Country Attorney to a Country Parson, concerning the Rights of the Church, never published before: And likewise Monf. Le Clerc's Extract and Judgment of the said Book; translated from his Bibliotheque Choisie: London, printed in the year MDCCIX.* It was this Edition that was burnt, as is mentioned in the text (5).

[E] He published a pamphlet.] The title runs thus: *The Nation vindicated from the Aspersions cast on it in a late Pamphlet, intitled, A Representation of the present State of Religion, with regard to the late excessive growth of Infidelity, Herefy, and Profaneness, as it passed the Lower House of Convocation; in two Parts.* In the Second Part of this Treatise, our Author lays it down for an undoubted maxim, that men are necessarily determined to love themselves: 'Whence, says he, the desire of getting pleasure and avoiding pain must as necessarily govern their actions; that the difference between men and angels is not that both alike do not necessarily love their own good; but that the latter, by having their judgments so much

(5) Boyer's Hist. of the Reign of Queen Ann, fol. 1735. P. 446.

he maintained, on the contrary, the necessity of human actions to be the true foundation of all Religion, without which, rewards and punishments would be vain and groundless. — In 1713, our Author turned his thoughts from Religious to Civil Concerns, and begun to try the force of his pen upon the subjects of State Politicks: He observed many people possessed with Jealousies about the Pretender; his first essay therefore of this kind, was intitled, *A Dissuasive from Jacobitism; shewing, in general, what the Nation is to expect from a Popish King, and in particular from the Pretender.* This was presently followed by a *Second Dissuasive from Jacobitism, wherein the Interest of the Clergy and the Universities is considered* (p); and the next year he wrote an answer to Mr Bedford's Hereditary Right of the Crown of England (q) asserted. In the same spirit, after the death of Queen Ann; when her Ministry came under examination, in 1715; the Doctor published a pamphlet, intitled, *Justice done to the late Ministry, or the Charge of their designing to make the Pretender King of Great Britain proved from their Conduct to be groundless, and the Reasons for a Parliamentary Enquiry considered.* In 1716, he wrote a vindication of the Septennial Act, in defence of the Ministry then in being. We must not omit to observe, that our Author, as well as Mr Toland, had, from the time of King George the First's accession to the throne, occasionally entertained his thoughts with the view of getting the Universities reformed by a Royal Visitation. In the prosecution of this scheme, at the request of Mr Walpole, who was now in the Administration, he drew up an account in writing, which he gave to that Gentleman, of the methods that were taken in the several Visitations of the Universities in the Reign of King James II: and the Ministry happening to run into divisions at the same time, our Author being desired by the same Patron, gave him a rough draught of the Characters of the leading men in it (r). However, affairs took such a turn, that presently after he published a pamphlet in 1717, with this title: *Defection considered* [F], and the designs of those who divided the friends of the Government set in a true light, wherein, among others, the Character of Mr Walpole (who, contrary to our Author's expectation, had resigned all his posts) was most rudely handled. To this, an answer, in 1718, was returned, in which that Gentleman declared it was plain by a manuscript in his custody, that the last mentioned pamphlet was written against another person; but that upon the change of the Ministry, that name was struck out, and his put in, and that through a detestation of the calumny, he gave the Author a sum of money not to publish it. This provoked Dr Tindal to publish in 8vo, the same year, an account of a manuscript [G], intitled, *Destruction the certain consequence of Division; or the Necessity of a strict*

(p) Mr Toland also published his famous pamphlet, intitled, *The Art of Restoring*, at the same time. See his article.

(r) An account of a manuscript, p. 4. See Remark [G].

(q) The Hereditary Right was published in October, 1715, in the Gazette: One Harbin was the real Author; but Mr Hilkiah Bedford took it upon himself, and was sentenced May the 4th, following, to suffer a severe punishment. See the article SMITH [GEORGE], Remark [B].

the better informed, cannot commit such mistakes as men do. Nay, God himself, by the excellency of his nature, is necessarily determined to will the best; and that does not hinder, but that he is absolutely free; because nothing can prevent his acting as he pleases. And man is a free agent, when he is not hindered from putting his will in execution, though his will is the necessary result of his judgment (6). It may not be amiss to take notice here, that Anthony Collins; Esq; in the year 1717, published *A Philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty*, where he had reasoned in much the same manner as our Author does in this above mentioned passage; that Mr Collins's book was answered by Dr Samuel Clarke, in some Remarks subjoined to a Collection of Papers, which passed between the late learned Mr Leibnitz and Dr Clarke, relating to the Principles of Natural Philosophy and Religion, 1717, in 8vo. to which the former found it not proper to make any reply (7).

[F] *Defection considered.* It was answered in two pamphlets: 1. *The Resigners vindicated, or the Defection reconsidered; in which the designs of all Parties are set in a true light:* by a Gentleman. London, 1718, in 8vo. 2. *The Resigners vindicated: Part II, and last: Containing, 1. An Account of the Authors of the Defection; 2. Their falsification of Facts; 3. Reasons against abolishing the 30th of January, and the 29th of May; 4. Characters of the Resigners.* The Author, in the entrance of this last piece, observes, that 'it is now no secret from what hands the *Defection considered, &c.* came, though it was of the first consequence to those, for whose interest those papers were published, to have let the Authors continue in darkness. Infamy ought to be surrounded with a thick cloud, when it attacks reputations of a standing, and experienced merit. The arrow should fly by night, when the discovery of the archer will blunt the edge of the weapon; or at least bring a cure after the wounds it makes. Desperate indeed must be the cause that employs such foul hands for a halter. The taste must be vitiated to the last degree, that weeds a wilderness of poisons for a nosegay, and sends to the Fens of Ireland for perfumers. When a man has made it the employment of his life, and all the study that a mean capacity, ill furnished with the helps of languages, can attain to, to pick up all the little objections against Christianity itself, to strike boldly at the Religion of his Country,

despise its Worship, and ridicule its Worshippers; what a grimace is it to see such a one turn Champion for the Rights and Privileges of a Christian Community, and pretend to defend that, in which he never believed? *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non erit Draco.* How many venomous Writers has this wretch swallowed; to qualify him to become the formidable Enemy of Religion, and the Protector of a set of men, whose cause he now so strongly supports? Is it not enough to prejudice truth itself, when it comes from such a quarter? Or, what is worse, does it not give strong suspicions, that no truth can be there? since this Author has been so often proved guilty of falsifying matters of fact, quotations indutiously misrepresented; or for want of knowledge, vilely translated? He concludes as follows: 'Thus have I run through the *Defection considered*, without offending, I hope, against truth; and if I have taken some pains to vindicate merit from reproaches, I have performed a more laudable part, than the man who drugged in the poor work of calumny and detraction. If there appears any where something warm and passionate, I own it the effect of contempt and indignation; when I see a wretch, who neither can write English, nor construe Latin, make an attempt upon the good names of his fellow subjects, under the false colour of a love for his country, at the same time dictating schemes of politicks to his superiors; and under the disguise of a zealot, imposing scandalous notions of Religion on the world: All this I could not bear. And I profess, that neither a view of interest, nor any hopes of pleasing or displeasing the great, made me expose, in this manner, the numerous falsities and aburdities in his book (8).'

[G] *An Account of a Manuscript.* In this Account, page 2, our Author informs us, that he wrote a paper in the form of a *Dialogue between two Scholars*; whereof one was to personate a Whig, and the other a Tory. The Whig being supposed to know what reasons would most affect the Tory, endeavours to prove it his interest to change sides; the other, by arguments drawn from the wretched management, and weak conduct of some then in power, shewing they took no step but what was to the prejudice of their own side, pretends to prove, that the Government, if other measures were not taken, could not long subsist; or, what was next to it, must throw itself into Tory hands for protection.

(6) P. 6, 7. of the Nation vindicated &c.

(7) See Mr Des Maizeaux, Preface to *Recueil de diverses pieces sur la philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathematiques, &c.* par Messieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres auteurs celebres. Amsterdam, 1722, two Vols. in 12mo.

(8) At the end of this piece is the following advertisement: Speedily will be published, An Account of the Learned and Political Qualifications of Dr M—w T—nd—l, from Memoirs of his Club, with a faithful Catalogue of the Pamphlets he has written, and those he intends to write; dedicated to A. C. Esq;

strict Union between all who love the Protestant Government and Protestant Religion: written at the desire of R—— W——, Esq; and left with him, at his request; but since exposed, contrary to his promise, with Aspersions on the Author of the Defection. In this pamphlet the Doctor denies the fact of having changed the person characterized, and charges this antagonist with the basest treachery in betraying a secret, which, from the narrative he here gives of that transaction, was the effect of former mutual confidence and friendship (s). Notwithstanding this, in 1721, and the two following years, he entered the lists in defence of Mr Walpole's measures (who was then at the head of the Ministry) against the attacks of the Author of Cato's Letters in the *London Journal* [H]; and 1727 he published a pamphlet, with this title, *Corah and Moses: being the substance of a Discourse on those words, I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them*; where he gives the highest encomiums to the same Gentleman, under the character of Moses, 'whose personal accomplishments, he observes, were so great, that the Rabbies say, even the Egyptian faction, who hated the Minister, yet loved the Man; and it is plain from Scripture, his post did not elevate him, but he preserved his humility, being easy of access to all, and treating the meanest with the greatest affability; and therefore he is called meek above all men which are upon the face of the earth.' Mr Anthony Collins, Esq; having published, the year following, his scheme of *Literal Prophecy considered*, the Bishop of London, Dr Gibbon, wrote his first *Pastoral Letter* to the people of his Diocese, occasioned (as the Author expressly declares) by some late writings in favour of Infidelity. In return to this, Dr Tindal published, in 1728, *An Address to the Inhabitants of the two great Cities of London and Westminster, in relation to a Pastoral Letter, said to be written by the Bishop of London to the people of his Diocese, &c.*; and upon the Bishop's writing a second *Pastoral Letter*, our Author published a *Second Address* (t) —. In 1730 came out his grand Work, intitled, *Christianity as old as the Creation: or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature*; which being immediately attacked by Dr Waterland, our Author the same year published a Second Edition of his *Second Address to the Inhabitants &c. with Remarks on* [Dr Waterland's book, intitled] *Scripture Vindicated* [I], and some other late writings. Not long

(s) An account of a manuscript, &c. p. 1, 2, & seq.

(t) It was reprinted with alterations and additions the same year, in 8vo.

'The Dialogue (which at first had not near so many things in it, and yet had been seen by some great men) when it was enlarged, I sent, says he, to Mr W—— with this compliment, *that he might see what his enemies said of him, and what his friends expected from him.*' After this, at Mr W——'s invitation; he waited upon him, when that Gentleman, he says, having expressed himself upon the subject of occasional conformity, and the reformation of the Universities, much to our Author's mind, told him, that if he was at leisure, he would have him put his thoughts, with relation to the deficiencies among the great men, in writing, and shew it him; saying, it would be for his private satisfaction; or to that purpose. 'Upon which, continues he, I drew up an incorrect, unfinished piece, intitled, *Defection &c.* and the first opportunity I had, put it into Mr W——'s hands, who neither read it before me, nor ever returned it. What shews, that he thought when he had got this manuscript he had wherewith to hinder me from printing the Dialogue, is, that as soon as it was in his possession, though a considerable while before he quitted his posts, all the correspondence I had with him, was wholly lost; he dropped me with this cold compliment: *that I need not give myself the trouble to come to him till he sent for me.*' Thus, says our Author, have I given the secret history of a correspondence which did not last long, it not beginning till some months after the King went abroad, and ending as before mentioned.'

[H] He defended Sir Robert Walpole's measures against Cato's letters in the *London Journal*.] The titles of the pamphlets he wrote on this occasion are: 1. *The Judgment of Dr Prideaux in condemning the murder of Julius Cæsar, by the conspirators, as a most villainous act, maintained, and the sophistry of the London Journal of December the 2d and 9th exposed, with some political remarks on the Roman government.* Lond. 1721, in 8vo. 2. *A defence of our present Happy Establishment, and the Administration, vindicated from the falsehood and malice of several late treasonable Libels, viz. Cato's letters in the London Journal, and the Historical Account of the advantages of the Hanover Succession, &c.* Lond. 1722, in 8vo. 3. *An Enquiry into the Causes of the present disaffection; as also into the necessity of some standing forces; the power of Judges and Juries in relation to Libels; and the Justice of the Additional tax on the Papists and Popish Recusants; with Remarks on the Dissolution of standing armies, and other Papers of Cato the Journalist.* London, 1723, in 8vo.

[I] Remarks on Dr Waterland's book, intitled, *Scripture Vindicated*] That Christianity as old as the Creation was at least artfully wrote, is incontestibly evident from the foils which many of its Oppugners suffered in attack-

ing it. For instance, Dr Waterland sets out thus, in his Introduction: 'His [Dr Tindal's] attacks are feeble, his artillery contemptible; he has no genius or taste for literature, no acquaintance with the original languages, nor so much as with common criticks or commentators; several of his objections are pure English objections, such as affect only our translation: the rest are of the lowest and most trifling sort.' And in the body of the book he calls him fool and idiot, who had neither wit, judgment, learning, or any thing else but dull malice, p. 31, 95. 'If this be really the case, says another Assailant (9), what is all this bustle about, why all this Apparatus to foil so feeble, so contemptible an Adversary. Why must two Eminent Scholars be picked out from (10) Oxford and Cambridge to divide the task between them, and repel, with united force, the despicable attacks of a poor English blunderer. All this Apparatus must needs persuade us, that you have a different notion of his ability from what you think proper to declare: and, in fact, as all who talk extravagantly or insincerely are apt to betray themselves, so you in many places confute yourself, and shew, that these pure English objections, which owe their rise, as you would insinuate, to the blunders of our translation, deserve to be considered in another light; since at some times you exclaim against them as being stale, or borrowed from antiquity, from the ancient enemies of religion, Celsus and Julian; at other times from our learned moderns, Marsham and Burnet, &c. and do not so much as in one single instance prove them to be grounded on the mistaken sense of the original. For my own part, continues he, to observe our English proverb, and give the Devil his due, I cannot for my life discover any such want of literature as you object to him; but, on the contrary, see plainly, that his work has been the effect of much study and reading; his materials collected from a great variety of the best writers; his pages decently crowded with citations; and his index of authors as numerous as that of most books which have lately appeared: and, to tell you the truth, were it my task to answer him in the method you have chosen, by undertaking to vindicate every single text of Scripture from all the exceptions that may be made to it, I should be tempted to wish that he had less learning rather than more; since, with the small share he has, one may easily foresee, by the specimen you give us, that he will in many cases be at least a full match for you.' This he proceeds to confirm in several instances, as in the history of the fall of man, of circumcision, and the confusion of tongues at Babel. But here he suffered a like foil to that of his immediate Antagonist,

(9) Dr Conyer's, Middleton, in a letter wrote this year to Dr Waterland, containing some remarks on his vindication &c.

(10) Middleton's works, Vol. II. Edit. 1752, 4to. Besides this by Dr Waterland, another answer was published to Dr Tindal's book by Dr John Conybear, Dean of Christ-church in Oxford, intitled, *A Defence of Revealed Religion against the Exceptions of a late Writer, in his book, intitled, Christianity as old as the Creation.* To whom may be added Mr James Foster, in his *Usefulness, Truth, and Excellency of the Christian revelation* defended; and Mr John Lealand, in his *Answer to Christianity as old as the Creation*, Dublin, in 2 Vols, 8vo.

after this, the Doctor began to sink under the infirmities of old age, and a few days before his death, being prevailed upon to remove from his chambers in Gray's-Inn to lodgings in *Cold-Bath Fields* (u), he expired there on the 16th of August, 1733, being then Senior Fellow of All-Soul's College; which was the only preferment he ever had. He had been long afflicted with the stone, and his body being opened (w), according to his own request, there was found in the *gall-bladder*, a stone of the size of a chefnut, and in the *ductus choliodocus* another stone, which, though of a smaller size, was big enough to prevent the passage of any gall, and thereby became the immediate cause of his dissolution. After the opening, his body was wrapt in a sheet of fine lead, and preserved for a week, during which, two molds were taken from his face by Mr Riefbrach, the Statuary, to make a bust of him. On Thursday, August 23, his remains were conveyed from Cold-Bath Fields in a hearse, attended by three mourning coaches, to Clerkenwell Church, and interred, according to his desire, near those of Dr Burnet, late Bishop of Salisbury. The corpse was followed only by Eustace Budgell, Esq; (x), who, by the tenor of the Doctor's last will [K], was appointed

(u) By the persuasions of Mr Budgell, who hired the lodgings near his own house. A copy of the will of Dr Tindal, &c. 1733. 8vo. p. 22.

(w) By Mr Small, a Surgeon, who with Dr Dodd, a Physician, and formerly Fellow of All-Soul's College, attended the Doctor in his last illness. Id. p. 20.

(x) Id. p. 22.

(†) See Dr Middleton's article.

* Uniform darkness.

(11) Pope's Essay on man, Ep. 3. in the note to line 111. For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight.

(12) This servant, in excuse for not sending to Mr Tindal during his Uncle's illness, said, that Mrs Price assured her, that his Uncle had left him all, except a small legacy to Mr Budgell; which story she believed, and therefore thought there was no occasion to send for him. She also told him, that, in his illness, his Uncle wrote a letter to him, which was never carried to the post. A copy of the will of Dr Matthew Tindal, 1733.

(13) The word [thing] is omitted in the original.

(14) Mr Budgell's servant.

(15) Judge Price's Relist, who, in a letter to Mr Tindal, dated the day of his Uncle's death, first informed him thereof, as also that his Uncle's will was in her hands. A copy of the will of Dr M. Tindal, &c. printed for T. Cooper in 1733, 8vo.

and run into some unwarranted interpretations of Scripture, which drew him into further disputes, that ended not to his reputation (+). It is pleasant enough to hear Mr Warburton, the present Bishop of Gloucester, upon this subject. Having mentioned the controversy between Dr Waterland and Mr Jackson upon the Trinity, he proceeds thus: 'The worst is, that such kind of Writers seldom know when to have done. For, writing themselves up into the same delusion with their Readers, they are apt to venture out into the more open paths of literature, where their reputation, made out of that stuff which Lucan calls *Σκότος ἰλόχρους**, presently falls from them; and their nakedness appears; and thus it fared with our two worthies. The world, which must have always something to amuse it, was now in good time grown weary of its play-thing, and caught at a new object that promised them more agreeable entertainment. Tindal, a kind of *bastard Socrates*, had brought our speculations from heaven to earth, and, under pretence of advancing the antiquity of Christianity, laboured to undermine its original. This was a controversy that required another management. Clear sense, severe reasoning, a thorough knowledge of profane and sacred antiquity, and an intimate acquaintance with human nature, were the qualities proper for such as engaged on this subject: a very unpromising adventure for these metaphysical nurslings, bred up under the shade of chimæras. Yet they would needs venture out. What they got by it was only to be once laughed at, and then forgotten. But one odd circumstance deserves to be remembered, that though they wrote not, we may be sure, in concert, yet each attacked his adversary at the same time, fastened upon him in the same place, and mumbled him with just the same toothless rage (11).'

[K] *His will.*] It was drawn up in these terms: I Matthew Tindal do make this my last will and testament in manner following: I give and bequeath unto my servant Hannah Anthony (12), if she live with me at the time of my decease, the sum of fifty pounds ten shillings; and also I give and bequeath unto Eustace Budgell, Esq; the sum of two thousand one hundred pounds, that his great talents may serve his country. I give and bequeath unto the widow Lucy Price the translation of Rapin's history of England, in fifteen volumes, by my nephew Tindal. I give and bequeath unto Eustace Budgell, Esq; my strong box, my diamond ring, and all my manuscript books, papers, and writings; and I do hereby desire the said Eustace Budgell to print the second part of Christianity as old as the creation, and also my other works collected in a volume, of which I will give him a list, if I should not live to print them myself. And I do hereby make the said Eustace Budgell my executor, to the end that no other person whatsoever may have any power over, or have any (†) to do with my said books, papers, and writings. And I do make my nephew, Nicholas Tindal, my residuary Legatee and my Executor; and I do hereby revoke all former wills by me made. In witness whereof I do hereunto put my hand and seal this seventh day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three. Mat. Tindal.

Signed, sealed, and published in the presence of
Margaret Leigh (13).
Samuel Tuckey (14).
Mr Tindal, upon reading this paper, which was delivered to him by Mrs Lucy Price (15) in the presence of

Mr Budgell, suspected it on many accounts; namely, for the stile, so different from his Uncle's; for the strange expression concerning Mr Budgell; for the omission of a word; for being all writ with Mrs Price's own hand, and witnessed by Mr Budgell's footman and the woman of the house, whose lodgings were recommended and hired for the Doctor by Mr Budgell; but more particularly for the extravagant legacy, so contrary to what his Uncle had lately told him, to his frequent and express declarations to him and his friends, and to his real will, witnessed by Gentlemen who were ready to attest it, and perused by a friend of the Doctor's about six weeks before. As Mr Tindal was expressing his surprize at this legacy, Mr Budgell steps up and tells him, he must not think he had all this money to pay; for the Doctor had lent him 1000l. upon bond and judgment. Accordingly, upon opening his Uncle's strong box, (which was also delivered to him by Mrs Price) he found Mr Budgell's single bond of 1000l. but all the other things in it amounted to no more than about the value of 60l. (16). This put him upon further search after the Doctor's effects; to which purpose going to Mess. Snow and Pultocks, the Doctor's bankers, he was told, that the Doctor had not been possessed, at least for many years, of more than 100l. Bank stock, and 1800l. South-sea stock. That on June 2, 1732, Mr Snow sold for him 1000l. South-sea stock, and paid him in Bank notes; and on June 20, 1733, he sold for him the remaining 800l. South-sea stock, and heard him say afterwards, he had lent his money upon bond. These circumstances increased Mr Tindal's suspicions of foul play. He could not believe that his Uncle would in his senses give more than he was worth in one legacy, and then formally appoint him a residuary Legatee, as well as Executor. Wherefore he resolved to contest the will; but however would first see what was become of the 1000l. received by the Doctor of Mr Snow the 2d of June, 1732; for as to the other 800l. stock, sold June 20, 1733, Mr Budgell's bond being of the same date, it was plain he had received it, as indeed he confessed. In this further search at the Bank he found there the aforesaid notes, all endorsed with these words, *Budgell, June 3, BB*; which BB appeared to be the mark of a servant of Sir Francis Child and Company, to whom the Bank notes were paid by Mr Budgell the 3d of June, 1732, and for which he took promissory notes of Sir Francis Child and Company, payable to Eustace Budgell, Esq; or order. When Mr Tindal acquainted Mr Budgell, at Mrs Price's, that the Doctor was never possessed of more than 1900l. stock, they both shewed some concern, but said they knew nothing of the 1000l. stock, sold by the Doctor, June 2, 1732, nor had ever seen, or heard the Doctor speak of, any Bank notes relating to the same, nor knew any thing of his lending such a sum, upon bond or other security. However, upon Mr Tindal's proposing to renounce the will, if Budgell would agree to give him the Doctor's goods (17) and the 100l. Bank stock, it was agreed, upon articles, that he should have immediate possession of the goods, and also 145l. on condition he could trace the lost 1000l. Mr Tindal, having secured the goods, told Mr Budgell he had traced the 1000l. in the manner above mentioned into his pocket, and therefore demanded performance of the articles. And, upon telling him the particulars, Budgell, after many other baffled subterfuges, owned that he had borrowed the money of the Doctor upon bond, but had repaid it, and torn the bond (18). And at last, at the instance of Mrs Price (19), he transferred the stock to Mr Tindal, as soon as the will was proved. Budgell, at the proving of it, took the usual

(16) As Mr Tindal knew the Doctor's true will was kept in the strong box, he asked them if they had seen it, or knew what was become of it; Mrs Price answered, she knew nothing of it.

(17) They were appraised at 51l. besides the remainder of a bond from Mr Tindal's father to the Doctor, amounting to 26l. which Mr Budgell gave up, p. 16.

(18) Mr Tindal intimated that this was not probable, and insisted, since Budgell had owned the receipt of the money, upon his proving how he was discharged of it.

(19) She insisted upon it with an oath. For, says she, who brought you first acquainted with the Doctor, was it not I? Is not all this my doing? I fay you shall comply. Id. p. 20.

appointed his testamentary heir, having before got possession of his fortune (y), in prejudice of his nephew, and heir at law, the Reverend Mr *Nicholas Tindal*, the Translator and Continuator of Rapin's History of England.

(y) Thus our Deist's vanity, and conceit of his own parts, delivered him up a prey to the greater vanity and villany of Mr Budgell.

(21) Peerage of England, Vol. V. p. 292, 293. Edit. 1756.

usual oath; but Mr Tindal, in renouncing it, refused to swear he believed it to be the Doctor's will; and afterwards contending it at Law, the will was set aside. But he never recovered the 1000l. or any part of it, notwithstanding Mr Curl assured him (20), that Lord

Orrery was an Obligee in the bond with Mr Budgell. But this information, which was not made till 1734, happened, if true, to come a little too late, his Lordship having expired on the 28th of August the preceding year (21).

TOLAND [JANUS JUNIUS]. This was his true name, though he lost it at school, where his Master (a) first ordered him to be called John, which he himself retained ever after, the other being only used by him as a disguise (b). He was born November the 30th, 1678 (c), upon a peninsula, vulgarly called *Enisowen* (d), in the province of *Ulster* in Ireland, and descended of an ancient family in that Kingdom (e). He was put to school at *Redcastle* near *Londonderry* (f), and bred in the Roman Catholic Faith (g), all his relations being in that Communion; but as he was a boy of forward parts, he early shook off the superstition of his ancestors, and even before he was sixteen years of age, had grown into a warm zeal against Popery. Wherefore, having acquired a competent stock of grammar learning at school, he went from thence, in 1681, to Glasgow in Scotland, where he continued three years (h), after which he made a visit to the University of Edinburgh; and having gone through the statutable examinations with great applause there, on the 30th of June, 1690, he was created Master of Arts. Upon the 22d of July following he received the usual diploma (i), with which he returned to Glasgow, where he staid only a few days, till he could procure a proper testimonial of his Religion and Loyalty (j) from the Magistrates of that town, as he had before done of his learning and morals from the Professors of Edinburgh [A]. Thus furnished, after some small deliberation (k), he determined to go to England. Here joining with the Dissenters, he recommended himself to some good families of that persuasion, in which he lived about two years. During his residence amongst them, a remarkable book, intitled, *Gospel Truth stated and vindicated*, was published in 1692, by Mr *Daniel Williams*, a celebrated Dissenting Minister. This piece being greatly liked by our young Student in Divinity, he sent it to the Author of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (l), whom he desired to give an abstract of it, acquainting him with the history of the dispute which had occasioned it to be wrote [B].

(a) His school-fellows made a jest of it, as he was called in the school-roll every morning. Life of John Toland by Des Maizeux, prefixed to the first volume of his Posthumous Works, in two volumes, 8vo. 1747.

(c) See note [EE].

(f) This city stands upon the isthmus of the forementioned peninsula. Hist. of the Druids, ibid. ubi supra.

(i) See note [A].

(k) It appears by his diploma, in note [A], that he told the Edinburgh Professor, his intentions were to return to Ireland.

About

[A] A certificate of his learning from the Professors at Edinburgh. As the form of such a diploma is rarely to be met with, we shall give a copy of it. *Universis et singulis ad quos presentes Literæ pervenient, Nos Universitatis Jacobi Regis Edinburgensæ Professores, salutem in Domino sempiternam precamur: Unaque testamur, ingenium hunc bonæ spei juvenem magistrum Johannem Toland Hibernum, moribus, diligentia, et laudabili successu, se nobis ita approbasse, ut post editum Philosophici profectus Examen, solenni more Magister in Artibus Liberalibus renunciaretur in Comitibus nostris laureatis anno salutis millesimo sexcentesimo & nonagesimo, trigesimo die Junii. Quapropter non dubitamus eum nunc a Nobis in patriam redeuntem, ut egregium adolescentem, omnibus quos adire vel quibuscum versari contigerit de meliori nota commendare, sperantes illum (optulante divina gratia) literis bisce testimonialibus fore abunde responsurum. In quorum fidem inclita civitas Edinburgum, Academia hujus Parens & Altrix, sigillo suo publico literas singraphis nostris porro confirmari jussit.* Alexander Monro, S. S. T. D. Professor Primarius. Ja. Strahan, S. S. T. D. ejusdemque Professor. D. Gregorie Math. P. J. Herbertus Kennedy, P. P. J. Drummond, H. L. P. Tho. Burnet, Ph. P. Robertus Henderfon, B. & Academia ah Archivis &c.

That from Glasgow is as follows:

We the Magistrates of Glasgow undersubscribing, do hereby testify and declare to all whom these presents may concern, that the bearer, John Toland, Master of Arts, did reside here for some years as a Student at the University in this citie, during which tyne, he behaved himself as one true Protestant, and loyal subject; as witnesses our hands, at Glasgow, the penult day of July, one thousand six hundred and ninetie yeares. And the common seale of office of the said citie is hereunto affixt.

L. S. John Leeck, George Nisbit (1).

[B] Acquainting him with the history of the dispute which occasioned it. The whole title of Mr Williams's (2) book runs thus: *Gospel Truth stated and vindicated; wherein some of Dr Crisp's notions are considered, and the opposite truths plainly stated and confirmed.* It was occasioned by the republication of Dr Crisp's Works, about two years before, which had revived a controversy that Mr Williams had made himself

famous for managing against the Antinomian Principles, which then were breaking in, with great impetuosity, among the Presbyterians. This new impression of sermons appearing (at a time when the Socinian Controversy was very hotly agitated) with additions, and twelve names of the Presbyterian and Independent Ministers prefixt to honour it, spread the Antinomian Principles to such a degree, that the more sober of the Presbyterian Ministers were not able to preach a sermon, wherein either hope was asserted by conditional promises, or the fear of sin pressed by the divine threatenings, but they were immediately censured and condemned as enemies of Christ, and of free grace; and especially were cried out upon violently by many of the Anabaptists and Independents: nay, one of them preaching at Pinners-Hall that repentance was necessary to the remission of sins, that pulpit was soon filled with the hardest censures against the Presbyterians. These proceedings incited some of the most zealous among them, called the *United Brethren*, to consider of some proper expedient to obviate the growth of those errors, the revival whereof, they concluded, would make their Ministry useles, and unity impossible. And Dr Crisp's book being found to be the chief source of this evil, at their request Mr Williams undertook therefore to confute it. This he did, first, in a sermon at Pinners-Hall, and afterwards in the treatise above mentioned, which was published in May, 1692, with the approbation of Dr Bates, Mr Horve, Mr Alsop, Mr Shower (3), and a dozen more of the Dissenting Ministers, wherein they did not only attest the right stating of truth and errors therein, but recommended it as a considerable service to the Church of Christ, and as a means for the reclaiming of those who have been misled into such dangerous opinions, and for the establishing any that waver in any of those truths. But upon the coming forth of this treatise, it was observed, that such a furious zeal against the Author and his book broke out, as had almost overfet the *United Brethren*, with their union: for in October following, a paper was delivered unto the said Brethren, subscribed by six Dissenting Ministers, importing a high and heavy charge against the Author and his work. However, the objections being looked upon, either as frivolous, or groundless, and some of the citations to be quite contrary to the letter of his expressions pretended to be cited, were thought

(3) This Gentleman was a particular friend of Mr Toland, both now, and long after he left the Dissenters. He sent the *Memorial of the State of England*, in 1705, to him for his approbation, which Mr Toland set a great value upon. See Miscellaneous Works, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 356.

(o) In the Declaration to him his Uncle's Law concerning the laws of Nations and the rights of Sovereigns, dated Oct. 18, 1734.

(p) To the Preface of his Pantheisticon, mentioned in the sequel, he subscribes this name for that purpose.

(q) See note [P].

(r) Its ancient name is Inis Eoin. See Toland's specimen of the History of the Druids, in a note, p. 8. in the first volume of his Posthumous Works.

(s) Christianity of mysterious, viii, ix.

(t) Apology for Mr Toland, 46.

(u) It is inserted in Tomes XXIII. p. 505. where he is called Student in Divinity.

Dabamus in supradicto Atheneo Regio 22do die Julii, anno 1690. Christianæ. [L. S.]

(1) Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr John Toland: by Mr Des Maizeux, prefixed to Toland's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. I. p. vii, viii, ix.

(2) This Mr Daniel Williams may be said to have succeeded Mr Baxter in the management of this dispute.

About this time, several of the most eminent of these Protestants conceiving great hopes from his uncommon parts, he went, by their encouragement, to perfect his studies at Leyden, where he was supported by them near two years (m). After his return to England, he presently went to Oxford (n), having procured letters of recommendation [C] to Mr Creech of All-Souls College, Dr Mill, Principal of Edmund-Hall, Mr White Kennet, then a Member of that Hall, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, and several other learned Members of that University. Upon the credit of these Gentlemen, he got sworn and admitted in the regular form into the Bodleian Library, in January 1693-4 (o). Having procured this favour, he did not neglect to make his own use of it, and prosecuted his intended studies very industriously [D]. But he had not been here long before some religious notions, openly advanced, and warmly maintained by him in the coffee-houses, were taken notice [E] of; whereupon he drew up a formal Confession of his Faith [F], which giving some satisfaction, he

(m) See his Life, ubi supra, p. ix.

(o) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 292, 293.

(n) He was there in December 1691. See his Posthumous Miscellanies, ubi supra, Vol. I. p. 205.

thought not deserving to be taken notice of. Notwithstanding, Dr Chauncey, one of the Subscribers, in a meeting of the United Ministers, declared, that he would break off from their Union, because they had taken no cognizance of this Paper of Objections; and the opposition was carried on so far by that party, particularly by Mather and Lob, two Independents, that when other ways, as that of writing against Williams, were found unsuccessful, a person was appointed more narrowly to examine his books, and to collect out of them what errors he could discover; and accordingly another Paper of Objections was drawn up against him: and whereas, in the former paper there was not one word tending to the charge of Socinianism; upon this fresh examination, that was now thought proper to be added to the weight of other exceptions against him. After some time, the matter was referred, by both sides, to Dr Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, who gave the world a true state of both these controversies; wherein he cleared Mr Williams (as well as Mr Baxter) from the charge of Socinianism. After this Mr Lob and his brethren being better reconciled to Mr Williams, he, at their request, printed a small pamphlet, representing the true state of the Principles of the more sober Independents, intitled, *An End of Discord*. And thus ended this controversy among the Dissenters (4), of which we thought it not amiss to give this account, as it serves to let us see by what means Mr Toland procured those recommendations, mentioned in the text, which he at this time carried to Oxford.

(4) See Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 259, & seq. Lond. 1713. in 8vo.

(5) Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 292.

[C] *He carried letters of recommendation.* In a letter (5) which he wrote soon after his arrival to a Gentleman who was concerned in procuring these recommendations, he writes thus: 'I lie under great obligations to the Gentlemen who recommended me, both for the advantageous character they were pleased to bestow upon me, and the suitable reception I met with. Mr Creech, in particular, has been extraordinary civil to me, and did me the honour to recommend three or four of the most ingenious men in the University to my acquaintance, who accordingly visited me. The like did Dr Mill and Mr Kennet—I beg you to acquaint Mr Freke with the contents, whose care and favour I shall always endeavour to deserve, looking upon him as the *primum mobile* of my happiness. I forget to tell you Mr Creech is publishing *Lucretius* in Latin, with a paraphrase (6) and commentary, and *Manilius* in English verse, which will be nothing inferior to *Lucretius*. Dr Mill has already communicated his Testament to me, and others have already sent me several books I only enquired after, without any design of making bold so soon to borrow; all which I attribute to the respect they owe their friends. I am conveniently and pretty reasonably lodged at Mr Bodington's, over-against All-Souls College.'

(6) It was not published till 1695, and the *Manilius* came out some time after.

[D] *He followed his studies industriously.* He collected materials upon various subjects, and composed some small pieces. To the end of his *Specimen of a History of the Druids* is subjoined a catalogue of some old Armoican British words, which he supposes to be Irish, chiefly from their affinity in pronunciation, at the head of which he has these words: '*Catalogus vocum quarundam Armoricarum quas Hibernicas esse deprehendi, quasque ex libello, quem mihi mutuo dedit Cl. & Rev. Dominus Dominus Jo. Millius, S. S. T. in Academia Oxoniensi P. ibidemque Aula Sanctæ Edmundanæ Principalis, collegi & desumpsi.*' This is followed with a short introduction, which is dated thus: '*Oxonix 19 Decembris anno a Christo nato 1693 (7).*' In this Specimen, p. 4, he says he formed the design of writing that history at Oxford, and he mentions Mr Aubrey (afterwards Author of the Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey) as one of his acquaintance there, who was of great assistance to him, p. 112.

(7) See Specimen of the History of the Druids, in the first volume of his Miscellaneous Works, p. 204, 205.

In his Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 28, et seq. there is a piece intitled, *The Fabulous Death of Attilius Regulus: or a Dissertation proving the received History of the Tragical Death of Marcus Attilius Regulus, the Roman Consul, to be a Fable* (8). This is dated Oxon. Aug. 6, 1694; and Mr Toland owns, that the hint for enquiring into this subject was, though undesignedly, given him by an acquaintance there. He was led to the discovery by a note in *Palmerius* upon the same subject in a note upon *Appion* (9).

(8) The Abbé Vertot has related this as a fact in his *Revolutions of the Roman Republic*.

(9) A piece intitled, *Observationes in optimos fere Authores Græcos*.

[E] *Some religious notions were taken notice of.* He received a letter, dated May 4, 1694 (10), from an unknown hand, which begins thus: 'Mr Toland, The character you bear in Oxford is this; that you are a man of fine parts, great learning, and little Religion. Whether or no this be your just character, I cannot say; but this I can say, and am assured of, that if it be, it is your highest interest to reflect seriously upon the matter, and to endeavour betimes to deserve a better. This is the whole occasion of my writing to you, and I intreat you to receive it as it is meant—Popular esteem, the applauses of a coffee-house, or a club of prophane wits, are mean unworthy ends—Believe me, I am concerned for your sake: methinks it is ten thousand pities, that any one should freely choose to be eternally wretched, or but moderately happy, into whose hands God hath put the means of purchasing an exceeding weight of glory; and whom he seems to have designed to be a vessel of honour.'—The same person, in another (11) letter, dated May 30, has these words: 'It is said, that you are now publishing a piece with an intent to shew, that there is no such thing as a mystery in our Religion.'

(10) Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 295, & seq.

(11) Ibid. p. 312

[F] *He drew up a system of his Faith.* After having declared his belief of the immortality of the soul, and a future retribution, he goes on, 'I must therefore be necessarily of some Religion, and I presume you will readily acknowledge it to be the Christian, when I assure you, that, I. I firmly believe the existence of an infinitely good, wise, and powerful Being, which in our language we call God, substantially different from the universe he created, and continues to govern by his Providence, of whom, through whom, and to whom are all things. II. Concerning Christ in particular, that he is God manifest in the Flesh, or True God and Man, perfectly united, without contrariety of will, or confusion of essence. As to his human nature, that according to the Prophets, he was born of a pure virgin, conceived by virtue of the Divine Spirit, and therefore ever free from all the sinful disorders of fallen man. That he rose from the dead the third day after he was crucified by the Jews, and forty days after ascended into heaven, from whence I expect his coming at the last day to judge me and all the world: and that when he was on earth, he not only by his life gave us a perfect example, and by his doctrine an infallible rule of all that we are to do, suffer, and hope; but also by the sacrifice of his death, reconciled to Mercy, all such as do the will of his Father, particularly those that believe his word, imitate his works, and accept his intercession. That as well the holy adult, deceased before his passion, as children dying before the use of reason, are delivered from death by his merits; so that none can be saved without a Mediator. And lastly, that he is the only Ruler and Legislator of the Church. III. I believe we are sanctified by the Divine Spirit, who worketh in us and with us, who directs and perfects us. I acknowledge the purity, excellence, and obligation of all the evangelical precepts, as they are comprehended under these three heads, to live temperately, justly, and piously; to love God above all things, and my neighbour as myself. This is the

he proceeded in composing his grand Work against 'the Christian Mysteries.' However, he did not stay at the University till he had compleated his design, but going to London the following year, he finished and published it there in 1696, under the title of *Christianity not Myste- rious: or a Treatise shewing that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to reason, nor above it, and that no Christian Doctrine can be properly called a Mystery.* Every body was alarmed at the boldness of this attempt: our Author thereby raised himself a crowd of adversaries among Christians of all denominations [G], and his book was even presented by the Grand Jury of Middlesex (p). In the midst of this clamour against him in England, our Author took a trip into his native country, where he arrived in the beginning of April the ensuing year (q). But here he met with much worse fare; for his book being got to Dublin before him, he had scarcely set his foot there, when he heard himself warmly attacked from the pulpit, and in a little time it became so popular a subject, that it was even expected of course, as much as if it had been prescribed by the Rubric (r). In the mean time, his own indiscreet behaviour did not a little contribute to exasperate the people [H]. Soon after his arrival, he made a visit to Mr William Molyneux, who received him with great politeness, and was much pleased with his conversation (s). But the general cry ran so strong against his book [I], that

(p) See his Life, p. 47.

(q) A Letter by Mr Molyneux to Mr Locke, dated April 6, 1697.

(r) Toland's A- pology, p. 4.

(s) Mr Moly- neux's Letter, ubi supra.

' sum of my assurance of Eternal Life; in hopes where- of, I am now writing this unfeigned confession of my Faith.' This letter is dated May the 7th, and in an- swer to it, his correspondent writes, May 30 follow- ing, that he acquiesces in these tokens of his sincerity (12).

[G] Raised himself antagonists among Christians of all denominations.] For instance, Mr Beverly, a Presbyte- rian Minister, put out a pamphlet, intitled, *Christianity the great mystery, in answer to a late treatise, intitled, Christianity not mysterious, that is, not above nor con- trary to reason.* In opposition to which it is asserted, Christianity is above created reason in its pure estate, and contrary to human reason as fallen and corrupted, and therefore, in a proper sense, *mystery.* Another came out, intitled *The Christian belief, &c. in answer to a book, intitled, Christianity not mysterious.* Mr Norris like- wise, in his *Account of Reason and Faith* in relation to the mysteries of Christianity, and Mr Elys, in a letter to Sir Robert Howard; Dr Payne, in some sermons preached at Cambridge; Dr Stillingfleet, Bishop of Wor- cester, in his *Vindication of the Doctrines of the Trinity, &c.* the Author of the Occasional Paper, No. III. Mr Miller, in his *discourse of conscience*; Mr Gailhard, in his book against the Socinians; Mr Synge, in his Appendix to *The Gentleman's Religion*; all animadverted upon it. We have the remarks also of the celebrated Mr Leibnitz, intitled, *Annotatiunculae Substantiae ad librum de Christianismo mysteriis carente conscriptae, 8 Augusti, 1701* (13). On the other side Mr Des Maizeaux appears in our Author's defence. 'To affirm indeed, says he, that the Christian religion has no mysteries, or nothing above reason, must needs appear a strange paradox; but, as we ought not to be prejudiced, or frightened with words, let us examine our Author's intent and meaning. The word *mystery* is always used in the New Testament for a thing intelligible in itself, but which could not be known without special revelation. And, to prove this assertion, he examines all the passages of the New Testament where the word *mystery* occurs, and shews, first, that *mystery* is read for the Gospel, or Christian religion in general, as it was a dispensation totally hid from the Gentiles, and but very imperfectly known to the Jews: secondly, that some peculiar doctrines, occasionally revealed by the Apostles, are said to be *manifested mysteries*, that is, unfolded secrets: and thirdly, that *mystery* is put for any thing under parables or enigmatical forms of speech. And, to set this matter in a clearer light, he observes, that, as in the phenomena of nature we neither call mysteries those things which are perfectly unknown to us, nor those whereof we can have no adequate idea, the same way of speaking ought to be used in religious matters; since all the revealed truths of the Christian religion, which it is necessary and beneficial for us to know, can be made as clear and intelligible as natural things which come within our knowledge and comprehension; and that the case is parallel, he [Mr Toland] promised to shew in another work, and to give a particular and rational explication of the reputed mysteries of the Gospel. But he declares at the same time, that, if his Adversaries think fit to call a mystery whatever is either absolutely un- intelligible to us, or whereof we have but inadequate ideas, he is ready to admit as many mysteries in reli- gion as they please. So far you will say there is no great harm done: it is only a dispute about words. Indeed he pretends that he can give as clear an expla-

nation of the mysteries of the Gospel as it is possible to give of the phenomena of nature; but do not our Divines do the same thing, in attempting to give a rational explanation of the Trinity, the greatest mys- tery of the Christian religion? Such explanations are the test of the soundness of their doctrine; and who knows but Mr Toland's explanation, had he given one, might have been orthodox? To all this it may be easily answered in a few words, that our Orthodox Divines (to use his own term) never pretend to give such a rational explanation of the Trinity as does not imply in it something above human reason: what then could hinder Mr Des Maizeaux from knowing, that Mr Toland's explanation, had he given one, could not have been orthodox? One would be apt to think, from this remark of Mr Des Maizeaux, that he had some reasons to know Mr Toland either was not thoroughly convinced himself, or else was capable, upon a proper occasion (14), of explaining away his own words, and construing *above reason* in a different sense to what he knew the Orthodox Divines understood by them. In this light indeed the dispute would be merely Verbal. But any such supposition sinks Mr Toland from a for- midable Opponent into an idle insignificant Trifler; which is not what he deserves. In this treatise, chapter the third, he expressly asserts, that many miracles were wrought by Christ; therefore there could be nothing above reason in his sense of the words, that is, above what reason teaches us concerning the force of the Divine power to controul the ordinary laws of nature by an extraordinary agency. In any explanation then that we can suppose him to have given of the reputed mysteries of Christianity, as in the instance now before us of the Trinity, so as not to be above reason, he must have represented it in such a manner, as to imply no- thing which reason does not teach us concerning the nature and attributes of the Divine Being: whereas, if I am not much mistaken, the Orthodox Divines (to keep to the same expression) maintain, that we are not able to conclude, from any thing which reason teaches, whether, what is revealed in the Gospel concerning this mystery, be compatible to the nature of the Deity or no.

[H] His indiscreet behaviour did not a little contribute to exasperate the people.] In a letter (15) writ to Mr Locke from Dublin by Mr Molyneux, that Gentleman, speaking of Mr Toland, expresses himself thus: 'To be free and without reserve to you, I do not think his management, since he came into this city, has been so prudent. He has raised against him the clamours of all parties, and this not so much by his difference in opinion, as by his unseasonable way of discoursing, propagating, and maintaining it. Coffee-houses and public tables are not proper places for serious discourses relating to the most important truths. But when also a tincture of vanity appears in the whole course of a man's conversation, it disgusts many that may other- wise have a due value for his parts and learning.'

[I] But the general cry ran so strong against him.] He was attacked by Mr Peter Brown (16), senior fellow of Trinity-College near Dublin, in a letter, in answer to a book, intitled, *Christianity not mysterious, as also to all those who set up for reason and evidence in opposition to revelation and mystery.* This letter, we are told, contributed very much to inflame all sorts of people against Mr Toland, who was represented by this Author as a most inveterate enemy to all religion, a Knight errant,

(14) In a letter, wherein Mr Toland is making his court to Mr Harley and Lord Godolphin, he has these words, You will wonder all this time that I have not men- tioned the Church, which is so much ex- asperated against me; but as that is the heaviest article, yet it is undoubtedly the easiest conquered, and I know the infallible method of doing it.

And, in a letter to Dr Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, he expressly pro- mises to reform his religion to that Prelate's liking. Ibid.

P. 357, 371. By a letter of Toland's to a Clergyman, ibid. P. 373, probably written near the same time (viz. 1706) with that to the Arch- bishop, it appears that he had re- ceived the Sacra- ment.

(15) It is datrd May 27, 1697, in Locke's Works, Vol. III.

(16) This Gen- tleman being af- terwards made Bishop of Cork, Mr Toland used to say, He had made him a Bishop. See his life, ubi supra, p. xx. The same Au- thor wrote a book against drinking of healths, which was pleasantly ridiculed by Dean Swift at a Mayor's feast in Dublin. That Magistrate drinking a health to him, he re- plied very loud, I drink no healths. See more of this Bishop in the Dean's article, Rem. [NN].

(12) Miscella- neous Works, Vol. II. p. 301, et seq.

(13) See the Ap- pendix to To- land's Miscella- neous works, p. 60. Vol. II.

the Grand Jury was solicited to present him for it, and to gain the readier compliance, the presentment of that of Middlesex was printed at Dublin, with an emphatical title, and cried about the streets. Accordingly, the last day of the term he was presented there in the Court of King's-Bench. The Jurors, however, did not ground their proceedings upon any particular passage in this book, most of them having never read it, and those that did, confessed they did not understand it (t). But the matter did not rest here, for in a few days after, the Lords Justices of that Kingdom landing from England, the Recorder of Dublin [Mr Hancock] in his congratulatory speech, begged their Lordships would protect the Church from all its enemies, particularly from the *Tolandists* (u). Agreeably thereto, the Parliament fell upon his book [K], voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General at Law. Hereupon Mr Toland found it necessary, in the beginning of September, to withdraw himself out of Ireland [L], and to avoid the storm, he came into England just before the passing of that vote (w). It must be observed, that the Dissenters in Ireland were the chief promoters of all this prosecution [M], and as our Author had, by writing this book, lost the greatest part of his friends of that persuasion, so as soon as he got safe to London, he published an Apologetical Account (x) of the treatment he had met with in Ireland, wherein he spares neither the discipline nor worship of that sect, which he there renounces, and declares himself a *Latitudinarian* [N]. Our Author's fortune had been reduced to the lowest ebb before he es-

(x) It is intitled, *An Apology for Mr Toland, in a Letter from himself to a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland; written the day before his book was resolved to be burnt by the Committee of Religion. To which is prefixed, a narrative, containing the occasion of the said Letter.*

(t) Mr Molyneux's letter, dated July 20, this year.

(u) Apology, p. 7.

(w) A Letter of Mr Molyneux, ubi supra, dated September 11.

(17) In justice to our Author we must not omit to mention his translation into English, from the Italian, a discourse upon coins, by Signor Bernardo Davanzati, a gentleman of Florence, published by him this year, in the view of remedying the mischiefs arising from the wicked practice of clipping our coins.

one who openly affected to be the head of a sect, and designed to be as famous an impostor as Mahomet. He likewise calls in the aid of the Civil Magistrate, and delivers Mr Toland up to secular punishment (17).

[K] *The parliament fell upon his book.* On Saturday the 4th of August it was moved in the Committee of Religion, that the book, intitled, *Christianity not mysterious*, should be brought before them, and it was ordered accordingly to be done on the Saturday following. The Committee not sitting that day, the next Saturday, August 28th, there met a very full Committee, wherein this business was a great while debated: several persons, eminent for their birth, good qualities, or fortune, opposed the whole proceeding, being of opinion it was neither proper nor convenient for them to meddle with a thing of that nature. This being without much argument carried against them, they insisted, that the passages in the book which gave offence should be read, and then the Committee was adjourned to the 4th of September. That day several Gentlemen spoke to the objections made to some passages in the book, after which they urged, at Mr Toland's request, that he should be called to answer in person, to declare the sense of his book, and his design in writing it. Which being denied, a letter containing these declarations, received that morning from Mr Toland, was offered to be read by an honourable member, who went to the bar of the House for that purpose. But this was rejected, and the Committee came immediately to these resolutions; to which the House agreed, after some debate, on Thursday following, being the 9th of September, "That the book, intitled, *Christianity not mysterious*, containing several heretical doctrines, contrary to the Christian religion and the established church of Ireland, be publicly burnt by the hands of the common Hangman. Likewise that the Author thereof, John Toland, be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and be prosecuted by Mr Attorney-General for writing and publishing the said book. They ordered too, that an address should be made to the Lords Justices, to give directions, that no more copies of that book be brought into the kingdom, and to prevent the selling of those already imported." The sentence was executed on the book the Saturday following, viz. the 11th of September, before the Parliament-house gate, and also in the open street before the Town-house, the Sheriffs and all the Constables attending (18).

[L] *He found it necessary to withdraw himself out of Ireland.* The day that his book was burnt, Mr Molyneux wrote to Mr Locke (19) to acquaint him, that Mr Toland was driven out of the kingdom. 'The poor Gentleman, says he, by his imprudent management, had raised such an universal outcry, that it was even dangerous for a man to have been known once to converse with him. This made all men, wary of reputation, decline seeing him, insomuch that at last he wanted a meal's meat, (as I am told) and none would admit him to their tables. The little stock of money which he brought into this country being exhausted, he fell to borrowing from any one that would lend him half a crown, and run in debt for his wigs, cloaths, and lodging.'

[M] *The Dissenters were the chief promoters of all this prosecution.* In a letter, dated July 20, the same Gentleman informs Mr Locke of this, and says, when he asked one of that persuasion, What if a violent Church of England jury should present Mr Baxter's books as pernicious, and condemn them to the flames by the common Executioner? That Dissenter was sensible of the error, and said, *He wished it had never been.* Mr Molyneux, as appears from these letters, was very warm against these proceedings in the Irish parliament, where he himself sat (20). Nor does Mr Locke spare the Dissenters upon this occasion. In his answer to the aforesaid letter he writes, 'I think with you the Dissenters were best consider, *that which is sauce for a goose is sauce for a gander*; but they are a set of men that will always be the same.' Mr Toland, upon another occasion, gives us a character of some of his countrymen at this time, which he says discovers the original root of all this violent heat and fury against his book. 'When I was in Dublin, says he, in the year 1697, I walked out one day to the village of Finglafs, and overtook upon the way two gentlemen of the *old Irish stock*, with whom I had contracted some acquaintance at the coffee-house. They told me they were going a good way further, about a business of some importance; and not many minutes after one of them cried out with joy to the other, *See Cousin! by heaven, matters will go well*; pointing at the same instant to a Raven feeding and hopping hard by, which had a white feather or two in the wing that was towards us. The other appeared no less transported, nor would they stir, till they saw what way the Raven flew, which being to the South of them, and with a great noise, they were fully confirmed about the success of their business (21).'

[N] *And declares himself a Latitudinarian.* In answer to the imputation of being a rigid Nonconformist, Mr Toland says, "he will never deny but the real simplicity of the Dissenters worship, and the seeming equity of their discipline (into which, being so young, he could not distinctly penetrate) did gain extraordinarily upon his affections, just as he was newly delivered from the insupportable yoke of the most pompous and tyrannical policy that ever enslaved mankind, under the name or shew of religion. But, when greater experience and more years had a little ripened his judgment, he easily perceived that the differences were not so wide as to appear irreconcilable; or at least that men, who were found Protestants on both sides, should barbarously cut one another's throats, or indeed give any disturbance to the society about them: and as soon as he understood the late heats and animosities did not totally (if at all) proceed from a concern for meer religion, he allowed himself a latitude in several things that would have been matter of scruple to him before. That his travels (22) increased, and the study of ecclesiastical history perfected, this disposition, wherein he continues to this hour; for whatever his own opinion of those differences be, yet he finds so essential an agreement between the French, Dutch, English, Scotch, and other Protestants, that he is resolved never to lose the benefit of an instructive discourse in any of their churches upon that score; and

(20) He was chofe, with Cyril Wych, for Dublin, in 1692.

(21) Specimen of the history of the Druids, in the 1st Vol. of his Miscellanies, p. 141.

(22) After he left Leyden, he had travelled no where yet but to Oxford and Ireland.

(18) See Toland's Apology, p. 22, et seq.

(19) In a letter, dated Sept. 11, 1697.

caped from Ireland, so that he gladly embraced the opportunity which was thrown into his hands by the conjuncture in 1690 (y), of proposing a method to reform the militia, in a pamphlet in 8vo, intituled, *Militia Reformed: or an easy scheme of furnishing England with a constant land-force, capable to prevent or subdue any foreign power; and to maintain perpetual quiet at home, without endangering the Public Liberty* (z). There being a collection of Milton's Prose-works on foot about this time, Mr Toland was pitched upon to write the life of that celebrated Author. It was both prefixed to that collection published this year in folio, and likewise printed separately in 8vo, with this title, *The Life of John Milton, containing, besides the History of his Works, several extraordinary characters of Men, of Books, of Sects, Parties, and Opinions*. In this performance, he took occasion to enter into the controversy concerning the Author of *Icon Basilike*, and opposed the then generally received opinion, which had ascribed that Work to King Charles I; he does not scruple to stile the *whole of that report*, a notorious imposture, and from thence steps forward to declare his doubt, that the spuriousness of several books generally ascribed, either to Christ or his Apostles, or to some other great persons, was yet undiscovered through the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concerned, and the decay of their monuments, which might give us true informations (aa). As these assertions drew several adversaries (bb) upon him [O], he defended himself in a treatise, which for that reason he intituled, *Amyntor*, in which he gave a catalogue of such primitive books as he concluded to be spurious, and likewise a complete history of the *Icon Basilike*, in proof of his first assertion. The same year, 1699, in the spring, he made a trip to Holland (cc); soon after his return, the Duke of Newcastle, one of his Patrons and Benefactors (dd), having put into his hands a manuscript containing some Memoirs of Denzil Lord Hollis, Baron of Ifield in Suffex (*), from the year 1641 to 1648; he published them by his Lordship's direction: and the following year, upon the encouragement of Mr Rober Harley, he reprinted Harrington's *Oceana* (ee) [P]. About the same time there appeared an anonymous satyrical pamphlet upon the Clergy, of which Mr Toland tacitly acknowledged himself the Author. It was intituled, *Clito, a Poem* [Q] on the Force of Eloquence. In the beginning of the year 1701, he published another pamphlet

(y) See the article MOYLE [WALTER]. After the peace of Ryfwic great disputes arose about the number of forces to be kept up. Life of King William III, p. 310, & seq.

(bb) For the last assertion, see the article BLACK-ALL [OFFSPRING] in note [B].

(dd) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 348.
(ee) There was a new edition printed in 1737, with an Appendix, containing also the polemical tracts omitted by Mr Toland.

it must be a civil not a religious interest that can engage him against any of these parties; not thinking all their private notions, wherein they disagree, worth disturbing, much less endangering, the public peace of a nation. If this, pursues he, makes a man a Nonconformist, then Mr Toland is one unquestionably (23).'

hath since furnished the substance of all the materials now extant of Milton's life, was literally taken from this manuscript. But Wood (says Mr Warton) has omitted some circumstances; one of which is, that Milton was actually whipped by Dr Thomas Bainbrige, Master of Christ's college, while he was at Cambridge. This explains more fully the following passage in one of Milton's elegies:

*Nec duri libet usque minas perferre magistri,
Ceteraque ingenio non fubeunda meo* (30).

(30) Eleg. lib. i. Eleg. 15.

[P] Upon the encouragement of Mr Robert Harley, he reprinted Harrington's *Oceana*.] In a memorial (31), addressed to that gentleman after he was Earl of Oxford, our Author gives us an account of the state of his own political principles, in which he assures his Lordship, that he means no more by liberty than a government of laws, and not of will, particularly our own excellent constitution of King, Lords, and Commons; yet without the *Jure-divino-ship* of the Prince, or the Passive Obedience of the Subject; the laws being to both an equal rule. As the Whigs mean no other Commonwealth, contrary to the furious and ill-affected part of the Tories; so I am persuaded, says he, many of the Tories are far from aiming at setting up irresistible power or indefeasible succession; contrary to the suggestions of some weak but well-meaning Whigs. The Papists and Jacobites are common enemies to both, and against these they must both join at last, or be ruined. Such a Commonwealth's-man I only approve, as your Lordship formerly was, when you encouraged me to reprint Harrington's *Oceana*, though neither of us imagined the model itself to be practicable. The whole title of this edition runs thus: *The Oceana of James Harrington, and his other works, some whereof are now first published from his own manuscripts. The whole collected, methodized, and reviewed, with an exact account of his life prefixed by John Toland*, in folio. In the preface to this, which is dated Nov. 30, 1699, he says, I am this present day beginning the 30th year of my age.

(31) It is dated Dec. 17, 1711, and printed in his Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 220, et seq.

[Q] *Clito, a poem*.] The Editor expressly ascribed it to Mr Toland, and moreover declares, that he is understood in the poem by *Adeisidæmon, unsuperstitious*. Mr Toland never openly denied either of these facts. *Adeisidæmon* undertakes to undeceive mankind in respect to some religious truths, and, having mentioned the great and surprizing things he can perform in these matters, proceeds thus:

Nor will I here desist; all holy cheats,
Of all religions, shall partake my threats;

Whether

(1) Toland, in his treatise, argues against a standing army.

(aa) The Life of John Milton, p. 92.

(cc) Here he visited Van Dale and Gravius. See Miscellanies, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 333, 335.

(*) See his article, in remark [E].

(23) Apology, p. 18, 19.

(24) In the second edition of his Dictionary, published in 1702, article of Milton, note [N].

(25) The first edition was in 1693, and the second in 1697.

(26) P. 347.
(27) Biblioth. Græca, lib. 4. c. 5. § 15.

(28) In Dissertatione Critica de librorum. N. T. lectione rite investiganda, c. 1. § 2.

(†) Viz. this present year 1761.

(29) In Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 282.

pamphlet without his name, which he called, *The Art of Governing by Parties* [R]: he dedicated this book to the King, with this inscription; *To William, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland: Stadtholder of Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Over-Yssel: Supreme Magistrate of the two most potent and flourishing Commonwealths in the Universe.* And soon after he put out *Propositions for uniting the two East-India Companies* [Dutch and English]: in a *Letter to a Man of Quality, who desired the opinion of a Gentleman not concerned in either Company.* In March following, he wrote two letters to Dr Hooper, Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, where his book, *Christianity not Mysterious*, and his *Amyntor*, were then under the consideration of a Committee. But this did not stop the proceedings of that house. They extracted five propositions out of the first, and in substance resolved, that in their judgment the said book contains pernicious principles, of dangerous consequence to the Christian Religion, written on a design (as they conceive) and tending to subvert the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith; that the positions extracted out of it, together with divers others of the same nature, are pernicious, dangerous, scandalous, and destructive of Christianity. This representation was sent up to the Upper House, who agreed with the other in their opinion of the book: however, after the most mature deliberations [S], it was there declared, that without a licence from the King, (which they had not yet received) they did not find how they could have sufficient authority to censure any such books. Several pamphlets came out on occasion of this difference between the two houses upon the extent of that Assembly's jurisdiction. In some of those that were written in favour of the Lower House, Mr Toland found such an account of *Christianity not Mysterious*, as he thought injurious to his character: for which reason he published *Vindicius Liberius: or Mr Toland's defence of himself against the Lower House of Convocation; wherein, besides his Letters to the Prolocutor, certain passages of the book, intitled, Christianity not Mysterious, are explained, and others corrected, with a full and clear account of the Author's principles relating to Church and State, and a justification of the Whigs and Commonwealth's Men against all their opponents* (ff). Upon the passing of the new Act of Succession, in June this year, 1701, occasioned by the death of the Duke of Gloucester, our Author published his *Anglia Libera*, wherein he asserts and explains the natural advantages of that act, and being resolved to push his fortune *qua data via*, he took the opportunity of attending the Earl of Macclesfield, who carried the act to Hanover. Here he presented his book to the Princess Sophia, and was the first who had the honour of kissing her Electoral Highness's hand on occasion of the said act [T]. Not long after his return to England, upon the calling the new Parliament, our Author published the following advertisement in the Postman: 'There having been a public report as if Mr Toland stood for Blechingley in Surrey, it is thought fit to advertise, that Sir Robert Clayton (gg) has given his interest in that bo-

(ff) It was published in 1702, in 8vo.
(gg) This Gentleman was a great Patron of our Author, who had a particular value for him, as appears by two letters in the Miscellanies, Vol. II. p. 318, & seq.

Whether with fable gowns they shew their pride,
Or under cloaks their knavery they hide;
Or whatso'er disguise they chuse to wear
To gull the people, while their spoils they share.

This piece was animadverted on in a pamphlet, intitled, *Mr Toland's Clito dissected, and Fuller's plain proof of the true mother of the Prince of Wales made out to be no proof: In two letters from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London.* This Author remarks, that Mr Toland rightly assumes the title of *Adeisidemon*, which, in downright English, is one that fears neither God nor Devil.

[R] *The art of governing by parties.*] The whole title is, *The Art of governing by Parties; particularly in religion, in politics, in parliament, on the bench, and in the ministry; with the ill effects of parties on the People in general, the King in particular, and all our foreign affairs, as well as on our credit and trade in peace or war, &c.* In the first chapter he observes, that, till the accession of the Stuarts to the imperial throne of this realm, we never knew the art of governing by parties. It was set on foot, says he, among us by the first of that race, and was daily improving under his successor, till at last it fatally turned on himself, and deprived him both of his crown and life. But because this execrable policy was brought to perfection under Charles II, I shall display some of its worst effects in his reign, and the dismal influence it has on all our affairs even at this time. In the ensuing books he characterises several great ones of his own time, as the Lords *Somers, Halifax, Nottingham, Rochester, Marlborough*, and others, who happened not to be his Patrons at that time.

[S] *After mature deliberation.*] They consulted with Council, who advised them, that by any such judicial censure both Houses might incur a Præmunire by 25 Hen. 8. The questions they put to the Lawyers were; 1. Whether the Convocation's giving an opinion concerning a book that is heretical, impious, and immoral, is contrary to any law? to which they received an answer in the affirmative: secondly, whether the positions they had

extracted out of *Christianity not mysterious* were such an opinion as is contrary to any law? to which it was answered in the negative. Besides this advice, they inquired what had been formerly done in such cases, and found, that, on a complaint being exhibited against some books by the Lower to the Upper House in the year 1689, the learned in both the laws were of opinion they could not proceed judicially in such matters (32).

[T] *On occasion of the said act.*] The Earl of Macclesfield was pleased to recommend him particularly to her Highness. Mr Toland staid there five or six weeks, and, upon his departure, the Electress dowager and the Elector were pleased to present him with several Gold medals as an acknowledgment for his book. Her Highness gave him likewise the pictures of herself, the Elector, the young Prince, and of her Majesty the Queen of Prussia, done in oil-colours. The Earl of Macclesfield, in his return, waited upon the King at *Loos*. 'There, says Mr Toland, he presented me to kiss his Majesty's hand, and took off those impressions which might have been made upon him by some of them who endeavoured to prepossess him against those that were the most zealous for his service, and the most faithful in his interests. My Lord himself went with a prejudice against me to Hanover, where he was thoroughly undeceived, and became my hearty Patron, till, just on his going home, he was removed by death from the service of his country and his friends.' It must be observed, that from the time of his writing his pamphlet upon the militia, which was levelled against any standing army, our Author had sided with the Tories against the ministry of Lord Somers and Halifax, with whom, he says, he never entered into any manner of transactions either at home or abroad (33). Before Mr Toland's return to England, he made a visit to the court of Berlin, where he talked openly against the authority of the Scripture, and had a dispute before the Queen of Prussia at Charlottenburgh with Mr *Beaufobre* upon that point. This latter gave afterwards an account of the dispute very much in his own favour. He says it happened in the beginning of October, 1701 (34).

(32) See Toland's *Vindicius Liberius*, p. 51.

(33) See a letter of his, dated London, June 24 1705, in his *Miscellaneous Works*, Vol. I. p. 337, et seq.
(34) *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. V. p. 39, et seq.

rough

‘rough to an eminent Citizen, and that Mr Toland has no thoughts of standing there, or any where else.’ This advertisement furnished a subject for the pleasant humour of an anonymous Writer, who published a little pamphlet, intitled, *Modesty mistaken* [U]. The King’s speech, at the opening of the Parliament, gave our Author occasion to publish, in 1702, in 8vo, *Paradoxes of State relating to the present Juncture of Affairs in England, and the rest of Europe, chiefly grounded on his Majesty’s Princely, Pious, and most Gracious Speech*. Soon after which, King William being now known to be in an irrecoverable state of ill health (bb), he put out another pamphlet, containing, I. *Reasons for addressing his Majesty to invite into England their Highnesses the Electress Dowager, and the Electoral Prince of Hanover, and likewise*, II. *Reasons for attainting and abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others pretending any claim, right, or title from the late King James and Queen Mary: with arguments for making a vigorous war against France* (ii). Upon the accession of Queen Ann, Mr Toland thought proper to go to the Courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was received very graciously [W] by the Princess Sophia, and the Queen of Prussia, and had the honour to be often admitted into their conversation; and as he made a longer stay at Berlin than at Hanover, so he had frequent opportunities of waiting upon the Queen, who took a pleasure in asking him questions, and hearing his singular opinions. This gave him occasion to write some philosophical pieces, which he then presented to her Majesty. Three of these, after his return to England, in 1704, he printed (with some others) in the form of letters, inscribed to *Serena*, i. e. the Queen of Prussia, who, he assures us, was pleased to ask his opinion concerning the subjects of them [X]. In one of these letters (kk), he maintains that the best, if not the only demonstration of the soul’s immortality, is from Divine Authority. At the same time he published an English Translation of the *Life of Æsop* from the French of Mr *de Meziriac* (ll), and dedicated to Anthony Collins, Esq; [Y]. In 1705, before the election of the new Parliament, he found means to introduce himself into the Patronage of Mr Harley, then Secretary of

(bb) See the article RAD-CLIFFE [JOHN].

(ii) The acts for attainting the Pretender, and for taking the Abjuration Oath, had the Royal Assent by Commission, on the 2d and 7th of March, and the King died on the 8th.

(kk) The second letter, containing the History of the Soul’s Immortality among the Heathens.

(ll) It was prefixed to the fables of Æsop, with the moral reflections of Mr Baudouin: translated from the French.

[U] *Modesty mistaken.*] The whole title runs thus: *Modesty mistaken; or a Letter to Mr Toland upon his declining to appear in the ensuing parliament.* He begins his Letter thus: ‘Among all the news of this busy season, no report has affected me so peculiarly, as that of your inclination to fill a seat in the grand approaching Council; for I am persuaded, that not only our Civil Interest, but our Religion, has some dependance on the issue of the next debates; and I have long known your talents, whether in Politicks or Theology, to be so weighty, as to qualify you at once for a good old Committee-man, and for a member of that healing synod, the Assembly of Divines: it was with this double justice to your merit that I lately confounded an Academical Fop, who, speaking of your book-learned Antagonist, the late Bishop of Worcester, and gravely stiling him a body of Divinity, was by me given to understand, that what the Bishop had in profundity, Mr Toland made out in latitude; and that if the one was *Corpus Theologiæ*, the other was *Traçtatus Theologicæ-politicus*.’ See what has been said in Remark [G] note (14).

[W] *He thought proper to go to the courts of Hanover and Berlin, where he was received very graciously.*] We have an account from himself what it was that called him to these courts at this juncture, which was to inform them of (what he then thought convenient to call) the true state of the English court upon that change, which created at Hanover some uneasy speculations. It is in a letter quoted in remark [T]. After having related the series of his political conduct, from his first coming into the world till that time, he proceeds thus: ‘Those who pass for Tories, without being Jacobites, are perfectly misinformed about me, and if they knew how I represented them at Hanover and in Holland, as being really for the succession, and in what matters I was of opinion they deserved to be obliged, they would undoubtedly believe me no enemy of theirs, how little I might thereby befriend myself.’ This was our Politician’s employment there. Next he lets us know what it was that sent him upon this errand. ‘From these several considerations, continues he, you may easily infer, that in the first year of her Majesty’s reign, being a stranger abroad and friendless at home, I must needs have been in a very uncertain condition, were not the high-born persons, under whose protection I then lived, proof against all misrepresentations, and that they judged of things from their own knowledge, and not by the passions of others, to which they are not so great strangers as they are thought, or would seem. It was happy for me they had this generous disposition: for, at one and the same time, I had a Tory Secretary of State [Lord Nottingham] writing letters against me to foreign courts, as Agent to the Whigs, if not obnoxious to the law; and certain lead-

ing Whigs were persuading the same Princes that I was Mr Harley’s creature, which was a higher crime by far than being a Tory. With relation to the Duke of Marlborough, I own, that, having known nothing of him but by the report of others, and being misled by appearances of a conjunction between him and the most violent Tories, from whence I reasonably apprehended danger to the succession in the beginning of this reign, I gave myself, in Holland and Berlin, and elsewhere, some liberties in speech—’

[X] *Who, he assures us, was pleased to ask his opinion concerning the subjects of them.*] The Title of these letters runs thus: *Letters to Serena, containing, first, the origin and force of prejudices. II. The history of the soul’s immortality among the heathens. III. The origin of idolatry, and reasons of heathenism. IV. A letter to a gentleman in Holland, shewing Spinoza’s system of philosophy to be without any principle or foundation. V. Motion essential to matter, in answer to some remarks by a noble friend on the confutation of Spinoza. To all which is prefixed a preface, being a letter to a gentleman in London, sent together with the foregoing dissertations, and declaring the several occasions of writing them.* These letters were animadverted on by Mr Wotton in a pamphlet, intitled, *A Letter to Eusebia, occasioned by Mr Toland’s Letter to Serena*; and the Author of the Divine legation of Moses, B. 3. § 6. gives the third letter several hard names. Mr Toland’s veracity, in asserting that the three first letters were written and presented to the Queen of Prussia, has been called in question; but, since the same Author (35) assures us, that Mr *P’Enfant* heard Mr Toland read *A discourse concerning prejudices* to that Princess, the bare disappointment of not meeting with any body in that court twenty years after, that could give any further account of the matter, will hardly be deemed sufficient to justify so severe a censure as is passed upon it.

[Y] *And dedicated it to Anthony Collins, Esq;*] This piece seems to have recommended itself to our Author’s taste, particularly by the paradoxical opinion maintained in it, That *Æsop* was an ingenious, eloquent, and comely person, a Courtier, and a Philosopher; contrary to the fabulous relation of the Monk *Planudes*, who makes him a stupid flammering buffoon, and monstrously deformed. Besides, the original was then a scarce book. In 1697, Dr Bentley (36), though he had heard of it, had not been able to meet with it. And Mr Bayle says the same of himself, in the first edition of his Dictionary, published the same year. But he had found it afterwards, and quotes it in the second edition (37) of the Dictionary, which was published at the time when Mr Toland went to Holland. As to Mr Collins, our Author much courted his friendship, which might have been useful to him; but, it is well known, that Gentleman had never any opinion of the uprightness of his principles.

(35) *Mosheimius de Vita fati & scriptis J. Tolandi commentatio*, printed at Hamburg, 1722, in 8vo.

(36) In his Dissertation, &c. at the end of Mr Wotton’s Reflections on ancient and modern learning, 2d edition, p. 135.

(37) See the article *Æsop*, notes [B] and [O]. In the latter he tells us, that *Meziriac’s* book was printed at *Bourg-en-bresis*, 1632, in 40 pages in 16mo.

State, by whose direction, he published, without any name, the *Memorial of the State of England* [Z], in vindication of the Queen, the Church, and the Administration. This being animadverted on by *Thomas Rawlins*, Esq; an intimate friend of our Author (mm), in a letter which contained several reflections upon the Duke of Marlborough's conduct the preceding campaign, as well as against Mr Harley. They were greatly incensed at it, and Mr Toland was directed to answer it [AA]. This he performed, and the defence was immediately put to press, but suppressed after six or seven sheets were printed (nn). In 1707, he published an ancient Latin Oration, exciting the Britons to a vigorous war with France, and about the middle of the spring, our Author made a tour into Germany, where he went first to the Court of Berlin, and thence to that of Hanover; but a ridiculous incident drove him from the former, and finding, from a manuscript communicated by Mr Harley [BB], his account of the court of Hanover, had given a disgust there, by some observations he had made in it on the territories of a neighbouring Prince, he proceeded to Dusseldorp, where he was very graciously received by his Electoral Highness, who, in consideration of the English pamphlet he had published [CC], presented him with a golden chain and medal, and a purse of a hundred ducats. From Dusseldorp he went to Vienna, in hopes of engaging the Imperial Ministers to procure the title of Count of the Empire for an eminent French Banker, then in Holland; but notwithstanding our Agent was commissioned to offer good round sums of money for this protection, which was greatly wanted by his Principal, yet all his attempts therein (oo) proved fruitless [DD]. Whereupon, leaving Vienna, he made a visit to Prague in Bohemia, where he succeeded much better in procuring a testimonial [EE] of his birth and family, which was given him by some

(nn) Life of Toland, ubi supra, p. 40.

(oo) Ibid. p. 42.

[Z] *The memorial of the state of England.*] The title informs us, that this was designed to rectify the mutual mistakes of Protestants, and to unite their affections in defence of our religion and liberty. It was written against the *Memorial of the Church of England*, by Counsellor Pooley and Dr Drake, which had been published with a view of influencing the people in the election of the ensuing parliament; to which end they had represented the Church to be in danger under the then Whig administration: In a letter to Mr Harley, dated December 14, 1705; upon the subject of this book, Mr Toland expresses himself thus: 'It is no small satisfaction to me, that the judgment of the Queen, the Parliament, and the Ministry, do so unanimously concur with the book which (under your protection) I have published for their service. As for any thing in it not just according to your sentiments, which perhaps may happen in a point or two, you will have the goodness to consider that I wanted opportunity to consult you personally; I having finished it in a very few days, without any to advise me but Mr P—, being in the country, and not master of time enough to polish the very language (38).'

(38) Toland's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 354, 355.

[AA] *They were greatly incensed at it, and Mr Toland was directed to answer it, which he did.*] Mr William Stephens, Rector of Sutton, who was found to be the Publisher, refusing to be an evidence against Mr Rawlins, was sentenced to stand in the pillory. That sentence however was afterwards remitted. Mr Toland's answer was composed under the title of *A Defence of her Majesty's administration, particularly against the notorious forgeries and calumnies with which his Grace the Duke of Marlborough and the Right Honourable Mr Secretary Harley are scandalously defamed and aspersed in a late scurrilous Inveective*, intitled, *A letter to the Author of the Memorial of the state of England.* Our Author likewise published this year the following pieces: 1. *Socinianism truly stated, being an example of fair dealing in Theological controversies. To which is prefixed,* 2. *Indifference in disputes recommended by a Pantheist to an Orthodox Friend*, 1705, in 4to. 3. *An Account of the courts of Prussia and Hanover*, sent to a Minister of State in Holland, 1705, in 8vo. dedicated to the Duke of Somerset. It was translated into French, Dutch, and High Dutch. Two letters were published against it in Dutch. Our Author had some intentions to have published a more correct edition of it. In Vol. II. of his Posthumous works, there is a tract, intitled, *The primitive constitution of the Christian church*, which appears to be wrote about this time from these words: 'This, says he (p. 124.) is self-evident in the disputes about Occasional Conformity, which divides our nation at present.'

[BB] *An ancient Latin oration, exciting the Britons to a vigorous war with France, communicated by Mr Harley.*] The title is, *Oratio Philippica ad excitandos contra Galliam Britannos, maxime vero ne de pace cum vicis præmature agatur, sanctiori Anglorum concilio exhibita anno a Christo nato 1514. Authore Matthæo Cardinale Sedunensi; qui Gallorum unguis non refecandos, sed penitus evellendos esse voluit: publica luce, Diatriba præliminari & Annotationibus*

donavit Johannes Tolandus. He published it at the same time in English. The manuscript was found by Mr Harley accidentally amongst some others.

[CC] *In consideration of the English pamphlet he had published.*] It was intitled; *The Elector Palatine's declaration lately published in favour of his Protestant subjects, and notified to her Majesty. To which is prefixed an impartial account of the causes of those innovations and grievances about religion, which are now so happily redressed by his Electoral Highness.* He published it at the request of the Elector Palatine's Minister, who at that time had some particular reasons to make himself acceptable to his master, as he wanted to be raised from the character of Resident to that of Envoy. And being informed by Mr Toland, with whom he was intimately acquainted, of his design to go into Germany, he encouraged our Author to wait upon the Elector, and gave him instructions concerning the management of this affair (39).

(39) Life of Toland, p. 61, 62.

[DD] *Yet all his attempts therein proved fruitless.*] However, while he was here, he negotiated another affair, which turned to better account. In a memorial to the Earl of Oxford, dated December 17, 1711, he endeavours to recommend himself to his Lordship for the employ of a private Agent abroad. He has these words: 'They who confided to my management affairs of a higher nature, have found me exact as well as secret. My impenetrable negotiation at Vienna (hid under the pretence of curiosity) was not only applauded by the Prince that employed me, but also proportionably rewarded (40).'

(40) Toland's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 225.

[EE] *Procuring a Testimonial.*] Mr Toland seems to have met with some injurious reproaches upon his birth, which put him upon this errand to Prague. The Testimonial runs thus: '*Intra scripti testamur Dom. Johannem Toland ortum esse honesta nobili et antiquissima familia quæ per plures centenos annos, ut regni historia & continua monstrant memoria, in peninsula Hiberniæ Emis Oen dicta, prope urbem Londino-Deriemsem in Ultonia perduravit. In cujus rei firmiore fidem nos ex eadem patria oriundi propriis manibus subscripsimus. Præge in Bohemia hac die 2 Januarii, 1708.*

' Johannes o Neill, Superior Collegii Hibernorum.
' Franciscus o Deulin, S. Theologiæ Professor.
' Radolphus o Neill, S. Theol. Lector (41).'

(41) See Toland's life, p. v.

In a letter (42), dated January, 1708, and sent to Vienna, Mr Toland makes a handsome mention of this favour as follows:

(42) Miscellaneous, ubi supra, p. 381.

' Sir,

' I have nothing to add to what I did myself the honour to write to your Excellency per post, but that the Countess of Starenburg is not the only person at Prague to whom I am particularly obliged: For the very Reverend Father Guardian, and the rest of the worthy members of the Irish convent, were not more disposed to do me all the good offices of humanity, than they were forward to shew me the most zealous affection of countrymen.' Mr Francis o Deulin was the bearer of this letter, whom our Author, in return, recommends

of his Countrymen, Irish Franciscans, in that city, where we see the honest Friars did then certify, under their hands and seal, that Mr Toland was descended from an honourable, noble, and most ancient family recorded in the History of Ireland for several hundred years. By this time, his purse being emptied, it was not without some hardship that he got back to Holland, in the latter end of the year 1708. Here he presently set his pen to work, and published the year following, at the Hague, a volume containing two Latin Dissertations, viz. *Adeisdæmon sive Titus Livius a superstitione vindicatus*, and *Origines Judaicae sive Strabonis de Moyse et Religione Judaica historia breviter illustrata*. In the first of these dissertations, he declares Superstition to be no less destructive of any government, than downright Atheism: and in the latter, he prefers *Strabo's* account of Moses, and the Jewish Religion, before the testimony of the Jews [FF]. This year he likewise published, at Amsterdam, a second edition of *Oratio Philippica*, &c. to which he annexed an invective against the Authors of a Rhapsody, published monthly at Paris, under the title of *Mercur Galant* (pp). In 1710, he published an anonymous pamphlet in French, relating to the affair of Dr Sacheverel [GG]. During this abode in Holland, he had the good fortune to get himself introduced to *Prince Eugene* of Savoy, who gave him several marks of his generosity (qq). In the latter end of 1710 (rr), he returned to England, where he found Mr Harley, now Earl of Oxford, and Lord Treasurer, still his friend (ss). It was owing to the liberality of that Patron, that at this time he maintained a handsome post, and took a country house at Epsom in Surrey; he was greatly delighted with his situation at this place (tt), and published a very entertaining historico-poetical description of it, in 1711 [HH]. However, he did not continue long in the favour of Lord Oxford [II], and the next year we find him writing several pamphlets on the side of the opposition to that Minister [KK]. At the same time he

(pp) He calls that Author, *Gallus Arctologus*, odium orbis & ludibrium, sive *Gallantis Mercurii Gallantissimus Scriptor Vapulans*.

(ss) See Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 40, et seq.

(tt) His house stood upon Woodcote-Green. Ibid. p. 95.

recommends to his Excellency's protection during his stay at Vienna.

[FF] A volume containing two dissertations, &c.] To the first of these he prefixed, *Epistola quæ præfationis vices supplere possit ad D. Antonium Collinium Arnigerum, non magis integritate morum quam ingenii dotibus conspicuum virum*. He sent a copy to Mr Leibnitz at Hanover, who returned an answer, April 30, 1709, containing several remarks upon it. He agrees with our Author in asserting *Livy's* freedom from superstition (43). As to the first of these positions, that Superstition is worse than Atheism, it is manifestly retailed from Mr Bayle, who has scattered it up and down in his Dictionary and other writings. Neither was Mr Bayle the Inventor of this Hypothesis, though he adorned and improved it; *Lucretius* and other *esprits bons* had maintained it. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*. *Lucretius* l. 81.

*Illud in his rebus vereor, ne forte rearis
Impia te inire rationis elementa viamque
Endegredi sceleris: quod contra sepius olim
Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.* l. 81.

This subject is agreeably enough handled by a late writer (44).

In the latter Dissertation our Author ridicules *Huetius*, who, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, affirms, that some eminent persons recorded in the Old Testament are allegorized in the heathenish Mythology. Moses is understood by the name of Bacchus, Typho; Silonus, Priapus, and Adonis. *Huetius* was greatly provoked at this attack, and expressed his resentment in a French letter, first published in the *Journal of Trevoux*, and afterwards printed with some dissertations of *Huetius*, collected by the Abbot *Tilladet* (45); but these descended to personal abuses on account of his illegitimacy. However, Mr Leibnitz agrees with our Author in this last assertion against *Huetius*, who, he says, in applying the Pagan fables to Moses, hath shewn more learning than exactness: and Mr Des Maizeaux thinks he is not much in the wrong. On the other hand, in the Remarks on Ecclesiastical history (46), already cited, the Author observes, that a person can be produced, who was very like to Moses, namely Bacchus, who was an Egyptian God. *Huetius*, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, has with much accuracy and learning, says he, drawn up the comparison, and the resemblance is so great in so many particulars, that it cannot be supposed accidental: but then, continues he, Bacchus is a poetical Deity, and the accounts of him are taken from fabulous history. *Bacchus is Moses in disguise*. The same Author, from a passage in *Herodotus*, lib. ii. 42. concerning the Egyptian Hercules, compared with *Exodus* xxiii. is inclined to believe this Hercules to have been Moses.

[GG] Relating to Dr Sacheverel.] It is intitled, *Lettre d'un Anglois a un Hollandois au sujet du Docteur Sacheverel, presentement en arret par ordre des communes de la grand Bretagne, & accusé des hauts crimes & malversations a la barre des Seigneurs*, in 4to. Mr Toland sent

this letter the very day it was published to Mr Leibnitz, which, in a subsequent one, dated Feb. 14, 1710, N. S. to that Gentleman, he says, was wrote as an antidote against Dr Sacheverel's seditious sermon. 'And the articles since exhibited against that Incendiary by the Commons shew, that I did not only rightly apprehend the scope of his writings, but that I nowhere stretched his meaning; and that his principal view has been the defeating the succession in the house of Hanover. I should have sent you freely the articles at large, whereof I have an authentic copy; but that I suppose your Envoy at our court would not leave the Elector to the blundering abstracts of Gazettes in a matter that so nearly and essentially concerns himself and his posterity (47).'

[HH] A poetical description of Epsom in 1711.] The title is, *The Description of Epsom, with the Humours and Politicks of that Place, in a Letter to Eudoxa*. There is added a translation of four letters out of *Pliny*, as a specimen of a translation he was about of *Pliny's Epistles*. All the letters he translated are in the collection of his Posthumous Works, Vol. II. p. 48, et seqq; where his *Description of Epsom* is likewise inserted, p. 91, but so much corrected, enlarged, and explained, that it is, as it were, a new work, and Mr Toland for that reason called it, *A New Description of Epsom*.

[II] He did not continue long in the favour of Lord Oxford.] Lord Oxford had been a very useful Friend to him, and he was very unwillingly torn from it. He wrote a memorial to that Minister, wherein he lays forth all his former services (*), claims his promise, and offers to serve him in any capacity that should not be destructive of the necessary supplies he received from Hanover (48). When he found nothing would do, he wrote his Lordship a letter, wherein, upon certain (as his Lordship thought) ambiguous words he let drop about the house of Hanover, I utterly, says he, renounced his friendship, and consequently all the advantages one in my circumstances might hope from his protection. This he relates two years after, as an argument to induce a person, in the opposition to Lord Oxford's ministry, to take him into the like useful friendship, as one that neither was nor could be any thing but a Whig; 'that so by your generous care, says he, I might be put in a condition of writing as freely as I think (49).'

In the mean time he did not fail to keep up his correspondence with the Princess *Sophia*. Presently after his return from Holland, when he applied to the Earl of Oxford to serve him with his head, his pen, and his heart, he takes notice to his Lordship, that the October club, if rightly managed, would be rare stuff to work the ends of any party. 'I sent, says he, such an account of those wights to an old gentlewoman [Princess *Sophia*] of my acquaintance, as, in the midst of fears (upon the change of the ministry and talk of a peace) to make her laugh (50).'

[KK] Several pamphlets against the politicks of that Minister.] I. *A Letter against Popery, particularly against admitting the Authority of Fathers or Councils in Controversies*

(47) Miscellaneous Works, Ibid. p. 388, 389.

(*) Particularly in having possessed the court of Hanover with an opinion of Mr Harley's abilities, and attachment to that succession.

(48) Ibid. p. 220, et seq. The Memorial is dated Dec. 11, 1711.

(49) Ibid. 489, 430.

(50) Ibid. 411.

(p) See his Life, p. 65.
(r) He dates a letter from York-Buildings, b. 9. 1710-11. Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. 403.

(3) Tite Live etoit-rien joins que superstitieux. Ibid. 383.

(4) Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, p. 127, et seq. Lond. 1751, 8vo.

(4) Preface des dissertations de Mr Hoet sur diverses matieres de Religion & de Philologie, p. v.

(46) p. 223, 224.

he undertook a new edition of Cicero's Works by subscription, the plan of which he drew up, in a dissertation intitled, *Cicero Illustratus, Dissertatio Philologico-Critica: sive Concilium de toto edendo Cicerone, alia plane methodo quam hactenus unquam factum*; but this he never published, and only printed a few copies at his own charge to distribute among his friends and subscribers (uu). He continued writing pamphlets against the Ministry in the two following years [LL]; in the beginning of the latter of which, among others, he published *The Art of Restoring: or the Piety and Probity of General Monk, in bringing about the last Restoration, evidenced from his own authentic letters; with a just account of Sir Roger [Earl of Oxford], who runs the parallel as far as he can. In a Letter to a Minister of State at the Court of Vienna*. There were ten editions of this pamphlet in a quarter of a year, and he was not without great apprehensions of a prosecution [MM] for it. He was encouraged to take the greater liberty, as the Queen's Death was daily expected at this juncture, which would have placed the Crown upon the head of the Princess Sophia, then alive, of whose favour he judged himself well assured [NN]; but that Princess happening to die before the Queen, who likewise deceased shortly after, our Author, upon the accession of King George I, published *The Funeral Elegy and Character of her Royal Highness the late Princess Sophia, with the Explication of her Consecration Medal: written originally in Latin, translated into English, and farther illustrated by Mr Toland (wvw), who has added the Character of the King, the Prince and the Princess*. Our Author being now more at his ease [OO], turned his thoughts more particularly

(uu) It is printed in the first volume of his Miscellaneous Works, p. 231, et seq.

(wvw) The Latin Speech was written by M. Cræmer.

verses of Religion, by Sophia Charlotte, the late Queen of Prussia; being an answer to a Letter written to her Majesty by Father Vota, an Italian Jesuit Confessor to King Augustus. There is prefixed by the Publisher, a Letter, containing the occasion of the Queen's writing, and an Apology for the Church of England. II. *Her Majesty's reasons for creating the Electoral Prince of Hanover a Peer of this realm, or the preamble to his Patent as Duke of Cambridge, in Latin and English, with Remarks upon the same, in 4to*. III. *The Grand Mystery laid open; namely, by dividing of the Protestants to weaken the Hanover Succession; and by defeating the Succession, to extirpate the Protestant Religion*. To which is added, the Sacredness of Parliamentary Securities, against those who would indirectly this year, or more indirectly the next, if they live so long, attack the public funds.

[LL] He continued writing pamphlets the two following years.] In 1713, he put out *An Appeal to Honest People against wicked Priests, or the very Heathen Laity's Declarations for Civil Obedience and Liberty of Conscience, contrary to the Rebellious and Persecuting Principles of the old Christian Clergy, with an Application to the corrupt part of the Priests at this present time, published on occasion of Dr Sacheverel's last Sermon*. II. *Dunkirk, or Dover: or the Queen's Honour, the Nation's Safety, the Liberties of Europe, and the Peace of the World, all at Stake, till that Fort and Port be totally demolished by the French*. In 1714, besides those mentioned in the text, he published, 1. *Reasons for naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland on the same foot with all other nations: containing also a Defence of the Jews against all vulgar prejudices in all Countries*. He dedicates it ironically to the Archbishop and Bishops of both Provinces. 2. *A Collection of Letters, written by his Excellency, General George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, relating to the Restoration of the Royal Family, with an introduction, proving by incontestible evidence, that Monk had projected that Restoration in Scotland, against the cavils of those that would rob him of the merit of this action*.

[MM] He was not without apprehensions of a prosecution.] He wrote this piece at Epsom, and coming to town to get it printed as soon as it was finished, he sent a copy to a friend of the party he had now chosen, before it was published, to whom he writes thus: 'I flatter myself in this book you'll meet with more novelties, than in the ordinary course of Postage I could have sent in that time. Discouraging of Liberty, nay asserting and maintaining it, I could not but act with the greatest freedom; and indeed it is impossible for a soul that is really fired with the love of his country, not to express in the most pathetic terms a detestation for tyranny, a contempt for slaves, an aversion to traitors, and resentment of injured trust. But all this while I have not acted without caution likewise, expecting little assistance from many of those that will be the lowdest to applaud me: and therefore the coming out of the book being fixed to next Tuesday, I have provided myself with a privacy, where I fancy I may be safe enough, till the first fury be overpast, if they think it advisable to make any prosecution. *Clippstone* is too far off, or it were the securest place in the world (51).'

(51) Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 431, 432.

[NN] Of whose favour he judged himself secure.] Speaking of his prosecution, he goes on thus: 'But leaving the event to time, you are to understand, that without any regard to these things, I am in about three weeks time bound for Germany, though first for Flanders, and next for Holland. I believe I shall be pretty well accommodated for this voyage, which, upon many accounts, I expect will be very short. Lord! how near was my old woman being a Queen, and your humble servant being at his ease! All is not over yet, and some symptoms are promising enough. I have been the bolder upon this presumption; nor am I alone, since all the Princes in Europe take their measures upon the same foot. You'll receive Mr Steel's *Crisis* by the same Carrier that delivers you my *Art of Restoring*. I think it a very good book; but it does not answer the expectation of many others, who are good friends to him and the cause (52).'

[OO] He turned his thoughts upon his History of the Druids.] In the specimen of this history, p. 8, Mr Toland assures his Lordship, from all Authors, that no Heathen Priesthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical, which was far more exquisite than any other system: as having been much better calculated to beget ignorance, and an implicit disposition in the people, no less than to procure power and profit to the Priests, which is one grand difference between the true worship and the false. Afterwards he professes to keep strictly to truth, being the fundamental law of an Historian: but, says he, if in clearing up ancient rites and customs long since extinct, any communities or orders of men should think themselves touched, they ought not to impute it to design in the Author, but to the conformity of things. 'I remember, continues he, when complaints were made against Sir Robert Howard, that in treating of the Heathen Priests, he had whipt some Christian Priests on their back; all the answer he made was only, what made them get up there? which answer I claim before hand.' Notwithstanding this, he goes on, and says he leaves the Reader to make such applications himself, seldom making any for him, since he that is neither clear-sighted, nor quick enough of conception to do so, may to as good purpose read the Fairy-Tales as this history. Soon after King George the First's accession to the throne, our Author drew up a memorial to a Minister of State, containing several hints for mending the state, the substance of which, new modelled and enlarged, with some additions, he published in 1717, under the following title, *State Anatomy of Great Britain, containing a particular account of its several Interests and Parties, their Bent and Genius; and what each of them, with all the rest of Europe, may hope or fear from the Reign and Family of King George*. Being a memorial sent by an intimate friend to a foreign Minister, lately nominated to come from the Court of England. This tract was answered by Dr Fiddes, Chaplain to the Earl of Oxford, and by Daniel De Foe; whereupon Mr Toland published, *The Second Part of the State of Anatomy, &c. containing a short Vindication of the former Part, against the misrepresentations of the ignorant, or the malicious, especially relating to our Ministers of State, and to Foreigners, with some Reflections on the designed Clamour against the Army, and on the Swedish Conspiracy. Also Letters to his Grace the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and*

(52) Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 443.

cularly upon his *History of the Druids*, of which he drew up a large specimen, and sent it in three letters to Lord Moleſworth, in the year 1718 (xx). About this time, Mr Toland finding himſelf aſthmatical, and beginning to loſe his ſtomach, took a lodging at Putney for the ſake of the country air (yy). However, he uſually ſpent the greateſt part of the winter in town, where this year he publiſhed his *Nazarenus* [PP]. In this treatiſe our Author gives what he took to be the Original Plan of Chriſtianity, which was this: *That the Jewiſh Converts were ſtill to obſerve their own Law throughout all generations, which was not however to be obſerved by the converted Gentiles; but that both were to be united into one Body or Fellowſhip, in that part of Chriſtianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philoſophers, requires the ſanctification of the Spirit, and the renovation of the inward man.* The ſame year he put out a pamphlet, intitled, *The Deſtiny of Rome* (zz) [22]. He was very much reduced in his fortunes at this time, being entirely ſupported by the bounty of his friends, the narrowneſs of which he complains of (aaa). Towards the latter end of the year following, Dr Hare, late Biſhop of Chicheſter, then Dean of Worceſter, having given an injurious representation of our Author's conduct in penning ſome parts of *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, Mr Toland publiſhed an advertiſement in the Poſtman, where vindicating himſelf from the Dean's aſperſion, he makes the charge fall heavy upon the Aſperſor. *The Dean attempted to clear himſelf in an advertiſement printed in the Daily Courant; but did it in ſuch a manner [RR], as occaſioned the publiſhing of a pamphlet with this title, A Short Eſſay upon Lying: or a Defence of a Reverend Dignitary, who ſuffers under the perſecution of Mr Toland for a Lapsus Calami.* About this time our Author, at the requeſt of Lord Southwell (bbb), undertook to defend the Independent Jurisdiction of the Iriſh Houſe of Peers, againſt a bill then brought into the Britiſh Parliament, wherein it was declared, that there lies an appeal from any decree of the Houſe of Lords in Ireland to that of Great Britain, as the Supreme Court of Judicature, and laſt Refort. Mr Toland, in this affair, had likewiſe the direction and aſſiſtance of Lord Moleſworth (ccc), and this being the fatal South-Sea year, our Author met with a friend among the Directors, who, even without conſulting either of them (which the ſhortneſs of the time would not admit) was ſo kind as to do him the favour of making uſe of this Lord's name in his behalf for a thouſand pound ſubſcription in that fund. Our Author informs his Lordſhip, that he was offered a thouſand pounds advantage three hours after the thing was done, and thirteen hundred the 25th following; *but my benefactor aſſures me, ſays he, that at the opening of the books it will be worth a great deal more. You may eaſily gueſs I will be governed by him in this point. Another ſuch job (continues he) will make me as eaſy and independent, as I deſire, without ever ſtock-jobbing more (ddd): ſince I may buy an annuity of two or three hundred pounds; though the purchaſe of land is got up to thirty years, and if things go on at this rate, will mount much higher.* Elated with this project, it was about this time that he printed his *Pantheiſticon* (eee) ſive *Formula celebrandæ ſodalitatis Socraticæ* [SS]. It is written by way of Dialogue

(xx) It is printed in Vol. 1. of his Poſthumous Works, p. 1, et ſeqq.

(zz) An Hiſtorical Account of the Life and Writings of the late eminently famous Mr John Toland, by one of his moſt intimate friends. Lond. 1722. 8vo. p. 90.

(bbb) Ibid. p. 458.

(ccc) Ibid. p. 462.

(ddd) His friend Sir T—— had promiſed him the like favour in the next ſubſcription, which he ſaid was to be about three months afterwards. Miſcellaneous Works, Vol. II. 464, et ſeq.

(yy) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 275.

(aaa) In a letter, dated June 26, 1718-19, in his Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 445, et ſeqq.

(eee) This piece is founded upon the Principles of Jordano Bruno.

(53) Mr Des Maizeaux obſerves here, that our Author uſed to prefix long titles to his books, the better, as he ſuppoſes, to recommend them to the Bookſellers. Life, p. 70.

(54) The Goſpel of Barnabus is interpolated by the Mahometans. There is but one copy of it in Chriſtendom, accidentally diſcovered by me at Amſterdam, in 1709, in the library of Prince Eugene of Savoy. Miſcellanies, Vol. II. p. 381.

(55) This prophecy has been ſhewn to be a forgery by Father Menestric, a Jeſuit.

(56) In his Life, p. 72.

and to the Diſſenting Miniſters of all denominations, in the year 1705-6, about a general toleration, with ſome of their answers to the Author, who now offers to public conſideration what was then tranſacted for private ſatisfaction; together with a Letter from their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces on the ſame ſubject (53).

[PP] His *Nazarenus*: Or the Jewiſh, Gentile, and Mahometan Chriſtianity; containing the Hiſtory of the ancient Goſpel of Barnabus, and the modern Goſpel of the Mahometans, attributed to the ſame Apoſtle: this laſt Goſpel being now firſt made known among Chriſtians (54). Alſo the Original Plan of Chriſtianity occaſionally explained in the Hiſtory of the Nazarenus, whereby divers controverſies about this Divine (but highly perverted) Inſtitution may be happily terminated; with the Relation of an Iriſh Manuſcript of the four Goſpels, as likewiſe a ſummary of the ancient Iriſh Chriſtianity, and the reality of the Keldes (an order of lay Religious) againſt the two laſt Biſhops of Worceſter. This book was answered by Mr (afterwards Dr) Mangey in his *Remarks upon Nazarenus*: by Mr Paterson, in his *Anti-Nazarenus*: by the Author [Dr Hare] of the *Difficulties and Diſcouragements, which attend the Study of the Scriptures*; and by Dr Brett, in the Preface of his *Tradition neceſſary to explain and interpret the Holy Scriptures*.

[22] *The Deſtiny of Rome*: Or the probability of the ſpeedy and final Deſtruction of the Pope; concluded partly from natural reaſons and political obſervations, and partly on occaſion of the famous Prophecy of Father Malachy (55), Archbiſhop of Armagh, in the XIIIth Century, which curious piece containing emblematical characters of all the Popes, from his own time to the utter extirpation of them, is not only here intirely publiſhed, but likewiſe ſet in a much clearer light than has ever hitherto been done.—In a Letter to a Divine of the Church of the Firſt-born. What made him triſle away his time upon this ſubject, ſays Mr Des Maizeaux (56), I will not pretend to account for: but we have ſhewn the true reaſon in the text, which was no other but the miſfortunes that attended the want of a ſplendid ſwilling.

[RR] He did it in ſuch a manner.] In a Poſtſcript to a

Viſitation Sermon, intitled, *Church Authority*, ſays Biſhop Hoadly, had juſt ſuch a reſemblance to *Chillingworth*, as Mr Toland has to Mr Locke, who, in *Chriſtianity not Myſterious*, is often quoted to ſupport notions he never dreamt of. Mr Toland, in the News-paper mentioned above, having deſied him to ſhew any ſuch quotation [of which there is none] in that book, the Dean in answer to this, publiſhed in the Daily Courant of Feb. 3, 1720, as follows: Juſt publiſhed, the fourth edition of the Dean of Worceſter's Sermon, &c. [In the poſtſcript, l. 9, from the end, inſtead of iſt often quoted, read makes great uſe of Mr Locke's principles] which occaſioned the abovementioned pamphlet. Our Author, in his *Tetradymus* (57) (of which preſently) relates the whole tranſaction, wherein having produced Mr Locke's own words to falſify the Dean's charge of Mr Toland's making uſe of Mr Locke's principles, he obſerves, that it appears by the whole connexion, that this emendation was not in the Doctor's thoughts at the beginning; or, ſuppoſing it were, that it ſerves his cauſe as little as the other way of ſpeaking, ſince I proceed, ſays he, upon different principles from Mr Locke, and principles that are better, if you believe the then Biſhop of Worceſter (58). In fine, *no ſlip of the pen*, nor any of the methods laid down by an ingenious writer [A ſhort eſſay upon lying] can poſſibly ſalve the Doctor from oblique dealing, as the drawing me by the head and ſhoulders into his pamphlet was unneceſſary, if not ſpightful, with regard to me or ſome other. I ſay it again, that it would have been no condeſcenſion below his dignity, ſince he vouchſafed to take notice of me at all, if he had accuſed his memory, or in any other manner owned his miſtake; inſtead of having recourſe to ſhifts that deſerve a courſer name than I am willing to give them, out of the reſpect I pay him on other accounts.

[SS] His *Pantheiſticon*, ſive *Formula celebrandæ ſodalitatis Socraticæ*. Our Author, while he was in Holland in 1709, wrote a Diſſertation *de genere loco et tempore mortis Jordani Bruni, Nolani*, which was inſcribed to Baron Hebenſdorf, to whom he ſent it at Vienna. He likewiſe ſent another copy afterwards to Mr Leibnitz the ſame year.

(57) page 190, et ſeq.

(58) In his third answer to Mr Locke.

Dialogue between the President and Members of a Philosophical Society, who are *Pantbeists*, that is, such as acknowledge no God but the Universe. The piece is made up in the form of Responses, Lessons, a Philosophical Canon, and a sort of Litany; the whole being printed both in red and black, one cannot forbear thinking it was drawn up by way of mockery to some Christian Liturgies. It has been observed by one of his friends, that the Author himself seemed to have been sensible, that he had too much indulged his loose imagination; since he got it printed secretly, under a disguised name, at his own charge, and took off a few copies, which he distributed with a view of receiving presents for them (fff). Some time after, he published a book, intitled, *Tetradymus*, as containing four tracts; in the last of these, addressed to the Bishop of London, having inserted his advertisement against Dr Hare, with the Doctor's answer, he here makes a reply to that answer, and concludes with an account of his own conduct and sentiments [TT]. The following year, 1721, in May, Dr Hare published a book, intitled, *Scripture vindicated from the misrepresentations of the Lord Bishop of Bangor, &c.* In the Preface of which, he charged our Author with having, in some copies of his *Panttheisticon*, inserted a blasphemous prayer to Bacchus [UU]; but he was defended from this heavy charge by Mr Des Maizeaux, who, upon enquiry, assures us, Mr Toland never dreamt of writing any such thing (ggg). Some letters of the Earl of Shaftsbury to Lord Moleworth having been communicated by the latter to our Author the year before, were published by him, with that Lord's consent, this year [WW]. To these letters, he prefixed a large Introduction, wherein he gives a particular

(fff) See his Life, p. 78.

(ggg) Ibid. p. 86.

(59) Miscellaneous Works, Vol. I. p. 304, et seq. et Vol. II p. 395.

* This book was so scarce, that it was seldom sold for less than 50 l. This we are told by Nicereh, Hom. Illust. tome 17. p. 211. However, hence it appears, that Mr Toland's copy was not the only one extant, as he imagined.

(60) Tetradymus, p. 223.

year (59). In this tract there is an account of all the works of *Jordano*, the founder of Pantheism. However, Mr Toland observes to Mr Leibnitz, that this Author's works, particularly his *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante, sive Bestie triumphantis expulsio* (i. e. the expulsion of superstition) is not a secret to be communicated to every body*. In the first volume of Mr Toland's miscellaneous pieces, p. 316, et seq. is inserted an account of *Jordano Bruno's book of the Infinite Universe and Innumerable Worlds, translated from the original Latin, printed in the year 1514.*

[TT] An account of his own conduct and sentiments.] Here he solemnly professes, that the religion taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, but not as since corrupted by the subtractions, additions, or other alterations, of any particular man or company of men, is that which he infinitely preferred before all others. 'I do, continues he, over and over again repeat it, Christ and his Apostles, exclusive of either oral tradition or the determination of synods, adding, what I declared before to the world, that religion, as it came out of their hands, was no less plain and pure, than useful and instructive (60).' The title of this book is *Tetradymus*: containing, I. *Hodegus*; or *the pillar of cloud and fire, that guided the Israelites in the wilderness, not miraculous; but, as faithfully related in Exodus, a thing equally practised by other nations, and in those places not only useful but necessary.* II. *Clidophorus*; or, *Of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy, that is, of the external and internal doctrine of the Antients: the one open and public, accommodated to popular prejudices and the established religion; the other private and secret, wherein to the few capable and discreet was taught the real truth, stript of all disguises.* III. *Hypatia*; or, *The history of a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned, and every way accomplished Lady; who was torn to pieces by the Clergy of Alexandria, to gratify the pride, emulation, and cruelty of their Archbishop Cyril, commonly but undeservedly stiled St Cyril.* IV. *Mangonentes*; being a defence of *Nazarenus*, addressed to the right reverend *John Lord Bishop of London, against his Lordship's Chaplain, Dr Mangey, his Dedicator, Mr Pater-son, and, who ought to have been named first, the reverend Dr Brett, once belonging to his Lordship's church.* The first dissertation was answered in a pamphlet, called *Hodegus confuted*; or *a plain demonstration that the pillar of cloud and fire, that guided the Israelites in the wilderness, was not a fire of human preparation, but the most miraculous presence of God.* 1721, 8vo. And in *A discourse upon the pillar of cloud and fire which guided the Israelites through the wilderness, proving it to have been miraculous: occasioned by a dissertation of Mr Toland's, called Hodegus. Inserted in the Bibliotheca literaria, &c.* 1723, Numb. V. p. 1, et seq.

[UU] A blasphemous prayer to Bacchus.] The Doctor introduces it thus: speaking of the constitutions of *Carolina*, he observes, that by one of the articles none are excluded from settling in that country on account of their opinions, but downright Atheists, such as the impious Author of the *Panttheisticon*. To this passage, at the bottom of the page [xxi], he inserts the following note: 'This Atheistical writer, not content with what he has dared to print in this profane piece, has, I am told, in some copies inserted a prayer in manuscript in these or the like words, *Omnipotens & sempiterna Bacche,*

qui hominum corda donis tuis recreas, concede, propitius, ut qui hesternis poculis ægroti facti sunt, hodiernis curentur, & per pocula poculorum. How to fill up the blank I have left I do not remember. Thus prays this impudent Pantheist, whose impudent blasphemies loudly call for the animadversions of the civil power.' And, upon further intelligence, he inserted this advertisement in the *Errata*: 'The prayer to Bacchus, p. xxi, being, to the best of my remembrance, in the very words in which I have heard it repeated more than once by the same person; and yet differing much in expression from two written copies I have lately seen (which also differ from each other) I thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader to give him the following copy, which, whatever the other be, I can assure him is from an original: *Omnipotens & sempiterna Bacche, qui humanam Societatem maxime in bibendo constituisti, concede, propitius, ut istorum capita, qui hesternæ comotatione graventur, hodierna leventur; idque fiat per pocula poculorum. Amen.*' [WW] Were published with that Lord's consent this year.]

This is collected from a letter (61) of Lord Moleworth to our Author, the first paragraph of which runs thus:

'To Mr Toland.

'Brechenston, near Dublin, June 25, 1720.

'Sir,

'I should be glad that any thing my Lord Castleton met with in my Lord Shaftsbury's letters to me would encourage him to try for heirs to his honours and estate: I think he owes so much to his family and country. I was always of your opinion, that those letters were very valuable for the reasons you give, and had it in my thoughts that it would be a good thing to publish them. But, upon farther consideration, that my Lord Shaftsbury's relations might take it amiss that I divulge family secrets, and that it would be construed a piece of vanity (now much in use) for me to print my own commendations (as you know there are such in several of those letters), I concluded it better to have such publication deferred till after my death. If you have any good reasons to think otherwise, let me know them. You may, if you think fitting, communicate them to Mr Collins, and take his opinion of them. I own I am proud enough of having been not only so intimate with that great man, but to have had a hand in the first forming of his mind to virtue. There are other great ministers now living, for whom I endeavoured as much; but, as they have forgot it, so will I. The Lord Shaftsbury was of a different temper, and carried on his friendship to my sons, the eldest of whom did him signal service in Italy, where at Naples he died.'

To this if we add Lord Moleworth's extraordinary kindness afterwards to Mr Toland in his sickness, there is no room to suppose the publication was made without that Lord's privity and consent. This Lord sent frequent messages and billets to Mr Toland, while he lay ill at Putney. In one of the latter (63) he writes thus:

(61) In the second volume of his Posthumous works, ubi supra, p. 461.

(62) These letters turn chiefly upon two points, the love of one's country, and the choice of a wife.

(63) In his Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 484.

To

cular account of Lord Shaftsbury's principles and conduct (*bbb*), with respect to public affairs. It was now four years that Mr Toland had been in a declining state of health, and this year, about December, he grew much worse, and finding little or no relief from the assistance of his Apothecary, he took the advice of a friend (*iii*), and sent for Mr Woodward, who, not judging rightly of the true state of his case, brought a continual vomiting and looseness upon him, by which he grew a great deal worse (*kkk*), and not without difficulty got to his lodgings at Putney on the Saturday before Christmas-day. Here he continued so ill, as to be wholly confined to his chamber till the end of January, when he began to grow perceptibly better (*lll*), and in a few weeks got so well, as to entertain hopes of a recovery. In this interval, he wrote his dissertation, intitled, *Physic without Physicians*, to shew the danger of trusting Physicians, while every man may easily be his own Physician. He likewise prepared a Preface to be prefixed before a pamphlet, called *The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*, which was to be reprinted against the approaching Election of a new Parliament; but in the latter end of February (*mmm*), he relapsed into all his former symptoms, being seized with his old pains in his thighs, reins, and stomach, with a total loss of appetite, and hourly reachings, attended with a very high-coloured water, which he took to be occasioned by the gravel (*nnn*); but we are told by one of his friends, who attended him in his last moments, that a severe rheumatism had hung long upon him, which turning to the black jaundice, attended with a fever, proved mortal to him, about three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 11th of March, in the fifty-third year of his age. The same Author assures us, that ' he behaved, throughout the whole course of ' his sickness, with a philosophical patience, an intire resignation to the Divine Will, ' and was thoroughly sensible of his approaching dissolution; for upon his appearing some- ' thing more than ordinary chearful the day before he died, and my telling him I hoped ' he was better, he replied quick upon me, *Sir, I have no hopes but in God.* A few minutes ' before he died, looking earnestly at some friends that were in the room, and being asked ' if he wanted any thing, he answered with the firmest resolution, *I want nothing but ' death (ooo).*' And Mr Des Maizeaux tells us, that ' he looked upon death without ' the least perturbation of mind, bidding farewell to those that were about him, and tell- ' ing them he was going to sleep (*ppp*).' His body was decently interred, on the 13th fol- ' lowing, in Putney Church-yard. He wrote an epitaph for himself some few days before ' his death, which we shall insert in the note [XX]. As to his character, Mr Molyneux ' declares (*qqq*), that he was a candid Free-thinker, and a good Scholar; but at the same ' time vain, and addicted to religious disputes in Coffee-houses and other public places. We ' learn from Mr Des Maizeaux (*rrr*), that he was fond of paradoxes, and affected singularity ' in his opinions; that he might have employed his talents much better; but he had the ' misfortune to fall into an idle indiscreet way, which he indulged to his death, notwith- ' standing the repeated advices and remonstrances of his best friends. And it was observed ' by the Author of the Freeholder's Journal (*sss*), that his being known to the world is ' owing chiefly to the animadversions of learned men upon his writings, among whom it is ' a common trick in their disputes, to charge their adversary with an agreement to, or re- ' semblance of Mr Toland's notions, as the greatest infamy, and the surest criterion of ' error.

(bbb) There are several mistakes in it.
(iii) Lord Moleworth. See his Letter to Mr Toland, in p. 484, of the Miscellaneous Works. But our Author had some obligations to the Doctor. See his Specimen of the History of the Druids, in Vol. I. ibid. p. 105.

(nnn) See a Letter to Lord Moleworth in Miscellaneous Works, ubi supra, p. 492.

(ooo) Historical Account of the Life of John Toland, p. 90, et seq.

(rrr) In his Life, p. 92.

(sss) This Journal is dated March 21, 1722.

' To Mr Toland.

' Albemarle-street, Jan. 5, 1721-2.

' Sir,

' Saturday night, about nine, I received yours of that day, which gives me such a dismal account, of your ill state of health, that I was extremely concerned at the condition I found you were in, I doubt, for want of necessaries. I cannot forbear wishing you were in Town; for I doubt you cannot easily get such broths and bits of easy digestion as I should take care to procure for you. Your landlady may be a very good woman, and have a great respect for you; but her poverty (64) may prevent her from providing such sort of victuals and drinks as are proper for a sick man, reduced to so weak a condition as I find you are. Indeed I expected you in Town after the letter I wrote to you last week; not imagining you had been so much out of order; though I saw by your looks that a fit of sickness was growing upon you, which I hoped your vomits and purges had prevented in a great measure. I intend to solicit the Peer, your old stinging acquaintance, and my neighbour, and see whether a letter which I shall send him will move him once in his life to be generous and charitable. Your reflections upon the Physicians and the Injustice of the world are very right; but you must not indulge melancholy thoughts at such a time. Let it suffice you to know, that, although my circumstances are narrow enough, you shall never want necessaries whilst I live. I am sensible that bare necessaries are but cold comfort to a

' man of your spirit and desert; but it is all I dare ' promise you. It is an ungrateful age, and we must ' bear with it the best we may, till we can mend it. ' Adieu, be chearful, and think of going with me for ' Ireland.

' Yours sincerely,

' Moleworth.'

[XX] An epitaph in the note.]

H. S. E.

Johannes Tolandus,
Qui in Hibernia prope Deriam natus,
In Scotia & Hibernia studuit,
Quod Oxonii quoque fecit adolefcens;
Atque Germania plus semel petita
Virilem circa Londinum transegit ætatem.
Omnium literarum Excultor.
Ac linguarum plus decem sciens.
Veritatis Propugnator.
Libertatis Assertor.
Nullius autem sectator aut Cliens.
Nec minis nec malis est inflexus
Quin, quam elegit viam, perageret.
Utili honestum antefereus.
Spiritus cum æthereo patre,
A quo prodiit olim, conjungitur,
Corpus item naturæ cedens
In materno gremio reponitur.
Ipse vero æternum est resurrecturus,
At idem futurus Tolandus nunquam.
Natus Nov. 30.
Cætera ex scriptis pete.

P

(64) See Physic without Physicians, Vol. II. p. 276.

(mmm) See his Life, p. 87.

(ppp) In his Life, p. 88.

(qqq) In his Letters to Mr Locke, of April, and May 26, 1697.

(64) Mr Toland lodged at a Carpenter's house. See above, in the text.

TONSTALL, or TUNSTALL [CUTHBERT], successively Bishop of London and Durham in the sixteenth century, a man of great learning, integrity, and politeness, was a natural son of one Mr Tunstall, a Gentleman of good rank (a) [A], by a daughter of the Conyers family (b). He was born at Hatchford in Richmondshire, about the year 1474 [B]: and became a Student in the University of Oxford about 1491, particularly, as some will have it, in Balliol-College. Being forced to leave it by reason of the plague, he went to Cambridge, where he became Fellow of King's Hall (c) [C]. After some stay there, he travelled beyond sea, and studied in the University of Padua, then in the highest repute; and took the Degree of Doctor of Laws, not having, that we can find, taken any Degree in either of our Universities (d). He so well improved himself in every place, that 'there was scarce any kind of good learning in which he was not excellent; being a very good Grecian, well acquainted with the Hebrew, a very eloquent Rhetorician, a skilful Mathematician, famous especially for Arithmetick, a great Lawyer, and a profound Divine (e).' And all these accomplishments were crowned with eminent piety, virtue, and regularity (f). They soon recommended him to the esteem of all good men, particularly of William Warham, then Archbishop of Canterbury, a most generous Patron of Learning; who constituted him his Vicar-General, or Chancellor [D], Aug. 25, 1511; introduced him to the King: and also collated him, on the 16th of December 1511, to the Rectory of Harrow on the Hill in Middlesex (g). On the 15th of April 1514, he was installed in the Prebend of Stow-longa in the Church of Lincoln: and, November 17, 1515, admitted Archdeacon of Chester (h). May the 12th, 1516, he was made Master of the Rolls (i), for which he was extremely well qualified on account of his knowledge in the Laws. The same year, he and Sir Thomas More were sent Embassadors to the Emperor Charles V, then at Brussels; and had the pleasure and happiness of living there in the same house with the most excellent Erasmus (k) [E], which created a lasting and indelible friendship between them (l). During this employment, our Minister was very sedulous in his charge, as well as very capable of executing it; and nothing wherein his Majesty was concerned escaped him. He perfectly understood the state of the Imperial Court, penetrated into all the designs of it, and failed not, as occasion offered, to impart his advice accordingly, either to the King, or his Officers (m). He returned to England in 1517, but had not been at home above ten days, before he was sent upon a second Embassy to the Emperor (n). In 1519, he was collated to the Prebend of Botevant in the Church of York (o). The 26th of May, 1521, he was also made Prebendary of Combe and Hornham in the Church of Sarum;

(b) J. Leland, Itiner. Vol. IV. p. 17. and Collect.

(c) Wood, Athenzæ, Edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 127. Godwin, Edit. Clar. Richardsoni, Dr Knight's Life of Erasmus, Cambr. 1726. 8vo. p. 191.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

(e) Bishop Godwin's Catalogue &c. as above, Edit. 1615. 4to. p. 669.

(g) Newcourt Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 25, 637. Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 724.

(h) Survey of the Cathedrals &c. by Dr Browne Willis, Vol. II. p. 244. and Vol. I. p. 414.

(i) Vide ibid. col. 27. 400, &c. Mihi jam non videor vivere, adempto Tunstallo, Erasmi. ibid. viz. col. 400.

(m) Dr Fiddes's Life of Card. Wolsey, fol. p. 130. and Dr Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 190.

(a) Splendid loco natus, juxta J. Bæz, Scriptorum Britannicæ Cent. IX. p. 713. See W. Harrison's Hist. Descript. of Britain, l. 1. c. 24. in the first volume of Holinshed's Chron.—and Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of the Bishops, under Durham. He says, the father was of a very ancient house.

(f) Maximæ ingenii & doctrinæ dotes insigni pietate, virtute, morum severitate cumulavit. H. Wharton de Episcopis Londi. p. 185.

(j) Pat. 8. Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(k) Erasmi Epistolæ, Edit. Lond. fol. 1642. col. 27, 120, 783, 1509.

(n) Erasmi Epist. ut supra, col. 119.

(o) Dr Browne Willis, as above, Vol. I. p. 123.

[A] Was a natural son of one Mr Tunstall, a gentleman of good rank.] Bishop Godwin says, that he 'was the base son of one Tunstall, a Gentleman of a very ancient house. It is reported, (adds he) that their first ancestor attended William Conqueror as his Barbor, and being raised by him unto some better fortune, in memory of his former estate, took for his armes Sable three combes Argent. But I take this for a fable. The special use of armes is to expresse unto posterity the vertues of such as are raised unto Gentry, and not to remember any thing that may be to the disgrace of the bearer, and make him lesse honourable. Were the first of his race, as he is supposed, because he was not advanced for being a Barbor but for his faithfull and loyall service, such armes should rather have bene given him, as might have registered that virtue, then twighted him with the baseness of his first trade and manner of life. Rather therefore should I gesse some other occasions of these armes, which as they were born by him, may have many very honourable significations.'—It hath been the simple vanity of many considerable Families in this kingdom, to deduce their pedigree from those plundering Invaders, who attended William the Bastard in his conquest of England. And, possibly, that might be the vanity of the Tunstall-family, who derived their name from the Latin word *Tonsor*, a Barber; and told the story set down above in Bishop Godwin's words. But it is much more likely, that the name of that family was taken from a place in England called *Tunstal*; there being no less than eight parishes, or places, of that name in this Kingdom (1). Dr Fuller says, that their chief seat was at Tunstall-Thurland in Yorkshire, from whence unquestionably they took their surname (2). . . . In the pedigree of the Holland-family, it is asserted (3), that Cuthbert Tunstall, in his youth, near two years, was brought up in Sir Thomas Holland's kitchen unknown, till being known, he was sent home to Sir Richard Tunstall, his father.

[B] About the year 1474.] A. Wood says, that it was 'in the year 1476, or thereabouts (4).' But, by a memorandum of our learned Author's at the end of his book, *De veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Eucharistia*, it appears that he was in the seventy-seventh year of his age in 1551, when he finished that book; and consequently must have been

born about the year 1474. His words are, *Hoc opus ab authore absolutum est, Anno ætatis suæ septuagesimo-septimo, qui fuit annus Domini 1551.*

[C] Where he became Fellow of King's Hall.] This Hall is now incorporated with, and made part of, Trinity-College (5). And as to Mr Tunstall's having been Fellow of that Hall; it appears from an account, given in by the several Colleges to Queen Elizabeth, when at Cambridge, anno 1564, of men of note in their respective societies. The account given in by Trinity-College styles him, *Cuthbertus Tunstall Aulæ Regiæ quondam Socius, postea regnante Henrico VIII. Episc. Lond. tandem Dunelmensis* (6).

[D] Or Chancellor.] So Erasmus styles him. *Cuthbertus Tunstallus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Cancellarius* (7). But he was more properly the Archbishop's Vicar-General in Spirituals, as Archbishop Parker calls him; who adds, that Archbishop Warham introduced and recommended him to King Henry VIII. and that was the occasion of his rise and successive greatness. . . . *Ejusque Vicarius in spiritualibus generalis fuerat, ab eoque Henrico Regi Octavo quasi manu deductus, atque traditus* (8).—He was ordained Sub-deacon, March 24, 1508, by Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London; and Priest April 19, 1511, by John Thornton, Suffragan to Archbishop Warham (9).

[E] And had the pleasure and happiness of living there in the same house with the most excellent Erasmus.] So Erasmus relates, in the following words: 'Adest hic [viz. Bruxellæ] Cuthbertus Tunstallus apud Anglos scriniis præfectus, sui Regis nomine apud Carolum Principem nostrum orator, vir præter utramque literaturam, quæ neminem suorum non superat, judicio excusso, ac naris emunctissimæ, tum modestiâ quâdam inauditâ, postremo moribus festivis, ac citra gravitatis detrimentum, amoenis. Huic (quo me beatum duco) ἡμολογῶμενος εἶμι (10).' i. e. 'We have here Cuthbert Tunstall, Master of the Rolls in England, Embassador from his Prince to our Emperor Charles V. A man, who not only outdoes all his contemporaries in the knowledge of the learned languages, but is also of an exquisite judgment, and clear understanding, and likewise of an unheard of modesty; and moreover is a chearful and pleasant companion, without losing his proper gravity. I board with him, which is a great happiness to me.'

(5) See T. Fuller's History of the university of Cambridge, p. 39, 40.

(6) Life of Erasmus by Dr Knight, p. 191.

(7) Erasmi Epistolæ, edit. Lond. 1642, fol. col. 582.

(8) Matthæus, in the Appendix to Mr Strype's life of Archbishop Parker, No. XC. p. 16 and in Dr Drake edit. of Antiqui Britann.

(9) Tanner, Bibliotheca, sub Tunstallo p. 72.

(10) Erasmi Epist. edit. u supra, col. 27.

(1) See Villare Anglicum.

(2) Worthies in Yorkshire, p. 197.

(3) Blomfield's Hist. of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 232.

(4) Athenæ Oxon. Vol. I. ed. 1721, col. 127.

(r) Newcourt, p. 25, and J. Le Neve, p. 179. He was then in great reputation for his learning and piety. See M. Parker, *Antiquitates Brit.* Edit. Hanov. 1605, p. 312.
(t) Erasmus Epist. Edit. ut supra, col. 1138, &c.

and in the said month and year, elected Dean of the same Church (p) [F]. He behaved so worthily in every station, that in 1522 he was promoted to the Bishopric of London, of which the temporalities were delivered to him, July the 5th; and again, October 7 (q), he was consecrated October 9, and inthronized the 22d following (r). In 1523, May 25, he was made Keeper of the Privy-Seal (s). Though he was undeniably a person of good sense and learning, yet upon the first appearance of Luther's Writings against Popery, so far was he from being convinced by them, that he very earnestly solicited Erasmus to write against Luther, upon whom he bestows very hard names: But Erasmus handsomely excused himself (t) [G]. In March, 1525, our Bishop, and Sir Richard Wingfield, Chancellor of the Duchy, went Embassadors into Spain, to confer with the Emperor, after the

(p) Newcourt, ubi supra, p. 25. and J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 264.
(q) Rymer, Acta Pub. Tom. XIII. p. 771, 774.
(r) Newcourt, ibid. and Rymer, Tom. XIV, p. 1.

[F] *And in the said month and year elected Dean of the same church.* About the same time, he attended Cardinal Wolsey in his splendid Embassy to the Emperor Charles V. (11).

[G] *He very earnestly solicited Erasmus to write against Luther, upon whom he bestows very hard names: but Erasmus handsomely excused himself.* He begins his letter by informing Erasmus, that he was suspected of having assisted Luther in his answer to King Henry VIII. His own words are; 'Dici non potest, quantopere sum gavissus, lectis tuis literis, præsertim his quibus tum ad Regem tum ad Legatum scriptis, his te suspicionibus liberas, quas de libello a Lutero in Regem edito, tanquam aliquid inesset tuum, hic subortas esse nonnulli tibi retulerunt: non quod animis hominum tam alte intederat hæc suspitio, ut tuis literis fuerit revelanda: quandoquidem sic totus liber contumeliis scatur, sic singulis pagellis Lutherianum virus spirat, ut ex qua officina proderit, ille ipse lectus prodatur; verum ea te sum latatus vehementer, quod ex his intellexi tibi cum Lutherianis male convenire, teque a Pontifice Maximo rogatum, ut congregandi cum Lutero provinciam susciperes, jam exoratum prope in procinctu esse. Id quod omnes amici tui magnopere & expectant & cupiunt, ut cum illo Proteo, imo verius Atheo, tandem congregiare. Cæterum ex Lutero, inquis, & Lutherianis male audiam. At non pejus, quam Deus ipse, quem ille maliciæ omnis autorem facit, dum liberum tollit ab hominibus arbitrium, atque omnia statim necessitatis legibus fieri prorsus contendit, ut liberum cuiquam non sit, si velit bene facere,' &c. i. e. 'I cannot express, how great a joy your letters have given me, especially those you have written to his Majesty and the Legate (12), by which you free yourself from the suspicions entertained here against you, as if you had had a hand in Luther's book against the King; not that those suspicions were so fixed in people's minds, that there was any need of letters from you to remove them; for the whole book is so full of railing, and breathes so in every page the Lutheran poison, that the reading of it shews out of what shop it comes. But I am extremely glad to find by your letters, that you are upon ill terms with the Lutherans, and have been requested by the Pope to engage with Luther; which you are preparing to do. That you would at length attack that Proteus, or rather that Atheist, is the earnest expectation and desire of all your friends. But you say, that it will give you a bad character with Luther, and the Lutherans. Not worse surely than Luther doth to God himself, whom he makes the author of all evil, when he takes Free-will from mankind, and maintains that all things are done by the laws of Necessity, so that every one is not at liberty to do good if he would.' &c.—This letter breathes the true spirit of Popery, and not that spirit of Meekness for which some have celebrated our Author. But it is to be remembered, that it was written whilst Popery was triumphant; and in our Prelate's younger years: Afterwards, age, and the revolutions in the state of religion in this kingdom, cooled his zeal, and taught him more prudence and moderation. Let it be further observed, That he was not then a Predestinarian, as he became afterwards, witness his book *Against the impious blasphemers of God's Predestination*. And as to Luther, he at first professed that cruel doctrine, but softened some of the rigor of it before his death; and his Followers condemn it absolutely.

Erasmus, in his Answer, commends our Bishop's zeal, but insinuates that it ought to be according to knowledge. And has these excellent passages: 'Istud tam pium studium, tam flagrantem erga Ecclesiam Dei zelum non possum equidem non vehementer probare, præful cum primis observande: nec dubito quin istum mentis impetum judicio susceperis: at mihi meique similibus circumspiciendum est, ne, quod scribit Apostolus, zelum

habeamus, sed non secundum scientiam; ac, juxta Parmenonis comici dictum, metuendum ne nimium calidum hoc sit modo. Siquidem video quibusdam usu venire, ut dum majore studio quam judicio rem gerunt, non solum una cum zizaniis evellant triticum, quod Christus in Evangelio fieri vetuit, verum etiam pro zizaniis evellant triticum; dum vel prius damnant quam intelligunt, vel quod pie dictum est interpretatione depravant: idque videri volunt zelum religionis, & hæreses odium, quum hæc præcipua sit pestis & pietatis & concordia. Sic qui vehementer amant quempiam, nihil in eo non laudant: qui vehementer oderunt, nihil non damnant. In Lutheri scriptis quedam audio reprobari, quæ, si sobria collatione inter eruditos & integros disputarentur, nonnihil conferrent ad spiritualem & Evangelicam vigorem, a quo mundus nimium profecto degeneravit' Then he bewails the disturbances occasioned by the Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, in Germany, who were running from one extreme into another. . . . 'Utinam de exitu rei tua te fallat divinatio, mihi non admodum sagaci jamdudum idem subolet: quod si eveniat, vereor ne pro excusis Pontificibus, Episcopis, & Principibus, sordidos quosdam dominos recipiamus multo illis inclementiores. Nam ἀναρχίας jam pridem mussant ii quos Anabaptistas vocant: aluntur & alia dogmatum monstra, quæ, si proruperint, efficiunt ut Lutherus propemodum orthodoxus videri possit. . . . Extitit aliud insanix genus, Prophetæ volunt videri, sed ridentur ab omnibus. Nulla quidem adhuc exorta secta, quæ de Christo prædicet impie: multis tamen hic opinionum tumultus addidit animos, ut ausint non solum de Christi Divina natura blasphema loqui, verum etiam de Scripturæ totius auctoritate dubitare. Ita sit, quoties semel effractis repagulis sese in licentiæ campum effudit hominum temeritas, nullam facit insanix finem, donec omnia secum involvat exitio.' . . . The substance of which is, 'That he could not but greatly commend his pious affection and flagrant zeal for the church of God, and did not doubt but it was taken up with due judgment; but as for Himself and others, they were to beware not to have a zeal without knowledge, as the Apostle writes, and according to Parmeno's saying, that it should not be too hot. For he saw it usually happen, that when men act with more eagerness than judgment, they not only do what Christ hath forbidden in the Gospel, that is, pluck up the wheat with the tares, but instead of the tares pull up the wheat; whilst they condemn before they understand, or misinterpret what hath been piously said: and that they would have it pass for a zeal for religion, and an aversion to heresies, when it is the chief bane of piety and concord. So they who vehemently admire any one, find nothing but good in him; and they who hate violently, dislike all. In Luther's writings, says he, I hear that some things are condemned, which, if they were coolly examined by learned and unprejudiced persons, would contribute to that spiritual and Evangelic Heartiness and Zeal, which is too much lost in the world. . . . The Bishop had hinted at the Confusions like to ensue from some blind Zealots, upon the alteration of Religion. . . Erasmus says, he apprehended the same; and was afraid that, in the room of Popes, Bishops, and Princes, the Scum should become uppermost, and prove more severe and unmerciful masters than the others. The Anabaptists were already aiming at Anarchy; and other monstrous opinions were hatching, in comparison of which Luther appeared almost orthodox. . . . Another kind of madness, saith he, is that they would pass for Prophets; but they only expose themselves to ridicule. Some begin already to talk blasphemously about the Divine nature of Christ, and to bring the authority of the Scriptures into question. So it comes to pass, that when Mankind have once broken the bounds, they never stop in their madness, till they have involved every thing into utter destruction.'

(11) Erasmus Epist. col. 759.

(12) i. e. King Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey, who was the Pope's Legate.

(u) Hall's Chronicle, in Henry VIII. fol. 137. a. Stow's Annals, Edit. 1631. p. 523. and Lord Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. under the year 1525.

(y) Hall, fol. 186. See also Lord Herbert, under the year 1529.

(z) Bishop Godwin's Catal. as above. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part I. p. 783.

(bb) J. Pits, de illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, &c. Edit. Paris, 1619. 4to. p. 760.

(13) Erasmi Epistolæ, ut supra, Ep. 3. lib. 16. p. 725.

(14) Hist. of the Reformat. Pt. i. p. 159.

(15) Under the 21st year of King Henry VIII. fol. 186. See the article TINDALE [WILLIAM].

(16) Sir Thomas More.

(17) Matthæus, ut supra.

King of France's being taken at the battle of Pavia (u). We find him employed, in March 1527, in prosecuting several persons in his Diocese, particularly about Colchester, that entertained heretical opinions, as they were called, that is, differing from the then established Popery (w). The July following, he attended Cardinal Wolsey in his pompous Embassy into France (x); being one of his Eminency's most able and faithful Counsellors [H]. In 1529, he was one of the English Ambassadors at the famous Treaty of Cambray; and, at his return from that place through Antwerp, bought up all the copies of William Tindale's Translation of the New Testament that remained unfold, in order to burn them at Paul's Cross (y) [I]: So firmly attached was he to Popery! However, he had behaved with so much faithfulness and prudence in his Embassies [K], and all other public employments, that, in 1530, he was translated to the rich Bishopric of Durham (z) [L]. Before his removal from the See of London, he had bestowed much money in furnishing a Library in Cambridge, with good books, both printed and manuscript, which he had collected abroad. And, after his translation to Durham, he laid out great sums, in adorning that city with public buildings, and in repairing, improving, and beautifying his episcopal houses (aa) [M]. He declared, and wrote, for King Henry the Eighth's divorce from Queen Catharine of Arragon, when that affair came to be debated: though it seems he afterwards altered his mind (bb) [N]. And when that King took the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, he recommended it, both in his injunctions, and in a sermon preached at Durham; as he testifies in a letter, set down in the note below (cc) [O]: though he had before, in 1531, solemnly protested against that

[H] Being one of his Eminency's most able and faithful Counsellors.] Erasmus, after mentioning him in that capacity, among many of our most eminent men, breaks out into this exclamation: *Quid Cuthbertum Tunstallum, cum quovis prætorum conferendum, quorum non ita multa paria celebravit antiquitas? O domum illam augustam ac felicem! O vere splendidum Cardinalem, qui tales viros habet in consiliis, cujus mensa talibus hominibus cingitur!* (13).

[I] Bought up all the copies of William Tindale's translation &c.] This fact is thus related by Bishop Burnet (14), from the original author Edward Hall (15). 'Tunstall, then Bishop of London, being a man of invincible moderation, would do no body hurt, yet endeavoured as he could, to get their [the Reformers] books into his hands: So being at Antwerp, in the year 1529, as he returned from his Embassy at the Treaty at Cambray, he sent for one Packington, an English merchant there, and desired him to see how many New Testaments of Tindal's translation he might have for money. Packington, who was a secret favourer of Tindal, told him what the Bishop proposed. Tindal was very glad of it; for being convinced of some faults in his work, he was designing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former Impression not being sold off, he could not go about it: so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which the Bishop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publicly in Cheapside. This had such an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded, there must be a visible contrariety between that Book and the Doctrines of those who so handled it; by which both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament, was increased. So that next year, when the Second Edition was finished, many more were brought over, and Constantine being taken in England, the Lord Chancellor (16) in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him, if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at Antwerp; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest Encouragement they had, was from the Bishop of London, who had bought up half the impression. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious persons discerned the great temper of that learned Bishop in it.'

[K] He had behaved with so much faithfulness and prudence in his Embassies.] This is acknowledged by Archbishop Parker in the following words . . . *Cujus [Henry VIII.] crebras legationes summa fide & prudentia ad plerosque Christiani orbis Principes, tanta laude & celebritate obiit, ut fama ubique notus & per vulgatus fuerit* (17). i. e. Whose [viz. Henry VIII's] frequent Embassies to most Christian Princes, he performed with the utmost faithfulness and prudence, so much to his own reputation and honour, that he was known and esteemed every where.

[L] In 1530, he was translated to the rich bishopric of Durham.] He was translated by a bull, dated Feb. 21, 1529-30. And the Temporalities, which had been committed to his custody the 4th of the same month,

were restored to him the 25th of March following (18).

[M] And, after his translation to Durham, he laid out great sums in adorning that city, &c.] This is the account given of it by Bishop Godwin (19): 'Hee built from the ground a most beautiful Porch or Gate-house (with a Chappel annexed thereunto) of faire stone, in the castle of Durham, and added to the said castle certaine gates with iron bars and portcullies, supported with strong wals on each side. He brought water thither with a conduit, whereas before time it was ferved with well-water. He made the gate-house at Alnewike, [a chamber at Aukland] and built the Tolebooth in the market of Durham, all of stone, with divers edifices neare the hinder part of the said Tolbooth, which he gave also to the city of Durham. Lastly, he repaired with great charge [Norham-castle] and the third part of Tine-bridge.'

[N] He declared, and wrote, for King Henry VIIIth's divorce from Queen Catharine, &c.] Bishop Burnet says, that 'the King having commanded the Archbishop of Canterbury to require the opinions of the Bishops of England, they all, in a writing under their hands and seals, declared they judged it an unlawful Marriage. Only the Bishop of Rochester refused to set his hand to it (20).' J. Pits's account is more explicit; being in these words (21): *Unicam in tota vita sibi inussit maculam, quod videlicet ab Henrico rege seductus & inductus fuerit, ut matrimonium Regis cum Catharina Hispana dissolvi posse & debere offeruerit, idque libro scripto probare conatus fuerit. Cujus facti ita eum postea pœnituit, ut in contrariam plane sententiam descenderit, & damnato, quem prius scripserat, libro, Reginae partes constanter tenuerit, fueritque in illa causa unus ex Reginae advocatis, i. e. There was only one blot in his life, namely, his being seduced and drawn in by King Henry, to assert, that the King's marriage with Catharine of Spain might and ought to be dissolved, and to write a book wherein he endeavours to prove it. Of which he so much repented afterwards, that he went into the quite contrary opinion; and condemning the book he had written, constantly took the Queen's part, and was one of the advocates in her cause.' This latter part is explained by the following paragraph in Bishop Fisher's life (22): 'Cardinal Campeius called for Doctour Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, and desired to heare him speak, for he was a man of profound judgement and learning, and one in whose wisdom and honesty the Cardinal reposed great confidence. This Tunstall had written a very learned Treatise in defence of the Queene's marriage, which indeed should have been read in the Court, but the King fearing his abilities, purposely sent him upon an Embassie into Scotland (at the very time he should have appeared) about a triviall businesse, so that he appeared not in Court this second time.'*

[O] As he testifies in a Letter &c.] That Letter, written to Mr Crumwel, is in these words: 'And where now of late I have also received the King's most honorable Letters sent unto me by Sir Francis Bygot, Knight, containing the King's Highnes commandment for setting forth of his title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the abolishment of the authority of the Bishop of Rome; I not only myself, before the receipt of the same

(w) See Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. I. p. 74, 78, &c.

(x) Hall's Chronicle, as above, fol. 160. b.

(aa) Ibid. and Dr Richardson's Edit. of Bishop Godwin. See also Dr Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 191. and M. Parker, Hist. Academiæ Cantabrig. p. v.

(cc) Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. II. p. 191. See also Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Part I. Collect. of Records, p. 177.

(18) Rymer, Acta Publ. Tom. XIV. p. 364, 384, 387.

(19) Catalogue of Bishops, as above, p. 670. and edit. Cl. W. Richardson, Leland's Itiner. Vol. I. p. 75.

(20) Hist. of the Reformation, Pt. i. p. 38.

(21) De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus &c. p. 760.

(22) By Thomas Baily, alias Ric. Hall, D. D. Lond. 1655. 8vo. p. 83.

that title [P]. The same point, of the King's Supremacy, he earnestly vindicated also in 1538, in a sermon preached before his Majesty, upon Palm-Sunday [Q], wherein he zealously condemned the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome (dd). In 1535, he was one of the Commissioners for taking the valuation of Ecclesiastical Benefices, in order to settle the First-fruits and Tenths (ee). And in 1537, the King commanded him, on account of his learning and judgment, to peruse Reginald Pole's book of Ecclesiastical Union (ff); which occasioned some letters between the Cardinal and our Bishop; particularly a severe joint one from him, and John Stokesley, Bishop of London, against the Pope's Supremacy (gg) [R]. The year following, he was appointed to confer about the Reformation of Religion, with some Embassadors from the Protestant German Princes; but things were not yet ripe for a proper alteration in this Kingdom (hh). In 1541, came out a new edition of the Bible in English, revised by him and Nicolas Heath, Bishop of Rochester [S]. He did not approve of every part of Popery; but was of opinion, that old Usages and Traditions were not to be broken without a great cause, and that some of them were in no wise to be broken (ii). In the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he went along with the Reformation [T] for some years; and was one of the Privy-Council, and of the King's Council in the North (kk). At length, some of the Courtiers covet-

same Letters, had don my duty in setting forth his title of Supreme Head, but also caused others to do the same. And so his Grace was prayed for ever since the Proclamation of the Act thereupon made. And as soon as upon the receipt of the King's said letter, I repaired to Duresm, and there preached myself again in great presence, as wel in setting forth the King's Title, as in declaring the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, heretofore used in this realin. And so have done, and shall, from time to time accomplish the King's commandment in my diocess, God willing. There were words in the said Letter that sore grieved me; that the King's Highness should repute, that I should look for a new world, or mutation. If the King's Highness knew my mind, as God doth, sure I am, those words had not been put in. For I have been as sore against such Usurpations of the Bishop of Rome, as dayly did grow, as any man of my degree in this realme. And that I should now look for the renewing of that thing, which I withstood heretofore, as far as I might, when he flourished most, it is not likely. Surely I look for no mutation, nor new world, but one; which is the changing of this life transitory to the life eternal in the world to come. Which mutation, whensoever it shall happen, I beseech Almighty Jesus of his infinite mercy, that I may leave the King's Highness in his most prosperous reign many years after my decease, to myche increase of his Honour, the wealth of his Subjects, and the propagation of his most royal posterity. And thus Almighty Jesus preserve your good Mothership to his pleasure and yours. From Aukland the 10 day of July.

Your Majesty's humble Bedeman,

Cuthbert Duresm (23).'

[P] Though he had before solemnly protested against that title.] It was upon occasion of the following words, in the preamble to the grant of a subsidy to King Henry VIII, in a Convocation for the province of York . . . ' Quamplurimos hostes, et maxime Lutheranos, in perniciem ecclesie et cleri Anglicani (cujus singularem protectorem unicum et Supremum Dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam Supremum Caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus) conspirantes, . . . from which, as he observes, some, lately suspected and accused of heresy, had taken occasion to decline and deny the jurisdiction of their own Bishops; therefore he thought the following distinctions necessary . . . ' viz. ' ut, si per ea intelligatur, quod Rex sit post Christum ' Supremum Regni sui, et Cleri Anglicani in terrenis ' et temporalibus caput, sicut revera est, et omnes recognoscimus, sic ad vitandum malignorum interpretationem exprimenda sunt verba, ne in alium sensum ab hæreticis trahantur. Si vero per ea intelligatur ' indistincte, prout verba sonant, quod Rex tam in spiritualibus, quam in terrenis et temporalibus sit Supremum ecclesie caput, et quod ita licere per Christi legem affirmetur, sicut malignantes quidam illa verba ' [scilicet, quantum per Christi legem licet] tanquam ' assertive posita capere videntur, quia hic sensus cum ' sententia catholice ecclesie videtur non convenire; ' idcirco ab hujusmodi sententia, verbis sic intellectis ' & positis, ne ab ecclesia catholica, extra quam nemi Christiano est salus, dissentire videar, expresse ' dissentio—(24). ' The substance of which is, he was willing to allow, that the King, after Christ, was the

Supreme Head of his Kingdom, and of the Clergy of England, in earthly and temporal matters; but would not acknowledge him to be such, both in spirituals and temporals, and that it was lawful according to the Law of Christ; lest he should seem to dissent from the Catholic Church, without which there is no salvation for any Christian.

[Q] In a sermon preached before his Majesty, upon Palm-Sunday.] That sermon is what Archbishop Parker refers to (25); when, after saying that Bishop Tonstall disowned the Pope's Supremacy in his last days, he goes on thus: *Id quod ante, Henrico Rege regnante, qui primus eandem potentiam labi-factavit, regnoque eiecit, vehementissimè, doctissimeque pro concione suavit. . .* The text was Philipp. ii. from ver. 5 to 12. And the sermon was printed by Thomas Berthelet, at London, 1539. 4to. reprinted in 1633. See below, note [FF]. It is upon account of this sermon, and our Author's subsequent relapse, that Michael Wood thus abuses him (26). ' I have heretofore (says he) with no small admiration, ' readde a certain sermon made in Englishe, before our ' late Sovereigne Lorde Kinge Henry the Eight, about ' xiiii years past, by Doctour Tonstall, then Bishop ' of Duresme, and set furthe in printe, bylike for ' his owne glorie, or rather purgacion, being suspected (and not without cause) to be a favourer of the ' pretended autoritie, and antichristian power of the ' Bishop of Rome (whereof he is bent at this daye with ' other his complices to shew himself, that sermon notwithstanding, not only to be a friendly favourer, but ' with an open diligent proctour) . . .

[R] Which occasioned some letters between the Cardinal and our Bishop.] Reginald Pole was created Cardinal, December 22, 1538 (27). One of the letters that passed between them, is printed in Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation (28). Another in Mr Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials (29). And another, in J. Foxe's Acts and Monuments (30), Bacon's Reports (31), and the Appendix to Dr Knight's Life of Erasmus (32).

[S] In 1541, came out a new Edition of the Bible in English, &c.] There is, in the beginning, the picture of King Henry VIII, with Crumwel and Cranmer; and the title is, ' The Bible in English, of the largest and greatest Volume: auctorysed and appointed, by the Commaundement of our most redoubted Prince and Sovereign Lord, King Henry VIII, Supreme Head of this his Church and Realm of England: To be frequented and used in every Church within this his said Realm; according to the tenour of his former injurections given in the behalf. Overseen and perused at the Commaundement of the King's Highness, by the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert Bishop of Durham; and Nicolas Bishop of Rochester. Printed by Edward Whitchurch, Cum Privilegio, ad imprimendum solum. 1541.' . . . The New Testament in English, of William Tindale's translation, was first printed in 1526, and the whole Bible by Myles Coverdale, in 1535. fol. (33).

[T] He went along with the Reformation.] In all points he gave obedience to every Law, and to all the injunctions that were made: but always in Parliament protested against the changes in Religion; which he thought he might with a good conscience submit to and obey; though he could not consent to them. Only in the matter of the corporal presence, he was still of the old persuasion, and writ about it (34).

(dd) See an abstract of that sermon in Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 336, &c.
(ff) De Unione Ecclesiastica.

(hh) Idem, p. 329, 330. and Appendix. p. 260.

(kk) Strype's Mem. Vol. II. p. 457, 458. 462. J. Collier says, he was dismissed the Council-board in 1547. Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 233.

(25) Mattheus, ut supra.

(26) Preface to the English Translation of Stephen Gardiner's book, *De vera Obedientia*, &c. 1553. 8vo. See Wood, Ath. Vol. I. Edit. 1721. col. 128.

(27) Strype's Ecclesiast. Mem. Vol. I. p. 299.

(28) Part III. Collect. No. 52.

(29) Vol. I. p. 296. and Appendix, No. 83. p. 206.

(30) Vol. II.

(31) Fol. 272.

(32) P. 66, &c.

(33) See J. Lewis's Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible. 8vo.

(34) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Part II. p. 194.

(ee) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 211. and Appendix, p. 147.

(gg) Strype's Ecclesiast. Mem. Vol. I. p. 296—299.

(ii) Idem, Appendix, p. 257.

(23) Cott. Libr. Cicop. L. 6. p. 248 b. See Strype's Ecclesiast. Mem. Vol. I. p. 191. and Appendix, p. 153.

(24) Wilkins, Concil. Vol. III. p. 745. See Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 63.

ing the revenues of his rich Bishopric, took the advantage of an accusation of misprision of treason brought against him; for which he was committed to the Tower, on the 20th of December 1551 (ll) [V]. The Parliament sitting, on the 28th of March, a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, to attain him for misprision of treason. Archbishop Cranmer spoke warmly and freely against it [W], not satisfied, it seems, with the charge that was laid: However, the Bill pass, and the Archbishop protested. But when it came down to the Commons, they were not satisfied with the evidence, which consisted of bare depositions of witnesses; but required, that the accusers might be brought face to face: And so it went no farther (mm). When he could not be ruined in a Parliamentary way, means were contrived to do it in a more private and effectual manner. For that purpose, a Commission was granted, September 21, 1552, to seven persons [X]; empowering them to call before them Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, and examine him of all manner of conspiracies &c. And if he were found guilty, to deprive him of his Bishopric (nn). Accordingly he was deprived, either the 11th or 14th of October (oo), and remained a prisoner in the Tower all the rest of King Edward's reign. Upon his deprivation, the Bishopric was offered to Dr Robert Horne, Dean of the same Church, who refused to accept of it: Next, to Nicolas Ridley, Bishop of London. Then a project was formed of dividing the Bishopric into two, by founding a new one at Newcastle: but that design did not take effect; nor, very probably, was it ever intended it should. For, though that is mentioned in a private Act of Parliament, in March 1552-3, whereby it was actually dissolved; yet, in April 1553, being converted into a County Palatine, it was given to the ambitious John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland (pp) [Y]. Upon Queen Mary's accession to the Throne, in 1553, Bishop Tonsall was not only delivered from his imprisonment, on the 5th of August (qq), but also reinstated in his Bishopric [Z]. March 13, 1554, he was put in Commission with Gardiner, Bonner, and others, to deprive Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York, and John Bird, Robert Ferrar, and Paul Bush, Bishops of St David's, Chester, and Bristol, on account of their being married (rr). Otherwise he behaved, during this whole cruel reign, with great lenity, moderation, and good nature; no ways embruing his hands in the blood of the faithful and unfortunate Protestants [AA], who were brought to the stake: so that his Diocese escaped the persecutions, which were too frequent in others at that time (ss). When Queen Elizabeth

(ll) King Edward's Journal, in Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation. Collect. of Records, p. 42. and Part II. of that History, p. 194, 195.

(nn) Strype's Ecclesiast. Mem. Vol. II. p. 367, 489.

(pp) Strype's Ecclesiast. Mem. Vol. II. p. 367, 395. and Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 283. and Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Part II. p. 215, 216. and Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 326.

(qq) Wharton, Anglia Sacra, Part I. p. 783. note.

(mm) Burnet, ibid. p. 194, 195. and Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype, fol. 1694. p. 288, 289.

(oo) Ibid. p. 367. and King Edward's Journal, ubi supra, p. 64.

(rr) Rymer, Act. Publ. Tom. XV. p. 370. Collect. of Records in Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Part II. p. 256, 257.

(ss) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Part I. p. 33, 159. and Part II. p. 195, 387. Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 190.

[V] Took the advantage of an accusation of misprision of treason brought against him, for which he was committed to the Tower, &c.] The best account of that affair is in the following Minutes in the Council-books. ' May 20, 1551. The Bishop of Durham is commanded to keep his house. August 2, He had licence to walk in the fields. December 20. Whereas the Bishop of Durham, about July 1550, was charged by Vivian Menville, to have consented to a conspiracy in the North, for the making a rebellion; and whereas, for want of a Letter written by the said Bishop to the said Menville (whereupon great trial of this matter depended) the final Determination of the matter could not be proceeded unto, and the Bishop only commanded to keep his house; the same letter hath of late been found in a casket of the Duke of Somerset's, after his last apprehension. The said Bishop was sent for, and this day appeared before the Council, and was charged with the Letter, which he could not deny but to be his own hand-writing: and having little to say for himself, he was then sent to the Tower, there to abide till he should be delivered by process of law (35).'

[W] Archbishop Cranmer spoke freely against it.] There was a constant good correspondence between Cranmer and him: Though in many things they differed in opinion; yet Tonsall was both a man of candour, and of great moderation, which agreed so well with Cranmer's temper, that no wonder they lived always in good terms (36). The Bill was greatly hurried through the House of Lords; for it was read three times, on March 28, 29, and 31 (37).

[X] A Commission was granted . . . to seven persons.] Namely to Sir Roger Cholmely, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Richard Rede, John Gofnold, Richard Goodrick, Robert Chidley, . . . Stamford, Esquires, and Richard Liel, Doctor of Law; or to seven, six, or five of them (38).

[Y] Was given to the ambitious John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.] Sir John Harrington's account of this affair may be deemed full severe, but it is in these words . . . ' Concerning this Bishoprick it is formerly noted by mine Author, that it was once dissolved by Act of Parliament in the Minority of King Edward VI, what time the two new Dukes of Sommerset and Northumberland, like the Souldiers that cast lots for Christ's garment, divided between them Patrimonium Crucifixi, namely the two good Bishopricks of Bath and Durham, one being designed as a Seat for the

Western Duke, the other for the Northern; and whereas by an old metamorphosis the Bishop of Durham had been Earle of Northumberland (39), now by a new Apotheosis the Duke of Northumberland would have bene Bishop of Durham: But *qui despectit de caelo deridebat eos*. That visible hand that wrote in the wall while Balthasar was quaffing in the holy vessels, that hand though invisible weighed these petty Monarchs in the ballance of God's judgements, found them too light; and because they should not grow too long, they were both cut shorter by the head: the Bishopricks restored to what they now are by Queene Mary, one being in substance, the other by accident of leaden mines, two of the best Bishopricks in England (40).'

[Z] But also reinstated in his Bishoprick.] ' As it was dissolved by Act of Parliament, and the Regalities of it, which had been given to the Duke of Northumberland, were now by his attainder fallen into the Queen's hands, she granted Dr Tonsall letters patent, whereby she erected that Bishopric anew; mentioning, that some wicked men, to enrich themselves by it, had procured it to be dissolved (41).—Upon his Appeal, a Commission had been granted to some persons to examine it: And in that Commission it is alleged, That the Sentence of Deprivation was given only by laymen; that Tonsall being kept prisoner long in the Tower, was brought to his trial, without either having counsel assigned him, or convenient time given him for clearing himself; and that, after divers protestations, notwithstanding his appeal, he had been deprived of his Bishoprick (42).'

[AA] No ways embruing his hands in the blood of the Protestants.] David Lloyd, in his uncouth way, speaks thus of him (43): ' In the reign of Queen Mary, he spake more harshly against the Protestants (calling Bishop Hooper *Beast* for being married) than he acted: being politickly presumed to bark the more, that he might bite the less; and observed to threaten much in London, and do little in his own Diocess. For I meet with a marginal note in Mr Foxe, which indeed justly deserved even in the fairest letters to be inserted in the body of his book: ' Note, that Bishop Tonsall in Queen Mary's days was no great bloody Persecutor: for Mr Ruffel a preacher was before him, and Dr Hinmer, his Chancellour, would have had him examined more particularly; the Bishop staid him, saying, Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours, I pray you bring not this man's blood upon my head.'

came

(35) Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, by J. Strype, p. 283. and see his Eccl. Memor. Vol. II. p. 366.

(36) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Pt. II. p. 195.

(37) Lords Journals.

(38) Strype's Eccl. Memor. Vol. II. p. 489.

(39) Hugh Pudsey.

(40) A briefe View of the State of the Church of England, &c. Lond. 1653. 8vo. p. 204.

(41) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Pt. II. p. 247.

(42) Burnet, ibid. p. 216. and Rymer, Act. Publ. Tom. XV. p. 334.

(43) State-Worthies, ed. 1679. p. 531.

came to the Crown, there were great hopes that a man of his great meekness and knowledge (ii) would have readily come into the Reformation; but being attached to some of the errors of Popery, and being indeed so far advanced in years, that he had in all probability but a very little time to live, he conscientiously chose rather to lose his rich Bishopric, than act against his own judgement (iii). Being therefore deprived in July 1559, for refusing the oath of Supremacy, he was committed to Matthew Parker, Archbishop elect of Canterbury [BB], in free custody, where he was entertained in a most kind, friendly, and brother-like manner (xx) [CC]. The Archbishop, in his frequent conversations with him, brought him off from many of the errors of Popery [DD]. He did not continue long in that retired and private condition: for he died November the 18th, 1559, at the age of eighty-five (yy); and was very handsomely buried in the chancel of Lambeth-Church, at the charge of Archbishop Parker (zz). Over his grave a black marble stone was soon after laid, with an epitaph composed by the learned Dr Haddon (aaa) [EE]. The several pieces he composed, and which were published either by himself or others, are set down below [FF]. His character hath been represented in the most advantageous light, by the immortal Erasmus, and other his contemporaries. They commend his charity, his hospitality, and generosity [GG]; his meekness, chastity, temperance,

(ii) Ingenio mihi vixque pontificio. Tabula Chronice sub Episcop. Dunelm. ad calcem Parkeri de Antiq. Brit. Eccl. Edit. Drake. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Part II. p. 387, 396.
(xx) Godwin's Catalogue, 25 above. Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 47.
(zz) Matthæi sumptibus honorifice humatus. Matthæus, ubi supra, p. 161.

[BB] He was committed to Matthew Parker, Archbishop elect of Canterbury.] Had Antony Wood considered every circumstance, he need not have asked, 'how that could be, seeing the said Matthew was not consecrated Archbishop till December 17, 1559 (44)?' But Bishop Tonstall was 'put in prison for a little while,' after his refusing the oath (45). And the *Compte d'héri* for Archbishop Parker being dated July 18, and he being actually elected August 1st (46), he might, at least from this last period, very properly bear the title of Archbishop, even before his consecration. However, to avoid all ambiguity, we have added above, in the text, the title of Archbishop elect.

[CC] Where he was entertained in a most kind, friendly, and brother-like manner. Non tam custodia observandus, quam summa excipiendus humanitate, alendusque; as Dr Drake's words are (47). 'He lived there, faith Lloyd (48), in sweet chambers, warm beds, by warm fires, with plentiful and wholesome diet at the Archbishop's own table: differing nothing from his former grandeur, save that that was at his own charges, and this at another's; and that he had not his former suit of superfluous servants, that long train that doth not swarn but weary the wearer thereof.'

[DD] The Archbishop . . . brought him off from many of the errors of Popery.] So the Archbishop himself testifies. *Hic, opera Matthæi, a multis Popisticis nugis, quas Maria regnante sequutus est, prorsus abducens fuit, Popalemque tam ambituose dilatatam, potentiam, plane a Christianorum cervicibus depellendam, & suæ, nempe Romanæ urbis atque diocesis finibus concludendam, affirmavit. . . . In articulis tamen quibusdam ecclesiasticis adhuc firmiter hæsit, uti Clericorum conjugia lege divina licita ac permissa statuerit* (49). i. e. 'By Matthew [Parker's] means he was entirely brought off from many Popish trifles, which he had adhered to under Queen Mary, and was of opinion, that the Pope's ambitious Power, which was stretched so far, ought to be shaken off from the necks of Christians, and confined within its proper bounds, namely the city and diocese of Rome.—However, he stuck firmly still to some articles of Popery, though he judged that the marriage of Priests was allowed by the law of God.' . . . And, in the point of justification, he was of the same opinion as the Reformed (50)—He told Bernard Gilpin, that in the matter of Transubstantiation, Pope Innocent III. had done unadvisedly, in making it an article of faith. And further confessed, that the Pope committed a great fault in the business touching indulgencies; and other thing (*).

[EE] With an Epitaph composed by the learned Dr Haddon.] It is in the old black English letter, and in these words:

Anglia Cuthbertum Tunstallum mesta requirit,
Cujus summa domi laus erat atque foris.
Rhetor, Arithmeticus, Juris consultus et equi,
Legatusque fuit; denique Presul erat.
Annorum Sater, & magnorum plenus honorum,
Vertitur in cinere aurei iste senex.
Vixit annos LXXXV. obiit
18 Novemb. MCCCCCLIX.

[FF] The several pieces he composed, and which were published by himself, &c.] Those published by himself were, 1. *In laudem Matrimonii. Oratio habita in Sponsalibus Mariæ filæ Hen. VIII. et Francisci Francorum Regis primogeniti.* Lond. 1518. 4to. i. e. 'In praise of Matrimony. An Oration pronounced at the Espousals of

Mary daughter of King Henry VIII, and Francis eldest son of Lewis XII. King of France. 2. *De Arte Suptandi libri quatuor, Cuthberti Tonstalli.* i. e. A Treatise of Arithmetic. London, 1522. 4to. Printed by R. Pinson; reprinted several times in divers parts. A very beautiful edition was printed at Paris in 1538, 4to, by the excellent Robert Stephens. 3. Sermon on Palm-Sunday before King Henry VIII, on Philippians ii. from ver. 5. to the 12th. London, 1539. 4to. Printed by Thomas Berthelet; reprinted in 1633. 4to. See above, note [2]. 4. *De veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Eucharistia, Authore Cuthberto Tonstallo Dunelmensi Episcopo.* i. e. Of the Truth of Transubstantiation. Paris, 1554. 4to. apud Vascosan. The preface is dated at the end, Anno Domini 1551. Bishop Burnet rightly observes, that 'the Latin stile of this book is much better than the Divinity and Reasonings in it (51).' 5. *Compendium & Synopsis in decem libros Ethicorum Aristotelis.* i. e. an Abridgment of Aristotle's Ethics. Paris, 1554. 8vo. apud Vascosan. 6. *Contra impios Blasphematores Dei Prædestinationis Opus Cuthberti Tonstalli Dunelmensis Episcopi.* i. e. Against the impious Blasphemers of God's Predestination. Antwerp, 1555. 4to. 7. Godly and devout Prayers, in English and Latin. 1558. 8vo.

His pieces published by others after his decease, were, I. A Letter written by him and John Stokesley, sometime Bishop of London; and confessed to Archbishop Parker, and others, to be his, about fourteen days before his death. Imprinted at London by Reginald Wolfe, Anno 1560. Inserted in Foxe's Vol. II (52); and also in the Appendix to Dr Knight's Life of Erasmus (53). See above, note [R]. II. Licence to Sir Thomas More for reading heretical Books (54). III. His Opinion and Resolutions concerning the Sacraments (55). IV. Arguments for the Divine Institution of Auricular Confession, with some Notes written on the margin by King Henry's own hand (56). V. Letter of his to the Lord Cromwel, concerning a book taken at Newcastle, called the Souls Garden (57). VI. Letter proving the subjection of the Realm of Scotland to the King of England. 1547 (58). VII. Answers to some Queries concerning the Abuses of the Mass, &c. (59). VIII. Letter to Cardinal Pole concerning his book *De Unione Ecclesiasticâ* (60). An abstract of it is in Jer. Collier's Ecclesiastical History (61); and the original is in the Cottonian Library (62). IX. Answer to the Embassadors of the Protestant German Princes (63). X. A Protest in the Convocation at York, against King Henry's title of Supreme Head of the Church of England (64). XI. His Oration to the Parliament, declaring to the people the office of a King; and his Answer to the Embassadors from James V, King of Scotland; are in Hall's Chronicle (65). XII. One of his Letters to Budæus, and two to Erasmus, are inserted amongst Erasmus's Letters (66); and there are, in the same Collection, one of Budæus, and five of Erasmus to him (67). XIII. Two Letters of his are also in the Collection of Records, at the end of Part III. of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation; namely, one upon the King's ordering the Bishops to send up their Bulls (68): And a Consolatory Letter to Henry VIII. after the death of Queen Jane (69).—Besides which, we are informed, that he had made a great many Remarks upon the *Jus Cæsareum* (70).

[GG] They commend his charity, his hospitality, &c.] William

(51) Hist. of the Reformation, Part II. p. 195.
(52) 972.
(53) P. 66—96.
(54) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Part I. Collect. of Records, p. 8.
(55) Id. p. 214, &c.
(56) Id. p. 363.
(57) Strype's Ecclesiast. Mem. Vol. I. Append. p. 185.
(58) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Collect. of Records, Part II. p. 106.
(59) Id. p. 133.
(60) Id. Part III. Collect. p. 464.
(61) Vol. II. p. 136.
(62) Cleopatra, E. 6. p. 385. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Part I. p. 367. and Addenda, No. 8.
(63) J. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 143, &c.
(64) See above, note [P].
(65) Under the 14th and 16th of Henry VIII. fol. 106. 133.
(66) Lib. 2. Ep. 29. Lib. 3. Ep. 2. Lib. 22. Ep. 22.
(67) Lib. 2. Ep. 30. Lib. 3. Ep. 3. Lib. 13. Ep. 24. Lib. 18. Ep. 48. Lib. 22. Ep. 23. Lib. 26. Ep. 59.
(68) P. 437.
(69) P. 476.
(70) Erasmi Epist. col. 583.

(44) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. col. 127, 128. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Part II. p. 396. and Knight, 25 above. In Strype's Aon. Vol. I. p. 142. it is said, that he was deprived Sept. 29.

(45) Cum annos 85 transfegisset. Antiq. Britann. ut supra.

(46) Godwin de Præfulibus, sub Tonstallo.

(47) Ath. Vol. I. col. 128.

(48) Burnet's History of the Reformation. Pt. II. p. 336.

(49) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 52.

(50) Tabula Chronice, ut supra.

(51) Ubi supra.

(52) Matthæus, ut supra, p. 161.

(53) See his book Contra impios Blasphematores Dei Prædestinationis.

(*) Life of Bernard Gilpin by Bishop Carleton, p. 114, 164. 4th ed. 1674.

perance, prudence, and industry [HH]. They describe him as a man of incomparable learning, sagacity, and judgment [II], of great probity, good-natured, modest, and endowed with rare virtues; of a most unblameable life: in a word, as the learnedest, best, humanest, kindest, and wisest man in his time. And withal very chearful and lively in conversation [KK]. We shall conclude this article with Bishop Tonstall's character of Yorkshire [LL].

William De Chambre, in particular, speaks thus of him (71). *Familiam honorificam semper secum tenuit, honorificeque attendebatur a generosis & hominibus plebeis; quocumque enim loco residebat, honorificam mensam valdeque largam semper secum habuit. In elemosynis erat abundans, in omni vitæ genere Præsul præclarus. i. e. 'He always had a creditable family, and was honourably attended by people of all conditions; for wherever he resided he kept a magnificent table. He was very charitable, and an illustrious Prelate in every respect.'*

(71) Anglia Sacra, Part I. p. 783.

(72) J. Pits, ubi supra, p. 760.

(73) Erasmi Epist. col. 27. Ed. 1642.

(74) Erasmi Epist. col. 783.

(75) T. Mori Epistola, inter Erasmanas, col. 120.

(76) Erasmi Epist. col. 400.

(77) Tabula affixa ad sepulcrum T. Mori, inter Epist. Erasmi, col. 1509.

[HH] *His meekness, chastity, temperance, prudence and industry.] Erat vir mitis & mansuetus, castus, & temperans, prudens, & industrius (72).*

[II] *They describe him as a man of incomparable learning.] So he is stiled by Erasmus. . . vir, præter utramque literaturam, quâ neminem suorum non superat, judicio excusso, ac naris, emundissimæ, &c. (73). See the next note; and above, note [FF].*

[KK] *Of a most unblameable life: in a word, as the learnedest, best, &c. in his time, &c.] Such is the character given him by Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus, two excellent judges. Is Homo est vitæ inculpatisimæ, utriusque Literaturæ ad unguem doctus, nec ullius honestæ disciplinæ rudis (74).—Quo ut nemo est omnibus bonis literis instructior, nemo vita moribusque severior, ita nemo est usquam in convivio jucundior (75).—Quo viro nihil habet hæc Ætas nec eruditius, nec melius, nec humanius (76).*

—*Quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditius, prudentius, melius (77).* See also Dr Burnet's History of the Reformation, Part I. Appendix, p. 301. and Part II. p. 396.

[LL] *We shall conclude this article with Bishop Tonstall's character of Yorkshire.] As this Prelate was attending upon King Henry VIII, in his progress towards the city of York, upon the hill beyond Barnesley, some four miles on this side Doncaster, he took an occasion to shew unto his Majesty, and speak of the pleasures of Yorkshire: requiring his Grace to behold and look upon the country before him there, affirming, that he*

should see the greatest and fairest valley there, that was in all Europe, from end to end, and he never saw the like as that was for all pleasures and commodities, which he could well testify and witness. And therefore desired his Highness to behold upon his right hand the great hills, the Yorkeswoldes, and Blakemore hills; and likewise to behold those great mountains and fells which were upon the left hand; the breadth of which valley is some thirty or sixty miles wide in the most places, and in length some eighty and one hundred miles: wherein for cities and towns, castles and manor-houses, famous rivers and brooks, parks and woods, corn, grafs, and cattle, fairs and markets, fish and fowl, mines and quarries of coal and stone, and likewise mines of lead, iron, and other metals, he never saw the like in all his travels. And for the truth and verity thereof, as it may and doth plainly appear, some miles west of Tadcaster there is within some seven or eight miles circuit seventy-seven manor-houses, whereof the worst of them were Esquires of an antient continuance. There be also within the same circuit twenty-five woods, thirty-two parks, sixteen rivers, eight market towns, and in them and other villages there, there be as many fairs in the year as in any other place in England. There be also twenty-four coal-mines, and divers furnaces both for melting and drawing forth iron into bars: There be also much other metals, if they were sought for; and for corn, grafs, and cattle, fish, and fowl, not inferior to the best place in all England. And there is one thing here more worthy to be spoken of than all the rest; which is of the great abundance of free-stone and lime, that is there to be found within that circuit; as much lime and free-stone as would build as many churches, cities, castles, towns, and houses, as are in all England, if need were. And for the pleasures of hunting and hawking, fishing and fowling, it is as delicate a place as any there is in all England (78).

(78) Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vid. Catalog. MSS. Angliæ. Vol. I. p. 222. col. 2, No. 14.

TYRRELL [JAMES], Author of a history of England, and descended from an ancient and considerable family [A]; was the eldest son of Sir Timothy Tyrrell of Shotover, near Oxford, Knight, by Elizabeth his wife, sole daughter and heir of the most learned Dr James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh. He was born in Great Queen-Street, in the parish of St Giles's in the Fields, Middlesex, in the month of May, 1642, and educated chiefly in the Free-school at Camberwell in Surrey. In the year 1657, he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Queen's-College in Oxford, where he continued three years under the tuition of Mr Thomas Tully and Mr Timothy Halton. Thence he went to the Inner-Temple, to study the laws of the land (a). On the 28th of September, 1663, he was created Master of Arts at Oxford (b). And, about two years after, was called to the Barr. However, he did not practise in that profession; but employed himself very diligently in studying the History and Constitution of this country, as his learned works afterwards sufficiently evinced. He resided chiefly upon his estate at Oakeley near Brill in

(a) A. Wood, Athenæ, Edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 972.

(b) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 155.

[A] *Descended from an ancient and considerable family.] The Tirel, or Tyrrel, family is of great antiquity in England; . . . Tirel being one of those eminent men who came over with William the Conqueror in 1066 (1). And Walter Tirell was the person said to have shot William Rufus in the year 1100 (2). One of them was the common ancestor of the numerous family of the Tyrrels, seated both in Ireland and England.—Hugh Tirell was one of those brave English Noblemen, who, in the year 1172, made a conquest of Ireland (3). Some of them were Barons of Castle-Knoc in the county of Dublin, whose estate by females was transferred to other families about 1370 (4). And a branch of them is seated at Fertulogh, in the county of West-Meath (5)——In England; the manor of Thornton in Buckinghamshire, after having passed through the families of Barton and Ingleton, became the possession of the Tyrrels, descended from Jane heir-general of Robert Ingleton (6), the last of that name in the beginning of King Henry VIII. From whom are also descended both the other families of the Tyrrels in this county, of Castlethorp and Oakeley: and they all descended from one common ancestor,*

Humphrey Tyrrel, Esq; nephew of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, one of the coheirs of Sir Humphrey le Bruin, as well as the said Humphrey Tyrrel. That family hath also a seat at Leckhamstead, in the same county (7). And a branch of the same family is seated at Heron-gate in Essex; Sir Edward Tyrrel, Knt. being created a Baronet, October 31, 1627.—To return to Humphrey Tyrrel: George his eldest son dyed in 1571, and He, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Aston of Aston in Cheshire, Esq; had an elder son, Sir Timothy, Knt. Master of the Buckhounds to Prince Henry and King Charles I, who dyed in 1633, leaving issue by Eleanor his wife, daughter of Sir William Kingsmill, his eldest son, Sir Timothy, Knt. of Oakeley and Shotover, one of the privy Chamber to King Charles I, a Colonel, Governor of Caerdiff, and General of the Ordinance under the Lord Gerard, who paid 750l. composition for his estate. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Archbishop Usher, he had James, who is the subject of this article, and three other sons: besides several daughters (8).

(7) Camden, Vol. I. col. 333.

(8) English Baronetage, as above.

(1) Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores antiqui, editi ab And. Duchesne. Paris. 1619. fol. Appendix, p. 1125. Stow's Annales, p. 106, 108. Hollinshed's Chronicle, Vol. III. p. 5. Histoire du Roy Willaume par Fr. d'Eudemare. Rouen, 1629. 2mo. p. 673.

(2) Florentius Wigorn. ad ann. 1100. But Ordericus Vitalis says, he was a brave French knight, an inhabitant of Pontoise, and a renowned warrior, p. 782, 783.

(3) Camden's Britannia, edit. 1722. Vol. II. col. 1322.

(4) Idem, col. 1365.

(5) Idem, col. 1373.

(6) She is said to have brought thirty Manors to that family. The English Baronetage, edit. 1741. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 76, &c.

Buckinghamshire, and was made one of the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace for that county: in which offices he continued till King James the Second turned him and the rest out of Commission, for not assisting in taking away the Penal Laws and Test (c). Upon the Revolution, he zealously espoused King William's interest, and writ with great strength in vindication of his Expedition into England, and his title to the Crown; as will be shewn presently. When he began compiling his History of England, he came and lived chiefly at Shotover, near Oxford, for the benefit of the Bodleian, and other Libraries in that University (d). The first thing he published, was a book written by his grandfather, Archbishop Usher [B]; and he wrote also a Vindication of that learned Primate [C]. He did not run into those extravagant notions about the Prerogative, and Passive-obedience and Non-resistance, which were so much espoused and recommended in his time; but was for a limited Monarchy; as appears by his answer to Sir Robert Filmer [D], and especially by his fourteen Political Dialogues [E], of which an account is given

(c) Wood, Ath. ut supra.

(d) From the information of a person who knew him.

[B] *The first thing he published, was a book written by his grandfather, Archbishop Usher.* A. Wood says, it was Mr Tyrrell who published it (9). But, upon inspection, it appears that it was published by Dr Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, and dedicated by our Author to King Charles II. The title of it is, 'The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject. Briefly laid down and confirmed out of the Holy Scriptures, Testimony of the primitive Church, Dictates of right Reason, and Opinion of the Wisest among the heathen Writers. By the most reverend Father in God, James late Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. Published out of the original Copy written with his own hand by the reverend Father in God, Robert Lord Bishop of Lincoln, with his Lordship's Preface thereunto, dated London, Dec. 31, 1660. With an Epistle Dedicatory to the King by James Tyrrell.' Lond. 1661. 4to. Bishop Sanderson, in the Preface, acquaints us, That this Treatise was written by the reverend and learned Author, at the special command of King Charles I. about the time when those unhappy Distempers did first begin to appear openly in our land. As soon as the Treatise was finished, the Author caused a Copy thereof to be fairly transcribed, and, with a Dedicatory Epistle prefixed thereunto, to be presented to his Majesty; who having read the Book, signified his Will and Pleasure that it should be Printed. Which notwithstanding, whether by the Negligence or Unfaithfulness of the Party to whose Care and Trust it was committed, was not done, &c.

Mr Tyrrell concludes his Dedication in these words. . . 'I shall now make this my most humble Suit to your Majesty, that as the reverend Author in his life-time publicly professed his Loyalty to his Sovereign, and constantly prayed for your Majesty's happy and glorious Return to these your Kingdoms, and in all things shewed himself your loyal Subject, so you would be pleased to own him as such, by affording your gracious Countenance to this his posthumous Work, which will eternize the Memory of the deceased Author, and thereby confer the greatest temporal Blessing on,

' Your Majesty's most loyal

' And obedient Subject,

' James Tyrrell.'

[C] *And he wrote also a Vindication of that learned Primate.* It contains three and thirty pages in folio, and is printed at the end of *The Life of Dr James Usher, Lord Primate of Armagh*, published by Richard Parr, D. D. Lond. 1686. with this title, 'An Appendix to the Life of the Lord Primate Usher, containing a Vindication of his Opinions and Actions in reference to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and his conformity thereunto, from the aspersions of Peter Heylin, D. D. in his Pamphlet called *Respondet Petrus.*' This *Respondet Petrus*, was the Answer of Peter Heylin, D. D. to so much of Dr Bernard's book, entitled *The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a party by the said Lord Primate in the point of the Sabbath.* Lond. 1658. 4to.

[D] *As appears by his answer to Sir Robert Filmer.* This answer is entitled, '*Patriarcha non Monarcha*: or the Patriarch unmonarched; being Observations on a late Treatise and divers other Miscellanies, published under the name of Sir Robert Filmer, Baronet, in which the Falseness of those Opinions that would make Monarchy *jure divino* are laid open, and the true Principles of Government and Property (especially in our Kingdom) asserted.' Lond. 1681. 8vo.

This book was reprinted upon by Mr Edmund

Bohun, in the Preface to the Second Edition of Sir Robert's *Patriarcha*; 1685. 'In which (as it is said) Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha* is vindicated from the cavils and misconstructions of the Author of a piece stiled *Patriarcha non Monarcha, &c.*'

[E] *And especially by his fourteen Political Dialogues.* The nine first of these Dialogues were published in 1692; the tenth in 1693; the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, in 1694; and the fourteenth in 1695. quarto. Afterwards they were collected into one volume folio, with this general title, '*Bibliotheca Politica: or an Enquiry into the antient Constitution of the English Government, with respect to the just Extent of the Regal Power, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.* Wherein all the chief Arguments, both for and against the Late Revolution, are impartially represented and considered. In fourteen Dialogues. Collected out of the best Authors, antient and modern.' Lond. 1718. 1727. That the Reader may judge of the nature of this work, we shall give him this short summary of it. He enquires, therefore, in Dialogue the *first*, whether Monarchy be *Jure Divino*? In the *second*, whether there can be made out from the Natural, or Revealed Law of God, any Succession to Crowns by Divine Right? In the *third*, whether Resistance of the Supreme Power, by a whole Nation, or People, in cases of the last extremity, can be justified by the Law of Nature, or Rules of the Gospel? In the *fourth*, whether absolute Non-resistance of the Supreme Powers be enjoined by the Doctrine of the Gospel, and was the antient practice of the Primitive Church, and the constant Doctrine of our Reformed Church of England? In the *fifth*, whether the King be the sole Supreme Legislative Power of the Kingdom: And whether our Great Councils, or Parliaments, be a fundamental part of the Government, or else proceeded from the Favour and Concessions of former Kings? In the *sixth*, and *seventh*, whether the Commons of England, represented by Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament, were one of the Three Estates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III, or eighteenth of Edward I? The *eighth*, is a Continuation of the same Discourse, concerning the Antiquity of the Commons in Parliament; wherein the best Authorities for it are proposed and examined: with an entrance upon the question of Non-resistance. In Dialogue the *ninth*, he enquires, whether by the antient Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom, as well as by the Statutes of the thirteenth and fourteenth of King Charles II, all Resistance of the King, or of those commissioned by him, are expressly forbid upon any pretence whatsoever: And also, whether all those who assisted his Majesty, King William, either before, or after his coming over, are guilty of the breach of this Law? In the *tenth*, 1. whether a King of England can ever fall from, or forfeit his Royal Dignity for any breach of an original contract, or wilful violation of the fundamental laws of the Kingdom? 2. Whether King William, the Norman, did by his Conquest acquire such an absolute unconditional Right to the Crown of this Realm for himself and his heirs, as could never be lawfully resisted or forfeited for any male-administration or tyranny whatever? In the *eleventh*, 1. In what sense all Civil Power is derived from God, and in what sense it may be also from the people. 2. Whether his Majesty King William, when Prince of Orange, had a just cause of war against King James II? 3. Whether the proceedings of his Majesty, before he was King, as also of the late Convention, in respect of the said King James, is justifiable by the Law of Nations, and the constitution of our Government? In the *twelfth*, 1. Whether the vote of the late Convention, wherein they declared the Throne to be vacant, can be justified from

(9) Athen. col. 973.

given below. Subjects of a religious nature did likewise sometimes employ his thoughts; for he drew up a clear and elegant Abridgment, in English, of Bishop Cumberland's Philosophical Disquisition, or Enquiry, into the Laws of Nature [F], which was published in 1692. But his capital work was, 'The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil; from the earliest Accounts of Time;' which he intended to bring down to the reign of King William III [G]; but which was compleated, and published, only as far as the end of King Richard the Second [H]. In that work, he makes it his business to oppose and confute Dr Brady's History of England (e); especially these two favourite notions of the Doctor's, 'that all the Liberties and Privileges the People can pretend to, were the Grants and Concessions of the Kings of this Nation, and were derived from the Crown (f) [I]. And, that the Commons of England represented by

(e) See above, the article BRADY [ROBERT].

(f) See preface to Vol. I. of Dr Brady's Complete History of England, p. 1.

the antient constitution and customs of this Kingdom? 2. Whether the said Convention, declaring King William and Queen Mary to be lawful and rightful King and Queen of England, may be justified by the said Constitution? 3. Whether the act passed in the said Convention, after it became a Parliament, whereby Roman-Catholick Princes are debarred from succeeding to the Crown, was according to Law? In the *thirteenth*, 1. Whether an oath of Allegiance may be taken to a King or Queen *de facto*, or for the time being? 2. What is the obligation of such an oath; whether to an actual defence of their Title against all persons whatsoever, or else to a bare submission to their power? 3. Whether the Bishops, who refused to take the oath of Allegiance to their Majesties, could be lawfully deprived of their Bishopricks? In the *fourteenth* Dialogue he shews, that the Arraigning and Murther of King Charles I, can by no means be justified by the proceedings of the Convention-Parliament against King James II, upon his Abdication; the grounds and manner thereof being wholly different. Proved by an exact relation of the beginning, progress, and issue of the late Civil War.——The chief books our Author cites, and animadvert upon; are, Dr Brady's, and Sir Robert Filmer's several pieces, Dr Hickeys's Jovian, P. Heylin's Stumbling-block of Rebellion, Dr Johnston's Excellency of Monarchical Government, L'Estrange's Observators, Bishop Sanderson's Preface to Archbishop Usher's Power of the Prince, Digges's Unlawfulness of Subjects taking up arms, &c. To which he opposes the Authorities of Grotius, Puffendorf, William Petyt, Esq; . . . Cooke's *Argumentum Anti-Normannicum*, Rushworth, &c. And in this work he shews a very extensive reading, and thorough knowledge of our Constitution.

[F] For he drew up a clear and elegant Abridgment, in English, of Bishop Cumberland's Philosophical Disquisition, or Enquiry, into the Laws of Nature. The Bishop's book was written in Latin, with this title, *De Legibus Naturæ Disquisitio Philosophica: in qua earum Forma, Summa Capita, Ordo, Promulgatio, & Obligatio à rerum natura investigantur; quin etiam Elementa Philosophiæ Hobbeianæ, tum moralis, tum civilis, considerantur & refutantur*. Lond. 1672. 4to (10). Our Author's Abridgment of it was intitled, 'A brief Disquisition of the Law of Nature, according to the Principles and Method laid down in the reverend Dr Cumberland's (now Lord Bishop of Peterborough's) Latin Treatise on that Subject. As also his Confutations of Mr Hobbs's Principles, put into another method. With the right reverend Author's approbation.' Lond. 1692. 8vo. A Second edition corrected, and somewhat enlarged, came out in 1701. The right reverend Author's approbation was contained in a Letter to the Bookfeller, wherein he thus speaks of Mr Tyrrell's performance . . . 'I found that he had not only well translated and epitomized in some places what I had written in Latin, but had fully digested the chief things of my Design in a well-chosen Method of his own, with great perspicuity, and had added some Illustrations of his own, or from other learned Authors, with a Philosophical Liberty, which I must needs allow. For this reason I judged that the then unknown Author had given too low a title to his Book, and that I was to esteem him a good *Hyperaspistes*, or able Second, in this combat for Truth and Justice, rather than a Translator or Epitomizer of what I had written. . . . And I hope that since this Learned Gentleman hath conquered the Difficulties of the Search into the Rise of the Laws of Nature, now many of our younger Gentry will be encouraged to follow him in the way which this his Treatise makes plain before them (11). For from thence they may receive assistance, not only to discern the Reasonableness of all Vertue and Morality, which is their duty and ornament as they are Men, but also they may

(10) See above, the article CUMBERLAND [RICHARD].

(11) The Bishop's Book had been complained of for Obscurity; though it was more in the subject itself, than in the manner of treating it. See the above said Article.

here see the true foundations of civil Government and Property, which they are most obliged to understand, because, as Gentlemen, they are born to the greatest interest in them both.'——

[G] *The General History of England, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, &c.* The rest of the title will inform us with what it further contains: . . . being as follows . . . 'Taken from the most Ancient Records, Manuscripts, and Printed Historians. With Memorials of the most eminent Persons in Church and State. As also the Foundations of the most noted Monasteries, and both Universities.' What he published of it, is comprised in Five Volumes folio: sometimes bound in Three. And printed at London 1700. 1704.

[H] But which was compleated, and published, only as far as the end of King Richard II. It is said that Mr Tyrrell had brought that History down lower; but was prevented by death, or otherwise, from making it public (12).

(12) Vide T. Hearne's Pref. ad Tho. de Elmham, p. 17.

[I] That all the Liberties and Privileges the People can pretend to, were the Grants and Concessions of the Kings of this Nation. The patrons of that Opinion grounded it upon the Conquest of William I, or the Bastard; alledging, that by his subduing of Harold and the whole English Nation at the battel of Hastings, he thereby put an end to the old Saxon Government and Laws; so that no man at this day can claim any right to their Liberties, or any kind of property, but what must be owned as wholly derived from the Laws, Concessions, and Charters that have been from time to time granted by Him and the Succeeding Kings of this realm (13). What the Liberties and Privileges of this Nation were under the Saxons, our Author had shewn, in the Introduction to the first Volume of his History (14); wherein he observes, among other things, That their Government was rather Aristocratical, than Monarchical; and that their Kings were at first no better than Generals in war, and in time of peace had little or no power: Moreover, that their succession to the Crown was not lineal, or hereditary, but mostly elective, &c. (15).——As to the supposition, of all the Liberties and Privileges of the people being annihilated by the Conquest; he cannot rest satisfied with it. For they who make it, 'being greater friends to the arbitrary Power of Kings, than to the Laws and Liberties of their country, lay down this hypothesis, thereby to confer on the Prince an absolute power to break all our Laws, and seize upon our Liberties and Properties at his pleasure, and thereby reduce this kingdom to the same miserable state of Slavery with some of our neighbouring Nations; upon the aforesaid pretence, That all the Liberties and Privileges we now enjoy, being at first derived from the Concessions of former Kings (and those in great part wrested from them by force) their Successors may, whenever they shall think it conducing to the greater safety of the kingdom, (of which they are to be the sole judges) reassume them, and thereby make themselves absolute masters of the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of their Subjects, as they suppose their Conqueror and his son William Rufus to have been during their times. Nor may any body question or resist such Princes if they shall think fit so to do, since they have by this supposed Conquest of their predecessors, an absolute and indefeasible right to the Crown of England, paramount to all Laws, Compacts, and Coronation-oaths, the interpretation of which must lie wholly in their breasts, as being responsible to none but God, if they either wrest, or wilfully break and transgress them (16). These arbitrary Maxims our Author opposes all along; shewing by many instances, that King William I. did not claim and exercise an absolute Dominion over the Lives and Liberties of all his Subjects.——The same point is also professedly handled by Mr Cooke, in his *Argumentum Anti Normannicum*: or an Argument proving,

(13) Filmer, Brady, &c.

(14) P. 34, 39, &c.

(15) P. 41, &c.

(16) Introduced to Vol. II. of History. See Bibliotheca Ficticia, Dialog. and 10th.

Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes of Parliament, were not introduced, nor were one of the three Eſtates in Parliament, before the forty-ninth of Henry III [K]. Before which time,

proving, from ancient Histories and Records, that William, Duke of Normandy, made no absolute Conquest of England by the Sword; in the Sense of our modern Writers (17).

[K] That the Commons of England, represented by Knights, Citizens and Burgesſes of Parliament, were not introduced, nor were one of the Three Eſtates of Parliament, before the 49th of Henry III.] There being, in none of our Offices, any precepts to the Sheriffs, to cause Two Knights out of each Shire, and Citizens and Burgesſes out of the respective Cities and Burghs, to be chosen and returned for Parliament, before the 49th of Henry III. A. D. 1265. Dr Brady (18), and others, inferred from thence, That before that time, the body of the Commons of England, or Freemen collectively taken, had not any share or votes in making of Laws for the Government of the kingdom, nor had any communication in Affairs of State, unless they were represented by the Tenants *in capite*.—Now the said year 1265 happening during the Barons wars, and while the King was their prisoner; it was intended thereby to insinuate, That the House of Commons was the Offspring of Rebellion.—Before that period, according to the opinion of the best Antiquaries (19), the Parliaments consisted of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and Barons. Of these Barons there were two sorts, the greater Barons, or the King's chief tenants, who held of him *in capite* by Barony: And the lesser Barons, who held of the King by military service, *in capite*. The former had summons to parliament by several writs: and the latter (that is, all those who were possessed of thirteen Knights-fees and a quarter) had a general summons from the Sheriff in each county. This is quite plain from the following clauses in King John's *Magna Charta* . . . ' Et ad habendum Commune Consilium regni de Auxilio assidendo, aliter quam in tribus casibus predictis, vel de Scutagio assidendo, summoneri faciemus Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Abbates, Comites, & majores Barones sigillatim per literas nostras: & preterea faciemus summoneri in generali, per vicecomites & ballivos nostros, omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite, ad certum diem, scilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, & ad certum locum; et, in omnibus literis illius summonitionis, causam summonitionis exprimemus.' i. e. ' And in order to have [or hold] a Common Council of the kingdom for assessing an Aid, (otherwise than in the three cases aforesaid) (20) or for assessing a Scutage, we shall cause to be summoned the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and greater Barons severally by our letters; and, moreover, we shall cause to be summoned in general, by our Sheriffs and Bailiffs, all those who hold of us *in capite*, to a certain day, namely at the end, or expiration, of forty days at the least (21), and to a certain place; and, in all the letters of such summons, we shall express the cause of the summons.'—Here being no mention of Knights of Shires, or other Representatives of the Commons, for so important an affair as the granting of Money, we may very justly conclude, that there were then none.—In this state things continued till the 49th of Henry III; when, instead of keeping the old form, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and his party, thought fit to summon, not all, but those of the greater Barons who sided with them. And, instead of the lesser Barons, who came with large retinues, they sent their writs to the Sheriff in each county, to cause two Knights in every Shire to be chosen, and one, two, or four Burgesſes for each Burgh, to represent the body of the people, residing in those Counties and Burghs: lest they should be in no small danger from such unlimited and tumultuous assemblies. If that form had been observed before, it is amazing there should not be the least remains of it in our Records or public Offices. Unless we suppose, with the learned Bishop Squire (22), that there were not any formal Summons even to the Lords before the 49th of Henry III; because they were to come to the Parliament *suo jure*, in their own right, by prescription, and consequently there was no occasion for any Summons.

But to trace this matter higher up, even to its origin: It is universally allowed, that our Constitution is founded upon the Saxon Government once established in this island. And it is certain, that Power and Authority naturally follow Property. Government and Legislation therefore must be vested of course in the richest

persons in the state, and those that are put in places of trust and dignity. Among the ancient Germans indeed, of whom the Saxons were a branch, all had a right to be present at the public Assemblies (23); that is, all the Land-holders, but not those whose chief business it was to cultivate the land, and to be employed in mechanic arts; for these were supposed to be present, and to give their consent to the Laws, by their Lords, or those whose lands they occupied (24). And, after the Saxons were settled here, every Land-holder of the Kingdom, whether of the Clergy or Laity, who was of an approved age, and had not forfeited this privilege by some previous misdemeanor, had originally a right to be present there in person, whenever he pleased to make use of that right (25). But, in process of time, the lesser Freeholders finding it an intolerable burthen to attend the *Witena-gemot* twice a year, even from the remotest parts of the Kingdom; they left the burthen of that attendance to the Richer, who had better means, and more leisure: or they sent Deputies out of the several Tithings to represent them; as trading Communities afterwards did (26). And there is all the reason to believe, that this method continued with very little alteration, after the Conquest, and even in King John's time. For, the confirmation of *Magna Charta*, in a great Council, or Parliament, holden in Runnemede, A. D. 1215, is not only a good evidence of what was usually done (27); but is also an emblem of the *Champs de Mars*, or *May*, among the old Franks, which were in effect the same Assemblies as were afterwards called Parliaments; they being held in a large open field, capacious of the greatest company, and most commonly by the side of a river, for the conveniency of water (28).

Now if we examine further, wherein the difference between Mr Tyrrell and Dr Brady consists, it will appear from the following particulars. Upon examining the Saxon Laws (29), and the ancient Gemots, Councils, and Synods (30); it is manifest, that the Legislative Power was lodged in the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots; and in other persons that are denoted by the following names: *Witum, Witan, Witena*, or *Witenan, Sapientes, Wisemen, Ealdormen, Aldoras, Seniores, Seniores, Aldermen, Elders, or Senators; Eadigan, Optimates, Magnates, Primates, Proceres, Principes*, the great or chief men; *Aethelun*, the Nobles; *Thegen*, or Thains; *Consiliarii*, Counsellors; *Satrapæ Praefecti*, Governors; *Duces*, Commanders; *Comites*, Governors of Counties; *Tam Clerus quam Populus*, Clergy and People; *Lege eruditi*, learned in the Law.—Who are meant by all these names? is the question. Dr Brady contends (31), that *Witen*, or *Sapientes*, mostly signifies Noblemen, or great Lawyers: That *Optimates, Magnates*, &c. denote only Chief, Great, or Noble Men (32): That *Clerus* and *Populus* signify only Clergy and Laity (33): That the Saxon *Witena-gemotes* consisted only of Archbishops, Bishops, *Masse-Thegnes*, or dignified and great Clergymen, Aldermen, or *Comites*, King's Gervases, or *Præpositi*, King's Thegns, Ministers, or Officers, his Counsellors, Judges, or Magistrates (34).—In opposition to this, Mr Tyrrell affirms, that the general or great Council of Estates, consisted of the Clergy, Nobility, and Deputies of Cities and great Towns (35): That Dr Brady brings no good authority for the word *Sapientes* signifying only Noblemen, or great Lawyers (36): That the word *Nobilis* includes not only Noblemen of title, such as Dukes, Marquises, &c. but also all Gentlemen of families, who are well born, and do not exercise mechanic trades (37): [But it is to be remembered, that there was no Duke in England till King John's reign, and no Marquis till Richard the Second's. And that it was not the title as now, but the estates, or high posts and offices, that were qualifications for sitting in Parliament.] To proceed; Mr Tyrrell goes on with observing, that *Proceres* does not signify only men noble by birth, but the chiefest of subjects or citizens: And *Primates*, no more than principal or chief men, however born: That *Optimates* signifies no more than the better sort of men and great Lords, and is not confined to the King's Thanes, or Tenants *in capite* only: And *Principes* doth not always signify Princes, or men noble by birth, but any chief or principal man, remarkable by place, office, or dignity (38).

(23) De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes tractentur. Taciti Germania, c. 11.

(24) Bishop Squire, as above, p. 174, 177.

(25) Idem, p. 167.

(26) Idem, p. 240, 244, 245.

(27) Vide Matt. Westmonast. ad ann. 1215.

(28) Bishop Squire, as above, p. 170—173. note.

(29) As published by W. Lambard, Abraham Wheloc, and Dr Wilkins.

(30) Published by Sir Henry Spelman, and Dr Wilkins. See also our ancient English Historians.

(31) Glossary at the end of his Introduction to the old English History, p. 66.

(32) Ibid. p. 57.

(33) Introduction to Eng. Hist. p. 26.

(34) Ibid. p. 10.

(35) Tyrrell's General Introduction to his Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 87.

(36) Ibid. p. 88.

(37) Ibid. p. 91.

(38) Ibid. p. 92. See Right of the Commoners asserted &c. by William Petyt, Esq; Lond. 1680. 8vo.

(17) Lond. 1682. 8vo.

(18) Introduction to the old English History, p. 130, &c.

(19) Sir W. Dugdale's Origines Juridic. p. 17, 18.

(20) Viz. for redeeming the King, if taken prisoner; making his eldest Son a Knight; and marrying his eldest Daughter once.

(21) From the date of the Summons.

(22) Enquiry into the foundation of the English Constitution; or an Historical Essay upon the Anglo-Saxon Government. Lond. 1745. 8vo. p. 253. note.

(g) See his Introduction to the Old English History, in the beginning.

(b) From an account sent to us.

time, the body of the Commons of England, or Freemen collectively taken, had not any share or votes in making Laws for the Government of the Kingdom, nor had any communication in affairs of State, unless they were represented by the Tenants *in capite* (g). Our Author, Mr Tyrrell, is chiefly valuable for his copious translation of all our old English Historians, and his methodical arrangement of them under the respective years: By which means, the Reader sees their different accounts at one view. But, as it is not so agreeably digested, nor so well interwoven, as some more modern, though less faithful, Histories; therefore it is not so much sought after by the indolent and thoughtless, that is, the generality of Readers: who look into books more for amusement than real improvement. However, it hath an intrinsic value, and deserves a place in the Libraries of all lovers of the History and Antiquities of Great Britain. Though it must be owned, that it is not free from faults and mistakes [L]. This learned and industrious Author died in 1718, aged seventy-five, and upwards, and was buried in Oakley church (b). He married Mary, daughter and heir of Sir Michael Hutchinson of Fladbury in Worcestershire, Knight; by whom he had the late Lieutenant-General James Tyrrell, of Shotover, Esq; (i) [M].

(i) English Baronetage, Vol. II. Edit. 1741. p. 79.

One common Mistake there is running among all those who have writ upon this subject; which is, That they judge of the ancient times by the present, and think that the Number of Freeholders then, bore any proportion to what they do now. Whereas it appears from Domesday-book, that the Holders of all the Lands, in 1087, were under 1200. So that the majority of them might, without any great inconvenience, be summoned to, and appear at, the great Councils of the Nation; supposing that they were all qualified by having Thirteen Knights-fees and a quarter, which there is great reason to question: Or rather they may reasonably be supposed not to have been above five, or six hundred.

A pretty exact account of the several Times, and Places, wherein our Kings, after the Conquest, used to keep their Courts, either *de more*, according to custom, or otherwise, may be seen in the Folio Edition of Rapin's History, at the end of each King's reign. At those times, the great Councils of the Nation were commonly holden, as hath been shewn by the learned Mr T. Madox (39). — It is to be observed, That the first time the word *Parliamentum* occurs in our ancient Historians, Bromton, and the rest (40), is under the year 1164. And according to W. Prynne, in his Animadversions, the first Record wherein *Parliamentum* is used for Parliament, is clause 28 Hen. III. memb. 12. *dorso*. See Spelman's Glossary, under *Parliamentum*.

[L] Though it must be owned, that it is not free from faults

and mistakes.] He hath committed several Mistakes in his Translations from the ancient Historians, as I have observed in many instances; and he hath also suffered himself to be overbypassed by the notion, That the Norman Conquest had brought little or no Alteration in the English Constitution: which it certainly did in many instances; especially in that very material point of Tenures, as hath been shewn by the best judge in those affairs, the very learned Sir Henry Spelman, in his treatise of the Origin of Feuds and Tenure by Knights Service.

[M] By whom he had the late Lieutenant-General James Tyrrell, of Shotover, Esq;] That gentleman was Colonel of a regiment of foot; and his Commission, as Colonel, bore date April 21, 1709, as Major-general, December 18, 1735; and as Lieutenant-general, July, 1739. He was one of the Grooms of the bed-chamber to his late Majesty, when Prince of Wales, and represented the Corporation of Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, in the third parliament of King George I, and the first and second of King George II. He was also Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury-fort; appointed, in May 1742, Governor of Berwick and Holy-island; and dyed the 30th of August following, aged sixty-eight (41). His body was buried in Oakley church; where is a monument, erected to his memory, by his kinsman Augustus Schutz, to whom he left his estate from the Tyrrell-family.

(41) English Baronetage, &c. above, p. 79. and London Magazine, in May and September, 1742.

(39) History of the Exchequer, p. 2—6. See also Spelman's Conc. Tom. I. p. 347. ed. 1639.

(40) Bromton apud Sciptores. fol. 1058.

V.



VANE [SIR HENRY], the Younger, a man of a very ambiguous character in the last century; eldest son of Sir Henry Vane of Hadlow in Kent, Knight [A], was born about the year 1612. His education was at Westminster-School, with Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Thomas Scot, and others of that stamp (a); at which time, the liveliness of his temper rendered him acceptable company to those called good fellows; and yet he abstained from that lewdness, which intemperance sometimes leads into. At the age of fourteen, or fifteen, he became altered in his disposition (b); though he is not pleased to tell us by what means. About the sixteenth year of his age, he was admitted a Gentleman-Commoner of Magdalen-hall in Oxford; but when he should have been matriculated as a Member of the University, and taken the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he quitted his gown, put on a cloak, and studied notwithstanding for some time in that Hall (c); where, we are told, that though he was under the care of a very worthy Tutor, he lived not with great exactness. After that, he spent some little time in France, and more in Geneva; from whence he imported a full prejudice and bitterness, both against the Government, and the Liturgy, of the Church of England. His father, then Controller of the House-

(a) Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. Edit. 1721. col. 291.

(b) The Life and death of Sir Henry Vane, Edit. Lond. 1662. 4to. p. 3. and his last speech.

(c) Wood, as above.

[d] Son of Sir Henry Vane of Hadlow in Kent.] The family is said to have been originally of the diocese of Durham (1). They derive themselves from Howel ap Vane of Monmouthshire; whose son, Griffith ap Howel Vane, had to wife Lettice, daughter of Bledwin ap Kenwyn, Lord of Powis.—The 6th in descent from him, was Henry Vane, knighted for his valiant behaviour at the battle of Poitiers, in 30 Edw. III, whose descendant, in the fifth generation, named—John, altered his name from *Vane* to *Fane*; and by his wife Isabel, daughter of John Darell, of the county of Kent, Esq; had four sons, and three daughters: Henry—Richard, ancestor to the present Earl of Westmorland; Thomas; and—John, ancestor to the Lords Bernard, and the now Earl of Darlington (2). This John had the manor of *Hadlowe*, and other estates in Kent, and elsewhere, of the gift of his elder brother Henry, who dyed without issue. By Joan his wife, daughter and co-heir of Edward Hault, Esq; he had—Henry; and Richard; and Thomas. Henry was unwarily drawn into Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection, but pardoned by Queen Mary, on account of his youth. He was twice representative in parliament, in 1559, and 1563, in the time of Queen Elizabeth. He dyed in 1582, leaving, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Godsalve, Esq; his only son and heir—Henry, who was twice married: first, to Mary, daughter and heirs of Thomas, Fane of Buxton, who brought him no child; secondly, in 1587, to Margaret, daughter of Roger Twisden, of East Peckham in Kent, Esq; He dyed at Roan, October 14, 1596, leaving issue by his second wife—HENRY, born February 18, 1589, and Ralph. Henry was father of Sir Henry, who is the subject of this article. He resumed the ancient name of his ancestors, writing himself *Henry Vane*, and his posterity have continued to do so ever since. In the 22d year of his age, March 28, 1611, he received the honor of knighthood from King James I; after which he improved himself by travel, and in learning foreign languages. He was elected one of the burgesses for the city of Carlisle, in the parliaments which began in 1614, in 1620, in 1625; and served in every parliament after, to the time of his decease, being elected for Thetford in Norfolk, Wilton in Wiltshire, and for the county of Kent (3). In the first parliaments, his abilities, and his affection to the royal family, were so conspicuous,

that King James I. made him Cofferer to his son Prince Charles; who continued him in the same office after his accession to the throne, and made him one of his Privy-Council. In Sept. 1631, he was appointed Ambassador extraordinary, to renew the treaty of friendship and confederacy with Christian IV. king of Denmark; and also to treat and conclude on a firm peace and confederacy with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. He came back to England in Nov. 1632 (4). In May 1633, he nobly entertained King Charles I. at Raby-castle, on his way to Scotland to be crowned: as he did again, April 30, 1639, in his Majesty's expedition to Scotland, when Sir Henry commanded a regiment of 1099 men (5). He was made Treasurer of the Household, in September 1639, upon the death of Sir Thomas Edmondes; and, on the 5th of February following, constituted Principal Secretary of State for life, in the room of Sir John Coke: And was generally in the most important commissions. But on his appearing in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, the King was so offended with him, that he removed him from his place of Treasurer of the Household, and also from being Secretary of State. It does not appear that he was concerned in any measures against the King, but continued in London without acting in the rebellion. And, on the 1st of December, 1645, the Parliament debating on propositions of peace with the King, voted, that it be recommended to his Majesty, to create Sir Henry Vane, senior, a Baron of this kingdom. He was not in any commission or employment under the Parliament, or Commonwealth; but lived retired till the latter end of the year 1654, when he departed this life, at his Seat at Raby-castle, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. By his wife, Frances, daughter of Thomas Darcy, of Tollestunt in the county of Essex, Esq; he had four sons, and five daughters. Thomas, and John, who dyed infants; Sir Henry; Sir George, knighted November 22, 1640, and seated at Long Melton in the county palatine of Durham. The five daughters were, 1. Margaret, married to Sir Thomas Pelham, Bart. ancestor to the present Duke of Newcastle; 2. Frances, wedded to Sir Robert Honeywood, of Pet in Kent, Knt. 3. Anne, wife of Sir Thomas Liddal, of Ravensworth in the bishoprick of Durham, Bart. 4. Elizabeth, wife of Sir Francis Vincent, of Stoke-Daberon in Surrey, Bart. and 5. Catharine (6).

(4) See Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 107, 129, &c. 166—171, &c.

(5) Ibid. p. 173. and Vol. III. p. 921, 926.

(6) This account is chiefly extracted from Arthur Collins's Peerage, Vol. IV. p. 20, &c.

(1) Ludlow's Mem. Vol. III. 8vo. p. 110. But the author of Regicides no Saints, says, The family had nothing to do in the North, till old Sir Henry got Raby under a grant of King Charles I. p. 99.

(2) Ar. Collins's Peerage of England, ed. 1736. Vol. II. p. 256, &c.

(3) See Dr. Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

(d) Lord Clarendon's Hist. Edit. 1732. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 187.

(e) Life, &c. as above.

(f) Lord Clarendon, *ibid.* and Life.

(g) D. Neal's Hist. of New England, Edit. 1720. Vol. I. p. 144.

(h) Douglass's Summary, &c. Vol. I. p. 428.

(m) D. Neal, as above, p. 144, 145. and Ludlow's Memoirs, 8vo. Edit. Vol. III. p. 110.

(o) It was reckoned worth at least 6000 l. a year in time of war. Mystery of the good old Cause.

(r) Dr Willis's Notitia Parliam. Vol. III. Part II. p. 238, 252. and Wood, Ath. as above, col. 292.

(t) Lord Clarendon, p. 150, 183.

hold, and a Privy-Counsellor, was extremely angry at this (d): And, it being suggested to King Charles I, that the heir of a considerable family about his Majesty, was grown into dislike of the discipline and ceremonies of the Church, and that his Majesty might do well to take some course about him; upon that, Bishop Laud took him to task, and seemed to handle him gently in the conference, but concluded harshly enough against him in the close (e), though we are not told in what manner. Thus made uneasy at home, his giddiness led him, in 1634, with some Non-conformists, to the infant colony of New England, then a receptacle of all ill humours, and a medley of every thing called Religion (f). His father was against his taking that voyage, but the King being informed of the son's inclination, obliged him to consent to it for three years; his design, as he pretended, was, to begin a settlement upon the banks of the river Connecticut (g). No sooner was he landed, but his parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his quality, being the eldest son of a Privy-Counsellor; insomuch, that when the next election of Magistrates for the colony of Massachusetts came, he was chosen their Governor (h). But being a warm, hot-headed, unexperienced young man (i), and an enthusiastic rigid Puritan (k), his working and unquiet fancy raised and infused amongst them a thousand scruples of conscience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before (l). He openly espoused the Antinomian Doctrines [B], and gave such encouragement to the Preachers and Spreaders of them, that it raised their vanity, and gave them such an interest among the people, as the very next year had like to have proved fatal both to the Church and Commonwealth. But the sober part observing his conduct, concerted such measures among themselves, as put an end to his Government the next election. Some time after, about 1639, he returned privately to England (m). He seemed then to be much reformed from his extravagancies, and, with his father's approbation and direction, married a Lady of a good family (n). Also through his father's credit with Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, then High-Admiral of England, he was joined with Sir William Russell in the office of Treasurer of the Navy, a place of great trust and profit (o), which he equally shared with the other, and seemed a man well satisfied and composed to the Government (p). Being a person of great natural parts, of a quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression [C]; and withal of very profound dissimulation (q), which gave him a great advantage over the rest of mankind; he came to be much considered. So that the town of Kingston upon Hull chose him one of their Representatives, in the Parliament which met at Westminster April 13, 1640, and again in the Long Parliament which began the 3d of November in the same year (r). In June 1640, he received the honour of Knighthood from King Charles I. But thinking both his father, and himself, ill used by the Court; his father, in that Sir Thomas Wentworth had with great earnestness opposed his being made Secretary of State, and prevailed for above a month's delay; and himself, for that the said Sir Thomas would needs be created (s) Baron of Raby, in the Diocese of Durham, a house and estate belonging to the Vane family, and an honour Sir Henry made account should belong to himself [D]; from thenceforth he opposed, with great bitterness, and the utmost virulence, King Charles, and all his measures (t) [E]. During the Earl

(b) Lord Clarendon, p. 187.
(i) Neal, as above.

(l) Lord Clarendon, p. 187.

(n) Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, of Ashby in Lincolnshire, Bart. Ar. Collins, Vol. IV. p. 304.

(p) Lord Clarendon, as above, p. 188.

(q) *Idem*, p. 137. and Vol. III. p. 379. See Ludlow's Mem. Vol. III. p. 111.

(s) The Earl of Strafford's Patent bore date Jan. 12, 1639-40.

(10) Abridgement of R. Baxter's life, p. 98.

(11) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 117.

(12) History, Vol. III. p. 379.

(13) Vol. I. p. 188.

(14) p. 153.

(15) Vol. II. col. 292.

(7) p. 3.

(8) Lond. 1758. 8vo. Vol. II. p. 148.

(9) Mather, Book III. p. 77. See Neale, as above, p. 144.

[B] *He openly espoused the Antinomian doctrines, &c.* The author of his Life relates (7), that 'his honourable Birth, long hair, and other circumstances of his person, rendered his fellow-travellers jealous of him, as a spye to betray their liberty, rather than any way like to advantage their design. But He, that they thought at first sight to have too little of Christ for their company, did soon after appear to have too much for them. For he had not been long in New England, but he ripened into more knowledge and experience of Christ, than the Churches there could bear the testimony of. Even New England could not bear all his words, though there were no King's court or King's chapel.'—The late Author of the 'Account of the European settlements in America (8)', gives this character of him, and of his behaviour there: 'The famous Sir Henry Vane the younger, an enthusiastic, giddy, turbulent man, of no very good disposition, came hither [to New England] with some of the Adventurers; and rather than remain idle, plaid at small games in New England, where the people had chosen him governor. It is not hard to conceive, how such a man, at the head of such a people, and engaged in such controversy [about Grace and Works] could throw every thing into confusion.'—Mr Vane's election, says another author (9), will remain a blemish to their judgment who did elect him, while New England remains a nation; for coming from England a young unexperienced gentleman, by the industry of some who thought to make a tool of him, he was elected Governor, and before he was scarce warm in his seat fell in with the Sectaries, and sacrificed the peace of the State to them, leaving as a caveat, that all good men are not fit for Government.' R. Baxter says, he was fain to steal away by

night, and take shipping for England, before his year of Government was at an end (10).

[C] *Being a person of great natural parts, &c.* Mr Ludlow gives much the same character of him, in these words: 'In the beginning of the great Parliament, he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application made on his part to that end: And in this station he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing, in the highest perfection, a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added a singular zeal and affection for the good of the commonwealth, and a resolution and courage, not to be shaken or diverted from the public service (11).' . . . The Lord Clarendon says, 'He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he was not superior to Mr Hambden, he was inferior to no other man, in all mysterious artifices (12).'

[D] *An honor Sir Henry made account should belong to himself.* The Lord Clarendon observes (13), that 'it was unluckily cast upon the Earl [of Strafford] purely out of contempt of Vane.'—And he says elsewhere (14), it 'was an act of the most unnecessary provocation (though he [the Earl of Strafford] condemned the Man with marvellous Scorn) that I have known, and I believe was the chief occasion of the loss of his head.'

[E] *He opposed, with great bitterness, and the utmost virulence, King Charles, and all his measures.* A. Wood says (15), that, 'in the beginning of the Long Parlia-

of Strafford's tryal, he communicated a very material paper, privately taken by him out of his father's study, of which an account is given in the note [F]. The 26th of February, 1640-1, he carried up to the House of Lords the articles of impeachment against Archbishop Laud (u). In June, 1643, he was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines (w). The following month he was appointed one of the Parliament's Commissioners, sent into Scotland, to negotiate a treaty with that nation; and engage them in the Parliament's service and assistance. These Commissioners embarked on their voyage July the 20th, and arrived at Leith the 7th of August (x). Sir Henry, on his return to London, made a report of all their proceedings to the House of Commons (y). He took the Covenant, among the rest, on the 22d of September [G], and subscribed it next to Oliver Cromwell (z): indeed it was in the main his own contrivance. About that time, he found means to supplant Sir William Ruffel, and to be appointed sole Treasurer of the Navy (aa); which place he held till the first wars between the English and Dutch. In that office, we are told, he shewed a rare example of honour and integrity: For the fees were, at that time, four-pence in the pound, which, by reason of the war, honestly amounted to little less than 30,000 l. a year (bb). Sir Henry looking on it as too much for a private subject, very generously gave up his Patent (cc), which he had for life from King Charles I, to the then Parliament, desiring but 2000 l. a year, for an Agent he had bred up to the business, and the remainder to go to the public. This was done, and the method of a fixed salary has continued ever since in that office (dd). About the beginning of the year 1645, he was one of the Parliament's Commissioners at the Treaty of Uxbridge (ee). As he was again at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight, in 1648 (ff) [H]: but he was always an enemy to Peace. Having always appeared unsettled in matters of Religion, when the Independents sprung up, he declared himself one of their Leaders (gg): and veered afterwards with every wind of new Doctrine, being successively Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, Fifth-Monarchy-man, &c. [I]. In June, 1647, he was one of the Commissioners sent to the

(u) The Archbishop's Diary in his Troubles and Tryal, by H. Wharton, and in Kithw. Vol. III. p. 1087.

(y) Whitelock, p. 76.

(aa) Wood, as above, col. 292. Mystery of the good old Cause.

(bb) This is hardly credible.

(dd) A. Collins's Passage, Vol. V. p. 303. See Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 111.

(ee) Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 846. &c. Whitelock, p. 125.

(ff) Whitelock, p. 334.

(w) Scobell's Collection of Acts, June 1643, p. 43.

(x) Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 466, &c.

(z) Rushworth, p. 480. See Richard's Hist. Edit. 1720. p. 585.

(cc) Decemb. 23, 1646, an Ordinance passed, at his request, to enable him to make a surrender of his place of Treasurer of the Navy. Whitelock, p. 232.

(gg) Rapin's Hist. Edit. 1733. Vol. II. fol. p. 514. and Richard's, p. 606, 607.

ment, he was a promoter of the Rebellion, a frequent committee man, a speech-maker, a preacher, an undertaker, a juggling fellow, and a plotter to gain the estates of other persons that adhered to his Majesty in the worst of times.' And another writer tells us, that 'he was born to disquiet the world, and to be a firebrand of communities; yet still carrying his designs of confusion under a feigned meekness and simplicity of the Gospel (16).'

[F] During the Earl of Strafford's tryal, he communicated a very material paper, &c.] That paper contained notes, taken by his father, Secretary Vane, of some opinions delivered at the Council-table, May 5, 1640. And Mr Whitelock gives us the following account, how they came to be discovered. . . Secretary Vane being out of town, sent a letter to his son, Sir Henry Vane the younger, then in London, with the key of his study, for his son to look in his cabinet, for some papers there to send to his father. The son looking over many papers, among them lighted upon these notes, which being of so great concernment to the publick, and declaring so much against the Earl of Strafford, he held himself bound in duty and conscience to discover them. He shewed them to Mr Pym, who urged him, and prevailed with him, that they might be made use of in the evidence against the Earl of Strafford, as being most material, and of great consequence, in relation to that business. Accordingly they were produced, April 12, 1641, to the House of Commons, and in the afternoon at a conference with the Lords; and the next day the Earl being brought to Westminster, and both houses being met, the notes were openly read. The title of them was,—*No danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive.*—Then followed the opinions interlocutory. [King Charles] 'How can we undertake offensive war, if we have no more money?' [Sir Thomas Wentworth, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.] 'Borrow of the city 100000 l. go on vigorously to levy ship money; your Majesty having tried the affection of your people, you are absolved and loose from all rule of Government, and to do what power will admit. Your Majesty having tried all ways, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and man. And you have an Army in Ireland, that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to obedience: for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months.' [Archbishop Laud] 'You have tried all ways, and have always been denied, it is now lawful to take it by force.' [Lord Cottington] 'Leagues abroad there may be made for the defence of the kingdom; the lower house are weary of the King and Church: all ways shall be just to raise money by, in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used, being lawful.' [Archbishop Laud] 'For an offensive, not any defensive war.' [Lord Lieutenant of Ireland] 'The town is full of Lords, put the

commission of Array on foot, and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.'—What was accounted the most criminal, and no less than treason, in these words, was the proposal, of bringing an Army out of Ireland, to reduce this Kingdom to obedience; by which the Earl's enemies understood England. But if he spoke any such words, he plainly meant Scotland, which was in rebellion. For, as he said in his own defence, the word *this* cannot rationally imply England; because England was not out of the way of obedience, and because there never was any the least intention of landing the Irish Army in England, as the Lords of the Council were able to attest (17).

[G] He took the Covenant, among the rest, &c.] Whilst he, and his fellow-commissioners, were settling it with the Scottish parliament; the last finding fault with these two clauses, concerning—'the preservation of the King's person'—and, 'reducing the Doctrine and Discipline of both Churches to the pattern of the best Reformed.'—Sir Henry found out a softening expedient, by adding to the first clause these or the like words. . . 'in preservation of the Laws of the Land, and Liberty of the Subject—and to the second—according to the Word of God (18).'

[H] As he was again at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight.] We are told, that he acted perfidiously upon that occasion; in that he persuaded his Majesty, not to be prodigal in his concessions; alledging, that He had already yielded more than was fit for them to ask, or Him to grant: yet afterwards did most fiercely inveigh against the concessions, as designed by his Majesty, under the appearance of peace, to ruin the Parliament and Commonwealth (19).—The reason of this odd conduct is explained by Bishop Burnet (20), who tells us, that 'Sir Henry Vane, and others who were for a change in the government, had no mind to treat any more. —They went to the Treaty on purpose to delay matters; and therefore studied to draw out the treaty to a great length, till Cromwell had settled Scotland and the North, and could bring up the Army to London.' . . . In the mean time, Sir Henry flattered the Episcopal party to the King's ruin, as well as their own.'

[I] And veered afterwards with every wind of new Doctrine, &c.] The Lord Clarendon says of him, in this respect, that 'Vane was a man not to be described by any Character of Religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies, and extravagancies of every Sect, or Faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) a Man above Ordinances, unlimited or unrestrained by any rules, or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect Enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without

(16) Perinchief's Life of King Charles I. Lond. 1676. 8vo. p. 174.

(17) Whitelock's Memorials, ed. 1732. p. 43.

(18) Ludlow's Memoirs, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 79.

(19) Wood's Ath. as above, col. 292.

(20) History, as above, Vol. I. p. 60, 61.

the Army, to acquaint them what the Parliament had done in satisfaction of their desires, and to persuade them to a compliance with the Parliament (*bb*). He doth not appear to have had any share in the King's Tryal or Death (*ii*); but was after that one of the most zealous Commonwealth's-men. In 1649, 1650, 1651, and 1652, he was appointed one of the Council of State (*kk*) [*K*]: and, in 1652, was for a time President of the same Council, being then also one of the Commissioners of the Navy (*ll*). The 9th of January 1649-50, he made the report to the House of Commons, from the Committee appointed to consider of the manner of electing future Parliaments (*mm*). Towards the end of the year 1651, he was nominated one of the Commissioners, that were to be sent into Scotland; in order to introduce the English Government there, and effect an union between the two Kingdoms (*nn*): but Sir Henry, for his own part, only sowed dissention between the opposite parties in the Kirk [*L*]. To embroil affairs, and have every thing unsettled; except perhaps a Commonwealth, with great latitude and libertinism; seems indeed to have been his natural disposition, and earnest endeavour. Therefore, when Oliver Cromwell went about to usurp and ingross the Supreme Authority, he became one of his most violent opposers; and left no stone unturned to supplant, and even to ruin him (*oo*). He was one of the great opposers of the dissolution of the Long Parliament [*M*]. And continuing his practices against Cromwell [*N*], the latter summoned him, in 1656, to appear before him in Council. After some delays, he appeared, when he was charged by the Protector with disaffection to the Government; which he had demonstrated in a late book, published by him with a seditious intention, called, *A Healing Question proposed and resolved* [*O*]. Sir Henry did not disown his dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs; and owned the

(*ll*) Wood, Ath. col. 293.

(*mm*) Parl. Hist. p. 244.

(*nn*) Whitelock, p. 512, 517, 527. Parl. Hist. Vol. 20. p. 82, 85, 101.

(*oo*) Siding with, and preaching among Anabaptists and Fifth-Monarchy-men. Wood, Ath. col. 293.

(*21*) Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. VI. p. 695, 696.

(*22*) Athen. as above, col. 293.

(*23*) R. Baxter's Life, fol. 74. and Abridgment of it, p. 100, 101.

(*24*) Whitelock, p. 381.

(*25*) Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, ed. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 85.

(*26*) Vol. III.

‘ without the verge of religion was superior to that of most men) that he did at some time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the Saints upon earth for a thousand years (31).’—A. Wood says of him (22), as follows, in yet harsher terms; ‘ In sum, he was the Proteus of the times, a meer hotch-potch of religion, chief ring-leader of all the frantick Sectarians, of a turbulent spirit and working brain, of a strong composition of choler and melancholy, an inventor not only of whimsies in Religion, but also of crotchets of the State, (as his several Models testify) and composed only of treason, ingratitude, and baseness.’—It seems, there was a sect, from him called *Vanists* (23).

[*K*] He was appointed one of the Council of State.] The powers of this Council were, To command and fettle the Militia of England and Ireland: To set forth such a Navy as they should think fit: To appoint magazines and stores, and to dispose them &c. To sit and execute the powers given them, for a year (24).

[*L*] Only sowed dissention between the opposite parties in the Kirk.] The Kirk was then divided into two parties, denominated the Protestors, and the Resolutioners, which, like all other religious factions, acted with great fierceness against one another. To calm them, these Commissioners were sent: Some of them ‘ moved, that pains should be taken to unite these two parties. But Vane (says Bishop Burnet) opposed this with much zeal: He said, would they heal the wound that they had given themselves, which weakened them so much? The setting them at quiet could have no other effect, but to heal and unite them in their opposition to their authority: He therefore moved, that they might be left at liberty to fight out their own quarrels, and be kept in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both sides were forced to make their appeal to it: So it was resolved to suffer them to meet still in their Presbyteries and Synods, but not in general Assemblies, which had a greater face of union and authority. This advice was followed: so the division went on (25).’—It may not be amiss to hear what the Lord Clarendon says of Sir Henry Vane upon this occasion (26). ‘ There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these distractions, than that the Covenant did with such extraordinary expedition pass the two Houses, when all the leading persons in those Councils were at the same time known to be as great enemies to Presbytery (the establishment whereof was the main end of this Covenant) as they were to the King or the Church. And he who contributed most to it, and in truth was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the Committee of Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, Sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards. . . . There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to couzen and deceive a whole nation which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people,

‘ that could not otherwise be prevailed upon, than by advancing that idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority, that resolved to persecute Presbytery to an extirpation; and, in process of time, very near brought their purpose to pass.’

[*M*] He was one of the great opposers of the dissolution of the Long Parliament.] By this Dissolution, we mean Oliver Cromwell's forcibly and irregularly turning them out of the House. For by Statute XVI. Caroli I. c. 7. the Parliament then assembled could not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, unless by Act of Parliament; nor could they be adjourned, unless it was by themselves, or by their own order.—When therefore Lieutenant-Colonel Worley entered the House of Commons with two files of musqueteers, to drive out the members, on April 20, 1653, Sir Henry Vane said aloud, ‘ This is not honest, yea it is against morality and common honesty.’ Upon which Cromwell fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, ‘ O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane (27).’

[*N*] And continuing his practices against Cromwell.] Henry Cromwell, in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (28), gives this account of him, in 1655: ‘ Sir Henry Vane, and such like, who are rotten in their principles, can make good use of such delusions as these [Fifth-Monarchy] and the like, to carry on their designs. . . . Sir Henry goes up and downe amongst these people and others, endeavouring to withdraw them from their submission to the present Government. . . . If he be not prevented, he will be a sad scourge to England.’—We find him again, in 1656, caballing against the Protector; and, when writs came out for a new parliament, ‘ was one of those who said, they would have no swordmen, no decimator, or any that received salary from the State to serve in parliament; and were resolved to give a list to the Government, and doubted not of carrying all before them.’ He then endeavoured to be elected for Boston in Lincolnshire, and afterwards for that County; but was disappointed. He polled in three places, and mist it in all (29).

[*O*] *A Healing Question proposed and resolved.*] The further title of it was, ‘ A healing Question propounded and resolved, upon occasion of the late public and seasonable call to Humiliation, in order to Love and Union amongst the honest Party &c.’ Lond. 1656. four sheets, quarto. It was written upon an invitation given, in a declaration published by Cromwell, for a general Fast, that the people would apply themselves to the Lord, to discover the Achan which had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted nations: And contained, says Ludlow (30), the state of the Republicans controversy with the King, the present deviation from that cause for which they engaged, and the means to unite all parties in the accomplishment of it. When it was finished, Sir Henry shewed it to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who seeming to approve it, desired to take it with him, and promised to communicate it to Cromwell upon the first opportunity.

writing

(*27*) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 457.

(*28*) Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. IV. p. 509.

(*29*) Idem, Vol. V. p. 295, 299, 349.

(*30*) Vol. II, p. 576.

writing of the book, and also the publishing, though in terms dark and mysterious enough, as his manner was. Whereupon Cromwell ordered him to give security, by a day limited, not to disturb the peace of the nation, or else to stand committed. The time being expired, he appeared again before the Council, and delivered into Cromwell's own hand another Paper, containing the Reasons of his disapproving the present usurpation, and a friendly advice to him to return to his duty, with some justification of his own conduct with regard to the publick. But notwithstanding all this, and divers reasons alledged by him to excuse himself from giving the demanded security; one of which was, the summons sent him to appear in Parliament; he was sent prisoner to Carisbrook-Castle, in the Isle of Wight (pp). From whence being released, December 31, 1656 (qq), he came to London, where he met with another kind of persecution: For Cromwell perceiving that the imprisoning of him had proved unsuccessful, he privately encouraged some of the Army to take possession of certain forest-walks belonging to him, near Raby-Castle, and also gave orders to the Attorney-General, on pretence of a flaw in his title to a great part of his estate, to file a bill against him in the Exchequer. This was designed to oblige him to produce his title, which if he had done, they doubted not, by the craft of the Lawyers, to find some defect in it, whereby it was hoped he would be forced into a compliance: Yet, at the same time, he was privately informed that he should be freed from this, or any other inquisition, and have whatever else he could desire, in case he would comply with the present authority (rr). But he remained inflexible all Oliver's time: And so he did under his successor, Protector Richard; against whom there were many meetings of the chief sticklers for a Commonwealth, at Sir Henry's house near Charing-crofs (ss). Great endeavours were used to keep him out of Richard's Parliament in 1659 (tt); and by direction, the returning officers at Hull and Bristol would not return him, though he is said to have had the majority; yet at last he was chosen for Whitchurch in Hampshire, through the interest of Robert Wallop, Esq; (uu). In that Assembly, he and other Republicans laboured to overturn the settlement of a Protector and two houses of Parliament, and to introduce a Commonwealth: By their abilities, they soon lessened Richard's power, and gained an ascendent over his party, to which a warm speech of Sir Henry's [P] is said to have not a little contributed (www). After Richard's abdication, the Long Parliament that had been restored by a general council of the officers of the army, constituted Sir Henry one of the Committee of Safety the 9th of May; and the 13th of the same month, one of the Council of State (xx). The 26th of the said month, he was appointed the first of the seven Commissioners for managing the affairs of the Admiralty; and in September, President of the Council: About which time he proposed a new model of Government [Q]. Upon the Council of the Army's exclusion of the Parliament, which was on the 13th of October, he was nominated, four days after, one of the Committee of Ten from the Council of State, to consider of fit ways to carry on the affairs of the Government; and also one of the Committee to nominate officers of the army. The 26th, when the Committee of Safety was framed [R], he was one of them; and their design

(pp) Wood, Ath. col. 293.

(rr) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 594.

(ss) Oldmixon. Vol. I. p. 428.

(uu) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 618. Sir Edw. Moun- tague affirms, he, and other Commonwealth's- men were let in, upon their fair promises not to overturn the Government. See Kennett's Register, p. 5.

[P] *A warm speech of Sir Henry's.* It was in these words: 'Mr Speaker, Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shewn so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as the English at this time have done: They have, by the help of Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves Free. We have driven away the Hereditary Tyranny of the house of Stuart, at the expence of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying Hereditary Liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of Kingship; and there is not a man amongst us, who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare to attempt the ravishing from us Freedom, which costs us so much blood and so much labour. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are fallen into the error of those who poisoned the Emperor Titus to make room for Domitian, who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero. I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans in those days were buried in Lewdness and Luxury; whereas the People of England are now renowned, all over the world, for their great vertue and discipline; and yet suffer an Idiot, without courage, without sense, nay without ambition, to have dominion in a country of Liberty. One could bear a little with *Oliver Cromwell*, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the Publick, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his Authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to Empire by the most illustrious actions; he had under his command an Army that had made him a Conqueror, and a People that had made him their General. But as for *Richard Cromwell* his son, who is he? what are his titles? We have seen that he had a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more

importance in this case, Is he fit to get obedience from a mighty Nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet we must recognise this Man as our King, under the stile of Protector! a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made such a Man my Master (31).'

(31) Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, Vol. I. p. 430, 431.

[Q] *He proposed a new model of Government.* The substance of it was, That the supreme Power, delegated by the People to their Trustees, ought to be in some fundamentals not dispensed with: That it is destructive to the People's Liberties (to which by God's blessing they are fully restored) to admit any earthly King or single Person to the legislative or executive Power over this Nation: That the supreme Power, delegated, is not entrusted to the People's Trustees, to erect matters of Faith and Worship, so as to exercise compulsion therein (32). — Mr Baxter informs us (33), that Vane was for a Fanatick Democracy. . . . When Cromwell was dead, he got Sir Arthur Haslerigge to be his close adherent on civil accounts, and got the Rump set up again, and a Council of State, and got the power much into his own hands. When in the height of his power, he set upon the forming a New Commonwealth, and with some of his adherents drew up the model, which was for *Popular Government*; but so that men of his confidence must be the people.'

(32) See Trial, p. 30.

(33) Abridgement of his Life, p. 99.

[R] *When the Committee of Safety was framed*] This Committee was authorized to seize and secure such as might justly be suspected of any design to disturb the publick Peace, and also to remove such Officers of the Army as they should think fit, and to fill their places with others, till the Parliament should take farther order therein. The time appointed for the duration of their power was Eight Days, by which time it was supposed the House of Commons would be able to constitute a Council of State, to take care of affairs of that nature (34).

(34) Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 652, 653.

(qq) In Sept. 1656. Ludlow's Mem. Vol. II. p. 568, 576, 577. and Thurloc's State-Papers, Vol. V. p. 328, 349, 407. He remained prisoner four months. Trial, p. 47.

(tt) See Thurloc's State-Papers, Vol. VII. p. 588, 704.

(www) White-lock, 677. and Oldmixon, p. 430.

(xx) Whitelock, p. 677, 678. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 656.

(yy) Whitelock, p. 678, 685.

was apprehended to be the overthrowing of Magistracy, Ministry, and the Law (yy). We find him also, November 1, one of the Committee to consider of a Form of Government for the three Nations as a Commonwealth. In that case, ' he was hard to be satisfied, ' but did much stick to his own apprehensions, or notions (zz).' The proceedings of General Monk were very displeasing and alarming to him, with the rest of the Republicans; and new Commissions being ordered for raising of fresh forces, he was nominated Commander of a Regiment of Horse, which was the only military employment he ever had (aaa). November 16, he was appointed one of the Committee of Nineteen, to determine the qualifications of Members of Parliament. Upon the re-assembling of the Long Parliament, being sent for, he came and took his place in the House, January 9, 1659-60. Then he was questioned for his compliance with the Army during the late interruption; and, though he answered ingenuously, it was voted, that he should forthwith repair to his house at Raby, and remain there during the pleasure of the Parliament: At the same time, he was discharged from being a Member of the Parliament (bbb). Delaying to remove from London, on account of illness, real, or pretended, and endeavouring to stir up the enemies of the then Government to rise and take up arms; an order was made, February 1, for his being taken into custody, and sent to Raby; and another order, on the 13th, for the Serjeant at Arms to carry him to his house at Bellew in Lincolnshire (ccc); in the way to his house at Raby (ddd). The month following, the Jesuit provincial Bradshaw, who came over from Spain with above a hundred thousand pounds sterling, was treating with him, and General Lambert (eee). After the King's Restoration, being, as he thought, conscious to himself of having done nothing in relation to public affairs, for which he could not willingly and cheerfully suffer, he came up, and continued at his house in Hamstead near London (fff). But, June 11, 1660, the House of Commons resolved [S], that he should be one of the Twenty Persons to be *excepted* out of the act of General Pardon and Oblivion, for and in respect only of such pains, penalties, and forfeitures, not extending to life, as should be thought fit to be inflicted on him. And he never applying to the King, but lurking up and down, without giving any account of himself, and being looked on as a person of a mischievous activity (ggg); engaged, with some of the Army, to drive the King out of England again (hhh); he was therefore committed to the Tower in July (iii). Upon the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, in January 1660-1, Sir Henry, the only person of parts and figure who had formerly countenanced them, and writ in favour of their principles [T]; being now looked upon by the Court with a jealous eye,

(zz) Whitelock, p. 686, 689.

(aaa) Whitelock, p. 686. His regiment was ordered to be disbanded Jan. 14, 1659-60. Idem, p. 693. It is there called a regiment of foot. See his Tryal, p. 33, 49. and Life, p. 9.

(bbb) Whitelock, p. 693. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 805. and Tryal, p. 48.

(ddd) Mercurius Politicus, No. 605.

(ccc) Whitelock, p. 694, 696. Ludlow, Vol. II. p. 823, 826, 827, 828. Wood, Ath. col. 294.

(eee) Woodrow's Introduction, to his Hist. of Scotland, fol. p. 13.

(fff) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 111.

(ggg) Printed Journals of the House of Commons, in 1660, p. 61, 126.

(iii) Wood, as above, col. 294.

(hhh) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 47, 112.

[S] But, June 11, 1660, the House of Commons resolved. The several Resolutions and Proceedings of the House of Commons, with relation to Sir Henry, will appear by the following extracts from their Journals.

" June 11, 1660. Resolved, that Sir Henry Vane, Knight, be one of the Twenty Persons to be excepted out of the act of General Pardon and Oblivion, for and in respect only of such pains, penalties, and forfeitures (not extending to life) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on him by another act, intended to be hereafter passed for that purpose (35)."—The clause of the act of Indemnity, in pursuance of that resolution, was in these words. ' Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not extend to the pardoning, or to give any other benefit whatsoever, to Sir Henry Vane, John Lambert, or either of them, but that they, and either of them, are and shall be out of this present act wholly excepted and foreprised.'—August 17, 1660, Sir Heneage Finch reports, . . . That ' to the exception of the Four Persons that follow in the clause concerning Vane, Lambert, &c. they also adhere, that they should stand excepted for life: The Lord Finch (who managed the conference for the house of Lords) said, indeed they were not excepted as Murderers; but he took notice, that the King, of whose Wisdom none will or can doubt, . . . thought fit, sitting the Parliament, to commit these persons to the Tower of London. . . . But he said withal, if they were capable of mercy, no question but the King, the Fountain of Mercy, he would extend it to them. In the mean time, their Lordships thought it fit to leave them to the Mercy of the King; and so he hoped this House will too (36)."

(35) Journals of the House of Commons, p. 61.

(36) Ibid. p. 126.

August 23. At a conference between the two Houses, the Lord Chancellor Clarendon observed, that Hesilrigg and Vane were persons, whom the secluded Members, after their restitution, and when they were preparing the way for the Restoration, looked upon as fit to be secured and confined: That, after the King was come in, those Gentlemen, notwithstanding the censure on them by the secluded Members, and the blessed end of the Long Parliament, returned to town; never applying themselves to the King, but lurked up and down, without giving any account of themselves: and his Lordship added, that they look on them as persons of a mischievous activity: And therefore their Lord-

ships desire to leave them to the Mercy of the King; with this further intimation, that they would be ready to join with the House of Commons in a Petition to the King, that Mercy might be shewed them; and that his severity might not extend to their Lives: And he did not doubt, but the intercession of the House would be effectual for that (37).—August 24, 1660. Resolved, that this House doth agree with the Lords, as to Sir Henry Vane's standing excepted in the act of General Pardon and Oblivion; in the same sort, as is offered in the amendments from the Lords.—Resolved, That this house doth agree with the Lords, in the expedient offered by them, at the last conference, as to Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, for petitioning his Majesty for their Pardon, as to their Lives (38).—August 28. Ordered, that it be referred to the Committee, who managed the last conference with the Lords, to draw a petition to his Majesty, in the name of both Houses, for his Majesty's pardoning of Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, as to Life; according to what was offered by the Lords in that behalf, at the late conference (39).

(37) Ibid. p. 133.

(38) Ibid. p. 135.

(39) Ibid. p. 140.

[T] And writ in favour of their principles.] Their principles are well known to have been, that our Saviour was coming down to erect a Fifth-Monarchy upon earth, which would last a thousand years. Sir Henry's enthusiastick Treatise on that subject, was intituled, ' The retired man's Meditations: or the Mystery and Power of Godliness shining forth in the living world, to the unmasking the Mystery of Iniquity in the most refined and purest Forms. And withal presenting to view, 1. The Riches and Fullness of Christ's Person as Mediator. 2. The Natural and Spiritual Man in their proper distinctions. 3. The Reign and Kingdom of Christ in the nature, limits and extent thereof, as well in his Saints as over his Enemies. In which old Light is restored, and new Light justified, being the Witness which is given to this Age by Henry Vane, Knight.' Lond. 1655. 4to. In the Preface, he begins with some Prophecy of himself and of his party. ' There is not any thing which lies more cross to the busy and boundless Spirit of man, than that which takes him off the wing of his natural desire, and is a bar unto that activity in him, which, if permitted to run its course, makes his feet swift to

his

eye, was removed from one prison to another, and at last to the Isle of Scilly (kkk) [V]. The Lords and Commons had, in August, 1660, joined in a petition to the King, that if he were attainted, yet execution as to his life might be remitted [W]: to which his Majesty gave a favourable answer, though in general words; so that he reckoned he was safe (lll). But in July 1661, the Commons had so far altered their sentiments, as to order, that he should be proceeded against according to Law [X]. And, for that purpose, he sent for back to the Tower of London (mmm). In Easter term, 1662, he was indicted of High-Treason; and the Grand-Jury having found the bill, he was arraigned the 2d of June following, at the King's-Bench Bar. The substance of the charge against him, was, that he did compass and imagine the death of the King; contrived totally to subvert the ancient Frame of Government; and to keep out the said Sovereign Lord from the exercise of his Regal Government: To effect which, he had traiterously and maliciously assembled, and consulted, with other false Traitors; had appointed Officers; and arrayed a multitude, to the number of a thousand persons, with guns, &c. June the 6th, the day of his tryal, he pleaded strongly, that no Treason could be committed against a King *de jure*, and not *de facto*, such as King Charles II. was, from 1648 to 1659, when the crimes against him were laid: And that he acting then by authority of Parliament, the supreme Court of the Nation, could not be questioned by any inferior Court (nnn) [Z]. His enemies affirm, his whole behaviour was so assuming and insolent, that the Court and King's Council told him, that his own defence was a fresh charge against him, and the highest evidence of his inward guilt, had there not been such a cloud of witnesses to prove the particulars (ooo). His friends maintain, on the contrary, that he behaved with great eloquence, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind (ppp) [Z]. On the 11th of June,

(kkk) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 112.

(lll) Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Edit. 1753. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 228.

(nnn) See his Trial.

(ppp) Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 108.

(mmm) Journals, as above, p. 287.

(ooo) Echard, as above, p. 802.

‘ his own destruction.’ In Chap. I. is shewed, ‘ that the foundation and first rule of all true and right knowledge of God is seated in Christ the living Word, as the blessed Trinity by their own immediate operations do make themselves personally visible therein.’—The 26th and last Chapter treats of ‘ the time of the Manifestation of the Sons of God, their sitting with Christ on his Throne, ruling and influencing all things on earth, during the space of a thousand years.’

[V] *And at last to the Isle of Scilly.*] The Letter he wrote from thence to his Lady, and which is printed at the end of his *Face of the Times*, is dated March 7, 1661-2.

[W] *The Lords and Commons . . . joined in a petition, &c.*] That petition was in these words.

“ To the King's most Excellent Majesty: The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled.

Sheweth, that your Majesty having declared your gracious pleasure to proceed only against the immediate Murderers of your Royal Father: We your Majesty's most humble subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, not finding Sir Henry Vane, or Colonel Lambert, to be of that number, are humble suitors to your Majesty, if they shall be attainted, yet execution, as to their Lives, may be remitted: and, as in duty bound, we shall ever pray for your Majesty's long and happy reign over us.” This petition was presented by the Lord Chancellor, who reported, that he had presented the petition of both Houses to the King concerning Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Lambert, and his Majesty grants the desires in the said petition (40).

[X] *As to order, that he should be proceeded against according to law.*] Their orders upon that occasion were as follow—July 1, 1661. Ordered, That Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, that are wholly excepted and foreprised out of the Act of Indemnity, be left to be proceeded against according to law: And it is recommended to Mr Attorney-general, to take care of the proceeding against them.—July 23. Upon information that the Fanaticks make mention of Lambert and Sir Henry Vane in their Meetings; and have great hopes to disturb the publick peace, if they could procure their escape; Ordered, that Mr Attorney-general have notice to speed the prosecution against Vane and Lambert, and prepare the evidence against them.—Nov. 22. Ordered, That the King's Majesty be desired to send for John Lambert and Sir Henry Vane back again to the Tower of London, in order to their Tryal. . . Upon which application, his Majesty returned this answer, That he would take care, that Vane, and Lambert, and Waller, should be brought in safe custody (41).—It is said, that this Address of the House of Commons against Sir Henry, was ‘ either upon the account of his own behaviour, or that of his party, or some private resentment (42).’

[F] *Could not be questioned by any inferior Court.*] He laid it down as a maxim, That none are judges of the Power and Privileges of Parliament, but themselves.

For, admit once, that their judgment may be called in question, and disputed by private persons, or by inferior Courts (whose Votes are included in theirs) the *Fundamentals of Government* are plucked up by the roots. *Par in pares non habet imperium, multo minus in eos qui majus imperium habent*; An equal has no command over his equal, much less over those that have a greater command or authority (43). He also offered these points to the consideration of the Court, and prayed earnestly to have counsel assigned him to speak to them: 1. Whether the collective body of the Parliament can be impeached of high-treason? 2. Whether any person acting by authority of Parliament, can (so long as he acteth by that authority) commit Treason? 3. Whether matters acted by that Authority, can be called in question in an inferior Court? 4. Whether a King *de jure*, and out of possession, can have Treason committed against him, he not being King *de facto*, and in actual possession (44)? No council was assigned him.—And as to the pretence of the Power, or Authority, of Parliament; Sir Heneage Finch, the Sollicitor-general, said, ‘ It is to be known, that it was not the eighth part of the House of Commons, such as were let in, to do all that hath been complained of; and the acting under Authority of such an End of a Parliament, under such a violation, was no excuse, but an aggravation; but that the Parliament was in law ended by the death of the late King, notwithstanding that act of 17 Caroli I.—As to the question, Whether an House of Parliament can commit treason? If they depart from that allegiance which they have sworn, at their first meeting, they are impeachable for it.—And as to the question, Whether the King, being out of actual possession, can have treason committed against him? He affirmed it (45).’—Justice Windham also held, ‘ That if the House be under a force, and some kept out, some let in, to serve a turn, whatever they act is a nullity in law.’—Justice Twisden held the same opinion, That it is not the fitting of a few members within those walls that will continue it a Parliament. And said, Whether a Parliament may commit treason, is not the question: but, Whether a few of the House, shutting out their fellows, and usurping the government, were not Traitors (46)?—In a word, the Resolutions of the Court were: 1. That by the death of King Charles I. that Long Parliament was actually determined, notwithstanding the Act, that it should not be dissolved but by the consent of both Houses. 2. That though King Charles II. was *de facto* kept out of the exercise of the Kingly office by Traytors and Rebels, yet he was King both *de facto* and *de jure*, and all the acts which were done to the keeping him out were high-treason. 3. That the very consultation and advising together of the means to destroy the King and his Government, was an overt-act to prove the compassing of the King's death (47).

[Z] *His friends . . . maintain, that he behaved with great eloquence, &c.*] Ludlow says (48), ‘ That he behaved himself on all those occasions [his Trial, Sentence,

(43) Trial, p. 38.

(44) Ibid. p. 32.

(45) Ibid. p. 34.

(46) Ibid. p. 35.

(47) Kelyng's Reports, Folio, p. 14.

(48) Vol. III. p. 103.

(40) Journals, p. 152. Sir Henry Vane's Trial, p. 74. and Thurloe's State-Papers, Vol. 7. p. 914.

(41) Journals of the House of Commons, p. 287, 303, 317, 318. (42) Echard's History, p. 802.

(999) Whose sufferings for his Majesty and his Father had been eminent. Wood, Vol. II. col. 294.

(rrr) Tryal, p. 51, 52, 81.

(sss) Echard's Hist. p. 802.

(ttt) Tryal, &c. p. 84, 86, 87. and Burnet, Vol. I. p. 229.

he received sentence to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: which, at the request of his friends (999), was changed to beheading on Tower-hill. Some persuaded him to make his submission to the King, and to endeavour by that means to save his life; but he said, 'If the King did not think himself more concerned for his Honour and Word, than *he* did for his life, he was very willing they should take it. Nay, he declared, that he valued his life less in a good cause, than the King could do his promise (rrr) [AA].' The warrant therefore for his execution being signed, he was drawn on a sledge to Tower-hill, on the 14th of June, and beheaded in the very same place where the Earl of Strafford, whose victim he was, had been sacrificed before to popular fury (sss). The Sheriff had beforehand signified to him, that he must not speak any thing against his Majesty, or the Government: and he beginning to reflect upon them, in his last speech upon the scaffold, as the Lieutenant of the Tower apprehended [BB], he was interrupted by drums and trumpets placed about the scaffold on purpose to drown his voice (ttt). He was naturally a very fearful man; but he composed himself so, that he died with a resolution that surpris'd all who knew how little of that was natural to him. We are told, that he had a head as darkened in his notions of Religion, as his mind was

'tence, and Death] in such a manner, that he left it doubtful, whether his Eloquence, soundness of Judgment, and presence of Mind, his gravity and magnanimity, his constant adherence to the cause of his country, and heroick carriage during the time of his confinement and at the hour of death; or the malice of his enemies and their frivolous suggestions at his trial, the breach of the publick Faith in the usage he found, the incivility of the bench, and the savage rudeness of the Sheriff, who commanded the trumpets several times to sound, that he might not be heard by the people; were more remarkable.'—He adds a little lower, from a letter he had received . . . 'Sir Henry Vane was long in his defence, but not tedious: He much perplexed both Court and Council, and has acquired eternal reputation by nobly pleading for the dying liberties of his country; it being clear, that all the party which seemed to be indemnified by the act of Amnesty, shall be punished in his person; and that for this cause only, That in his pleading he undertook by the Authority of the said Parliament to justify what he had done.'

[AA] *Than the King could do his promise.*] Bishop Kennett observes, 'Though the King gave a favourable Answer to the Address of the two Houses, yet it was in general words only, and could not be called a promise of sparing his life (49).'—The substance of the Address of the two Houses was, That if Sir Henry should be attainted, yet Execution as to his Life might be remitted: And his Majesty granted the desires in the said petition. See note [W]. But, in less than a year, the Parliament ordered, that He should be proceeded against according to Law So that his Majesty complied both ways with the Desires of the great Council, or Wisdom, of the Nation. . . . Bishop Burnet insinuates, that the putting him to death was contrary to the Declaration from Breda. For, says he, that declaration 'being full for an Indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; since, though he was for changing the government, and deposing the King, yet he did not approve of the putting him to death, nor of the force put on the parliament, but did for some time, while these things were acted, withdraw from the scene (50).'—In opposition to which, the Reader will be pleased duly to consider this passage in that declaration . . . 'We do by these presents declare, that we do grant a free and general Pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under the great Seal of England, to all our Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall by any publick act declare their doing so; and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament.' . . . It is also to be remembered, as hath been observed above, that Sir Henry never applied to the King, but lurked up and down, without giving any account of himself.

[BB] *And he beginning to reflect upon them in his last Speech, &c.*] The words were these: 'I suppose you may wonder when I shall tell you that I am not brought hither according to any known Law of the land. It is true, I have been before a Court of Justice (and am now going to appear before a greater Tribunal, where I am going to give an account of all my actions)

'under their sentence I stand here at this time. When I was before them, I could not have the liberty and privilege of an Englishman, the grounds, reasons, and causes of the actings I was charged with, duly considered; I therefore desired the Judges, that they would set their Seals to my bill of Exceptions; I pressed hard for it again and again, as the right of myself, and every free-born Englishman, by the law of the land, but was finally denied it.'—Here Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, interrupted him, saying, Sir, you must not go on thus, and in a furious manner said, that he railed against the Judges, and that it was a lye, and I am here, says he, to testify that it is false. . . . Sir Henry replied, 'God will judge between me and you in this matter. I speak but matter of fact, and cannot you bear that? It is evident, the Judges have refused to sign my Bill of Exceptions.'—Then the trumpets were ordered to sound in his face, to hinder his being heard. At which Sir Henry (lifting up his hand, and then laying it on his breast) said, 'What mean you, Gentlemen? is this your usage of me? did you use all the rest so? I had even done (as to that) could you have been patient; but, seeing you cannot bear it, I shall only say this, That whereas the Judges have refused to seal that with their hands, that they have done; I am come to seal that with my blood, that I have done.'—He then proceeded to give some account of his life; and mentioning *the Solemn League and Covenant*, the trumpets sounded again, and the Sheriff caught at the Paper in his hand. Upon which, Sir Henry only said, 'It was hard he might not be suffered to speak; but, says he, my usage from man is no harder than was my Lord and Master's: And all that will live his life this day, must expect hard dealing from the worldly Spirit.'—The trumpets sounded again, to hinder his being heard. Then, a second time, Sir John Robinson, and two or three others, endeavoured to snatch the paper out of Sir Henry's hand, but he kept it for a while, now and then reading part of it; afterwards, tearing it in pieces, he delivered it to a friend behind him, who was presently forced to deliver it to the Sheriff. They also searched his pocket for papers (51).—Bishop Burnet accounts for this (52) Tryal, p. 86—89. 'new and very indecent practice,' as he calls it, in the following manner: 'It was observed, that the dying Speeches of the Regicides had left impressions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government. So strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were placed under the Scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the publick, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. This put him in no disorder. He desired they might be stopped, for he understood what was meant by it. Then he went through his devotions. And, as he was taking leave of those about him, he happening to say somewhat with relation to the times, the drums struck up a second time: So he gave over, and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought, the government had lost more than it had gained by his death (52).' (52) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 229. R. Baxter also observes, that 'no man could die with greater appearance of a gallant resolution and fearlessness than he did, though before supposed a timorous man. Inasmuch, that the Manner of his death procured him more applause than all the Actions of his life (53).'

(49) Register and Chronicle, p. 711. marg. See also Burnet, Vol. I. p. 228.

(50) Vol. I. p. 228.

(51) Tryal, p. 86—89.

(52) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 229.

(53) Abridgement of Mr Baxter's Life, p. 102.

clouded with fear (*uuu*) [CC]. Besides the several pieces already mentioned, what was published as his, is set down below [DD]. There appear not in his compositions that wisdom, that judgment, extraordinary parts, and great understanding, for which he is extolled by some (*vvvv*); for they are an unaccountable medley of enthusiasm, and incomprehensible nonsense. So that, as one observes (*xxx*), so much dissimulation and enthusiasm, such vast parts and such strong delusions, so much good sense and so much madness, can hardly be believed to meet in any one man in the world. What hath been said further of him by way of character, is set down below [EE]. As to his person; he had an unusual aspect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his father and mother, neither of which were beautiful persons, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination (*yyy*). It is suggested, that the cause of his destruction was, because his adversaries knew his

(*uuu*) Burnet, p. 228.

(*vvvv*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 187. Vol. III. p. 179. Vol. VI. p. 695. and Ludlow, Vol. III. p. 110.

(*yyy*) Lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 187.

(*xxx*) Echard, p. 802.

[CC] *He had a head as darkened in his notions of Religion, &c.* These are Bishop Burnet's own words, who adds, 'For though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings he preached and prayed often himself, but with so peculiar a darkness, that though I have sometimes taken pains to see if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. And since many others have said the same, it may be reasonable to believe he hid somewhat that was a necessary key to the rest. His friends told me, he leaned to Origen's notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of pre-existence.'—The Lord Clarendon's judgment of our Author's book *Of the Love of God, and the Union with God*, is much to the same purpose. . . . Which, says he, when I had read, and found nothing of his usual clearness and ratiocination in his discourse, in which he used much to excel the best of the company he kept, and that the style thereof was very much like that of *Santa Sophia* (55); and that in a crowd of very easy words, the sense was too hard to find out: I was of opinion that the subject-matter of it was of so delicate a nature, that it required another kind of preparation of mind, and it may be another kind of diet, than men are ordinarily supplied with (56).

[DD] *Besides the several pieces already mentioned, what was published as his, &c.* The *Retired Man's Meditations*; and *The Healing Question, &c.* are all the publications of his we have mentioned. The rest were, 'The Proceedings of the Protector (so called) and his Council against Sir Henry Vane, Knt. as touching his imprisonment in the Isle of Wight, &c.' Lond. 1656, four sheets in 4to. 'A Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament &c. to one of the Lords of his Highness's Council, upon occasion of the last Declaration, shewing the Reasons of their proceedings for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth, October 31, 1655.' Printed in 1656, 4to. 'Of the Love of God, and Union with God.' Lond. 1657. 'A needful Corrective or Balance in popular Government.' In a Letter to James Harrington, Esq; Lond. one sheet and a half, 4to. 'The People's Cause stated. The Valley of Jehosaphat, considered and opened, by comparing 2 Chron. xx. with Joel iii. Meditations concerning Man's Life. Concerning Government. Concerning Friendship. Concerning Enemies. Meditations on Death.' Penned during his imprisonment, and printed at the end of his Tryal. Lond. 1662, 4to.—'An Epistle general to the Mystical Body of Christ on earth, the Church universal in Babylon, who are Pilgrims and Strangers on the earth, desiring and seeking after the Heavenly Country.' It is addressed, To the scattered Seed and Sheep of Christ in all Nations, the true Israel by Faith, unknown for the most part to themselves, but more to the world and worldly Christian: Yet, in this their unknown or dispersed Estate, owned of the Lord, as the Church that are in God the Father, truly pure, Catholick, and Christian, of which Christ Jesus is the alone and immediate Head.—'The Face of the Times: Wherein is briefly discovered by several Prophetical Scriptures, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelation, the Rise, Progress, and Issue of the Enmity and Contest, between the Seed of the Woman and Seed of the Serpent, to the final breaking of the Serpent's head, in the total and irrecoverable ruin of the Monarchies of this World, which have been spirited, influenced, and headed all along by him, for the bruising of the Saints heel (or

killing of their Bodies) for the Testimony of Jesus, which by them hath been given forth in the true Spirit of Prophecy. The design of this writing is to alarm the world, and awaken up the present Generation of God's people in it, to a more diligent and curious observation of the present signs of the near approaching day of the Lord, that they may be more carefully minding and doing what most concerns them, by way of preparation thereunto.'—'A Letter to his Lady from the Isle of Scylly.' These three last were written during his imprisonment, and printed together in 1662, 4to.—'Paper towards the defence of his cause and life, preparatory to his Tryal (57).—Memorandums for, and towards his defence (58). Memorandums as to his main defence, in relation to matter of fact, and as a narrative thereof (59). Reasons for an arrest of Judgment (60). His Bill of Exceptions (61). Occasional Speeches before his Tryal, and Execution (62). His Prayer in his Chamber; and his Speech and Prayer on the Scaffold (63).—The following Speeches of his are also in print: Speech in the House of Commons, at a Committee for the Bill against Episcopal Government, June 11, 1641.—In the Guildhall, London, November 8, 1642, concerning his Majesty's refusal of a Treaty of Peace.—At a Common Hall, October 27, 1643, wherein is shewed the readiness of the Scots to assist the Kingdom and Parliament of England.—Several Speeches in a Common Hall at London, in January, 1643, in examination of the Plot to divide and destroy the Parliament and the City of London.—In the Guildhall, London, concerning the Treaty at Uxbridge, 1644.—Speech to the citizens at Guildhall, April 9, 1644, to advance men and money (64).

[EE] *What hath been said further of him by way of character.* It may be summed up in these observations of well-meaning R. Baxter: At his return from New England, Sir Henry proved an instrument of greater calamity to a sinful people. Being chosen a Parliament-man, he was very active at first for bringing delinquents to punishment. He was the principal man that drove on the Parliament with that vehemence against the King. Being of ready parts, great subtilty, and unweari'd industry, he laboured, and not without success, to win others in parliament, city, and country, to his way. . . . To most of the Changes that followed, he was that within the House, that Cromwell was without. His great zeal to inflame the war, and to cherish the Sectaries, and especially in the army, made him above all men to be valued by that party. His unhappiness lay in this, That his doctrines were so cloudily formed and expressed, that few could understand them; and therefore he had but few true disciples. . . His obscurity was by some imputed to his not understanding himself; but by others to design, because he was able to speak plain, when he pleased. The two things in which he had most success, and spake most plainly, were his Earnest Plea for Liberty of Conscience, and against the Magistrates intermeddling with Religion, and his teaching his followers to revile the Ministry, calling them ordinarily Black Coats, Priests, and other names which favoured of reproach. . . . When King Charles came in, he was questioned with others by the Parliament, but seemed to have his life secured. But, being brought to the Bar, he spake so boldly in justifying the Parliament's Cause, and what he had done, that it exasperated the King, and made him resolve upon his death (65). The great share Sir Henry had in the Troubles of the Nation, exposed him to the Satires and Lampoons of the Royalists, as may be seen in the *Rump*, or Collection of Poems (66).

(57) See his Tryal, p. 11.

(58) p. 21.

(59) p. 36.

(60) p. 55.

(61) p. 64.

(62) p. 77.

(63) p. 82, &c.

(64) Printed in Rushworth, Part III. Vol. I. or Vol. IV. p. 658.

(65) Abridgment of Baxter's Life, p. 98, 99, 100.

(66) Edit. 1662. 8vo. Part I. p. 347. and Part II. p. 64, 83, 100, 133.

(zzz) Ludlow,
Vol. III. p. 112.

Integrity, and feared his Abilities (zzz). But we are persuaded, that he rather fell a sacrifice to the Earl of Strafford; and was taken out of the way, for being one of the most able and active Members of the Republican Party [FF], which the Court, and the Generality of the Nation, were then resolved to crush. Sir Henry Vane left only one son, named *Christopher*, who was knighted by King Charles II, and advanced by King William, July 8, 1699, to the title of Lord Bernard of Bernard-castle. By his wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Gilbert Holles, Earl of Clare, he left two sons, *Gilbert*, and *William*. Gilbert succeeded him in honour and estate, and dying April 27, 1753, left, among many other children, *Henry*, his eldest son, who was created, April 3, 1754, Viscount Barnard and Earl of Darlington. *William* was advanced, June 1720, to the titles of Viscount Vane and Baron of Duncannon in the county of Tirone in Ireland (*).

(*) See Ar. Collins's Peerage,
Vol. IV. p. 305,
&c.

[FF] He fell a sacrifice to the Earl of Strafford, &c.] Bishop Burnet concurs in the same opinion, as appears from this passage. . . 'The great share he had in the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of government,

'but above all, the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the Court think it necessary to put him out of the way (67).' He was often nick-named Sir Humorous Vanity.

(66) History of his own Time,
Vol. I. p. 228.

VERE [Sir FRANCIS], or DE VERE, second son of Geoffrey de Vere [A], a branch of the noble and most ancient family of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford [B], was born in the year 1554 (a). Applying himself early to the art of war, he became one of the most famous Generals in his time. His first entrance on a martial life, was when he went to the assistance of the States of Holland; among the forces sent by Queen Elizabeth, under the command of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. They arrived at Flushing the 10th of December (b), 1585; and continuing in those parts, he gave early proofs of a warlike genius, and undaunted courage. In 1587, the town of Sluys being besieged by the Prince of Parma, the Earl of Leicester was sent for out of England to its relief: and our young Officer, Mr Vere, with Sir Roger Williams, and a garrison of English and Walloons, bravely defended it; though, the place being furiously battered with 17000 great shot, and a large breach made, they were obliged to surrender it to a superior force (c). In 1588, he was part of the English garrison, which gallantly defended Berghen-op-Zoom against the Prince of Parma, who had laid siege thereto. They gave him such warm entertainment, by several brave repulses, frequent sallies, and other-well applied arts of war, that he quitted all hopes of blocking up the harbour, or gaining the town; and, winter approaching, he broke up the siege, after it had been carried on for two months. And 'that true cou-

(a) He was aged fifty-four, at the time of his death, in 1608, from whence it is plain, that he was born in 1554. See his epitaph.

(c) Camden's Annals, under the year 1587.

(b) Stow's Ann.
p. 711, 712.

[A] Second son of Geoffrey de Vere.] This Geoffrey was the third son of John de Vere, the fifteenth Earl of Oxford, of this noble family: which Geoffrey de Vere, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir Richard Hardekyn of Colchester, he had four sons, and a daughter; viz. 1. John Vere of Kirkby-hall in Castle-Hedingham, Essex, Esq; who by Thomafine his wife, daughter of William Carew, of Stone-castle in the county of Kent, Esq; had two sons, John and Robert, who both dyed without issue. 2. Sir Francis Vere, the subject of this article. 3. Robert, who dyed young. 4. Horace, created Baron Vere of Tilbury, July 25, 1625. — Elizabeth, the daughter, was married to Sir Robert Harcourt of Stanton-Harcourt, ancestor of the present Lord Harcourt (1).

(1) Vincent's Baronage MS. B. 20. in Offic. Arm. and Epitaphs in Castle-Hedingham church.

[B] A branch of the noble and most ancient family of the De Veres, Earls of Oxford.] The De Vere family may justly be styled one of the most ancient, noble, and illustrious in the world. Alberic de Vere, the first of the family who settled in England, came over with William the Conqueror; and was enriched by him with several fine Lordships; particularly with that of Castle-Hedingham in Essex, where he fixed his residence, and that became the head of his Successors Barony. From him proceeded a numerous race of noble persons, which obtained the highest Honors, and became eminent in the arts of peace and war. His son Alberic was, by King Henry I, made Lord great Chamberlain of England: his grandson, Alberic de Vere, was created, in 1137, by the Empress Maud, Earl of Oxford; a title confirmed unto him by her son, King Henry II. And a dignity enjoyed by his descendants and successors, of the same surname, for Twenty Generations, from the year 1137 to 1703, a circumstance attending, as far as we can remember, no other British noble family whatsoever. Besides the great office of Lord High Chamberlain, and the Earldom of Oxford, hereditary dignities in this family; some of them discharged the offices of Port-reve of London, of Lord Chief Justice, Chancellor, High-Admiral, Lord High-Steward, and Constable of England. William de Vere, son of the first Earl, was Bishop of Hereford in 1186. And this family hath produced several renowned Warriors and Generals, and four Knights of the order of the Garter. Robert,

the ninth Earl, was by King Richard II. created Marquis of Dublin, (being the first who was honoured with the title of *Marquis* in this kingdom) and Duke of Ireland.

Immense, for a long time, have their Riches and Possessions been. John, the seventh Earl, who dyed 34 Edw. III. A. D. 1360, had, in Essex, forty-nine Knights-fees; in Suffolk, seventeen; in Cambridgehire, eighteen; in Huntingdonshire, seven; each of which Knights-fees may justly be computed to be equal to two hundred pounds a year of our present money (2): Besides the large personal estate. And, first and last, they had about Seventy Knight-fees in the county of Essex alone. John, the fourteenth Earl, when he came to the Earldom, in 1512, was offered Twelve thousand pounds a year for his Estates: leaving in his occupation all manors, houses, castles, parks, woods, forests, and all the demesne lands thereto belonging; the yearly value of which last might be worth more than many present Earldoms. . . . Some of them suffered for their adherence to the House of Lancaster. And Edward Seymour, Duke of Somersfet, unjustly deprived John, the sixteenth Earl, of his Estates, which were however restored. But the greatest waster of them was Edward, the seventeenth Earl. Having a very intimate acquaintance and friendship with Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, condemned for his indiscreet adherence to the Queen of Scots; He most earnestly interceded with his father-in-law, William Lord Burghley, to save that Duke's life. Which not being gratified in, he declared he would do all he could to ruin his own wife, a daughter of Lord Burghley; accordingly, he not only forsook her bed, but sold and consumed very nearly all his noble inheritance. But it was finely repaired by the great fortune which Aubrey, the twentieth Earl, had with his wife Anne, eldest daughter and one of the co-heiresses of Paul Viscount Bayning. For this Lord Bayning appears, by the authentic account of one of his stewards, now before us, to have been possessed of One hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven pounds, clear; without reckoning the jewels, plate, and household stuff. And this was in 1637, the year before that Lord's decease (3).

(2) According to Sir Edward Coke, a Knight's fee contained 480 acres.— 2. Inst. 596.

(3) This account we have extracted from the History of Essex and from other MSS. and from Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 188, &c. and other authorities.

‘rage might not want its due reward or distinction, the Lord Willoughby, who was General of the English after Leicester’s departure, conferred the honour of Knight-hood on Sir Francis Vere, whose great fame commenced from this siege (d).’ In 1589, Count Mansfeldt having passed with part of his army into the Isle of Bommel, was endeavouring to make himself master of that place. Count Maurice, General for the States, had not above eight hundred men to oppose the Spaniards, and the whole force he could draw together did not exceed 1500: whereas, the enemies troops were then reckoned about twelve thousand men (e). In those circumstances, Count Maurice thought it best to abandon the place. But Sir Francis Vere, who commanded six hundred English, part of the abovesaid corps of eight hundred, represented, that considering the importance of the island, and the reputation of Count Maurice, whose first command in chief this was, the place could not be abandoned, with honour, without the knowledge and order of the States General. Whilst a message was sent to them; Sir Francis undertook the defence of the place, and used such industry in entrenching it, and planting artillery, that the enemy desisted from the enterprize.

(d) Camden’s Annals of Queen Elizabeth, under the year 1588. Tho. Churchyard ranks him among those English warriors, ‘who deserved ‘most worthy ‘and memorable ‘commendations.’ The Civil Warres in the Netherlands. Lond. 1602. 4to. p. 98.

The same year, the town of Bergh, upon the Rhine, being besieged by the Marquis of Warrenbon, and distressed for want of provision, he was sent by the States General to Count Meurs, Governor of Gelderland, with nine companies of English; to concert with him measures for the relief of that town. At his coming to Arnheim, the Governor being greatly hurt by the blowing up of gunpowder, and the States of the Province representing to Sir Francis the importance of the place, and the great extremity it was reduced to; at their earnest desire, he hastened to its relief, with seven companies of foot of their own nation, and twelve troops of horse. With these, and the carriages laden with provisions, he marched towards Bergh, through a heathy and open country, with such diligence, that having surprized the enemy, who lay dispersed in their forts about the town, in full view of them, he put provisions therein, and returned without loss (f). After some days refreshment, the States, who had received advice how matters passed at Bergh, ordered a fresh supply of provisions to be put therein under the command of Sir Francis. When he came within two English miles of the town, the way they were to take being very narrow, and leading by the castle of Loo, the enemy from the castle galled his men and horses in their passage with such resolution, that Sir Francis perceived they were not the ordinary garrison. Yet, by his military skill and valour, he beat them back to their castle, and was no further interrupted by them in his passage through the narrow way: But, before he could well form his men on a plain adjoining, he was again attacked by a fresh body of the enemy. At the first encounter, his horse was killed under him by a pike, and falling upon him, he could not rise presently, but lay between the two armies, receiving a hurt in his leg, and several thrusts with pikes through his clothes, till the enemy was forced to give way. Though his forces consisted only of the two English troops under his command, and did not exceed 400 men, yet by his valour and conduct, the enemy was discomfited, and lost about 800 men. And he threw in provisions into Bergh, and exchanged the garrison, notwithstanding Count Mansfeldt was near with thirteen or fourteen thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse (g). In 1590, he bravely relieved the castle of Litkenhooven in the fort of Recklinchusen, with the diocese of Cologne, in which the States had a garrison that was besieged by some of the neighbouring inhabitants; and recovered the town of Burick in Cleves, and a little fort on that side of the Rhine, which had been surprized by the enemy. He took by stratagem, in 1591, a fort near Zutphen [C], in order to facilitate the siege of that town. And assisted Count Maurice at the siege of Deventer, being the chief instrument in the taking of the place (h). Through his conduct and management also, chiefly, it was, that the Duke of Parma received a signal defeat before Knodsenburgh-fort, near Nimmeghen; which obliged him to retire from thence, with more dishonour than in any action that he had undertaken in those wars (i). In 1592 we find, that he was elected one of the Representatives in Parliament for the burgh of Leominster in Herefordshire (k). How he employed himself the three following years, doth not appear; though he was undoubtedly all that time in the service of the States. When the expedition against Cadiz was resolved, he was sent for into England; and returned speedily into the Low-Countries, with letters from Queen Elizabeth to the States, to acquaint them with her design, and hasten the preparation of the ships they had promised to attend her fleet: And withal, to desire to have two thousand of her own forces, as well of those in their pay, as her own, to be employed in that service. This being obtained, he sailed to the appointed rendezvous before Boulogne on the coast of France; but finding no English ships there, he crossed to Dover, where he found the whole fleet, and the Generals, the Earl of Essex, and Earl of Nottingham High-Admiral, who received him

(f) Commentaries, p. 3, 4.

(g) Commentaries, p. 6, 7, &c.

(h) Commentaries, p. 10—19.

(i) Commentaries, p. 20, &c.

(k) Br. Willis’s Notitia Parliam. p. 127, 130.

[C] He took by stratagem, in 1591, a fort near Zutphen. Because he wanted strength to work by open means, he put the following sleight in practice; which he pleased to take in his own words . . . ‘I chose a good number of lusty and hardy young Soldiers, the most of which I apparelled like the countrey-women of those parts, the rest like the men; gave to some baskets, to others packs, and such burthens as the people usually carry to the market, with pistols, and short swords, and daggers, under their garments, willing by two or three in a company, by break of day to be at the ferry of

Zutphen, which is just against the fort, as if they stayed for the passage-boat of the town; and bad them to sit and rest themselves in the mean time as near the gate of the fort as they could for avoiding suspicion, and to seize upon the same as soon as it was opened. Which took so good effect, that they possessed the entry of the fort, and held the same till an officer with two hundred souldiers (who was laid in a covert not farre off) came to their seconds, and so became fully Master of the place. By which means the siege of the town afterwards proved the shorter (4).’

(4) Commentaries, p. 17, 18.

with

(e) The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere. Cambr. 1657. fol. p. 1.

with much joy and favour, being then chosen to supply the place of Lieutenant-General of the army by the title of Lord-Marshal. The fleet failed shortly after, and the Earl of Essex leaving his own ship, embarked in that which Sir Francis was in, on purpose to confer with him, fully and at ease, about the voyage. After two days failing, they landed near Rye, and the Earl taking Sir Francis along with him to Court, dispatched him thence to Plymouth, where most of the land-forces were to march, to see them lodged, provided with necessaries, and exercised, which he accordingly did, to the great satisfaction of the Generals. During their stay at Plymouth, the Earl of Essex gave Sir Francis much countenance, and had him always near him; which drew upon him the envy of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Rear-Admiral, and Sir Coniers Clifford, the Sergeant-major General. But to allay it, the Earl ordered, that, in all meetings at land, Sir Francis should have the precedence of Sir Walter; and Sir Walter of him at sea. And, by Sir Francis's advice, what belonged properly to every office in the field was set down in writing, and delivered severally to the officers, which prevented all subsequent disputes. About the 10th of June, the fleet set sail, and arrived before Cadiz July 1; Sir Francis acting as Vice-Admiral of the Earl of Essex's squadron (l). We shall not enter here into a detail of this expedition, of which a particular account may be seen in Hakluyt (m), in Camden's Annals (n), and our other Historians. We shall only observe, that he was one of the foremost, and the readiest, to approach the enemy's ships (o)]D]. And equally active, industrious, and successful was he, in getting possession of the town of Cadiz [E]. He returned to England about the middle of August; and, after dismissing the land-forces and shipping, and sending back into the Low-Countries the troops he had brought from thence, he came to Court, where he remained the most part of that winter (p). However, he was again in Holland in January 1596-7, and the 24th of that month had a very great share in the action near Turnhout, of which he hath given a fine and particular relation (q) [F]. This same year, he was engaged in a second expedition with the Earl of Essex. The design of this expedition was, to destroy the fleet that lay in Ferrol, and other places on the coast of Spain, threatening to invade England; and, for that purpose, if occasion was, to land troops: as also to intercept the Spanish fleet in their return from the Indies. Our armament consisted of the Royal Navy; some merchant-ships; several

(l) Commentaries, p. 24.

(n) Under the year 1596.

(o) Commentaries, p. 28, 29.

(q) Commentaries, p. 72, &c.

(m) Navigation Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 60 &c.

(p) Commentaries, p. 44, 45.

[D] *He was one of the foremost, and the readiest, to approach the enemy's ships.*] This is easily gathered from his own account. 'My ship (says he) was floaty, and stored with good ordnance, and proper for that service, which made me hasten towards them, without staying for any company. And indeed my readinesse was such, by reason of my riding with my anchor a pike, that no other ship could come near me by a great distance, so as I entered fight with them alone, making still toward them upon one board, and so galled them with my ordnance, which was cannon and demi-cannon, that they gave back, keeping still in order, and in fight with me, drawing as near the town as they could, and with purpose (as I thought) as our ships thrust further into the bay, to have fallen upon our smaller ships in the tayl of the whole fleet, and having made a hand with them, so to have put to the sea-ward of us, the better to annoy us, and save themselves from being blocked up. Wherein to prevent them, I made toward the shore, still sounding with our leads, till the ordnance of the town might reach me, and I the shore with mine; infomuch as I put them from under the town, and took certain ships, which rode there at anchor forsaken of their men, and followed them, continuing fight till they came under the fort of the Puntal. . . I was nearer Puntal and the shore of Calis [Cales, or Cadiz] by much than any ship of the fleet, and further advanced into the Bay, so that now growing within shot of the fort, which lay on my right hand, and in like distance to the gallions on the left hand; and having the gallies a-head me, betwixt them both was plied with shot on all sides very roundly, yet I resolved to go on, knowing I had good seconds, and that many hands would make light work, &c. (5).'

(5) Commentaries, p. 30, 31.

[E] *And equally active, industrious, and successful was he, in getting possession of the town of Cadiz.*] The means he used for that purpose, be pleased to take in his own words. . . 'As we approached affar off, saith he, we might perceive the enemy standing in battle under the favour of the town, with cornets and ensigns displayed, thrusting out some loose horse and foot toward us, as it were to procure a skirmish. I, marking their fashion, conceived hope of a speedier gaining the town than we intended, and were then about; and said to his Lordship, at whose elbow I attended, that those men he saw standing in battel before the town, would shew, and make the way for us into the town that night, if they were well handled, and at the instant I propounded the means, which was to

'carry our troops as near and covertly as might be, towards the town, and to see by some attempt if we could draw them to fight further from the town, that we might fend them back with confusion and disorder, and so have the cutting them in pieces in the town-ditch, or enter it by the same way they did. His Lordship liked the project, and left the handling thereof to me.' . . . And he executed it with great success, as he proceeds particularly to relate. . . . 'The ditch, says he, was very hollow, but dry, out of which was raised a massy rampier, with two round half bulwarks; the one towards the one sea, the other towards the other, for height and thickness in their perfection, but not steeped and scarped; so as it was very mountable. . . . To the top of this rampier our men climbed, who, being for the most part old and experienced soldiers, of the bands I brought out of the Low-Countries, boldly attempted to climbe the wall, from which they beat with their shot the defendants, wanting no encouragements that good example of the chiefs could give them, the General himself being as forward as any. Whilest it was hard stroven and fought on that side, I sent a Captain and countreyman of mine, called Upsher, with some few men alongst the ditch, to see what guard was held along the wall towards the bay-ward, and whether any easier entrance might be made that way, or no, willing him to bring, or fend me word, which he did accordingly, though the messenger came not to me. He found so slender a guard, that he entered the town with those few men he had, which the enemy perceiving, fled from the walls, and our men entred as fast on the other side (6).'

(6) Commentaries, p. 36, 38.

[F] *Of which he hath given a fine and particular relation.*] See his Commentaries, p. 72, &c. The Lord Burghley calls it, 'an overthrow given by Count Morrice and our English forces commanded by Sir Robert Sidney and Sir Francis Vere, of a number of the King of Spaynes aunient soldiars, as the like hath not happened with such successe to the States synce the beginning of their warrs (7).'

Grotius says, this was so easy a victory, that the Conquerors lost hardly ten men; but there were above 2000 of the enemies buried, and near 500 taken (8). Sir Francis himself informs us, that 'there were taken between forty and fifty ensignes, and slain and taken of the enemy near three thousand, and their Generall, Signieur de Ballancy, and Count de Warras, died on the place (9).'

(7) Letter of his to Archbishop Hutton. MS. dated Jan. 30, 1596. See also Camden's Ann. at the beginning of the year 1597.

(8) Hist. de rebus Belgicis, lib. 6.

(9) Commentaries, p. 30.

furnished

furnished by the States of Holland, in all about 140; with an army of seven or eight thousand land-men, as well pressed as volunteers; and a thousand of the English that were in the service of the Dutch. Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed Lieutenant-General, which highly offended Sir Francis Vere [G], who had borne that office in the Cadiz voyage; however, he retained the title of Lord-Marshal (r). They sailed from Plymouth, July 9, but were driven back by a storm, and detained about a month (s). Their provisions failing, they discharged all the land-forces, except the thousand men brought from Holland; and some proposed a voyage to the West-Indies, which Sir Francis opposed [H]. The Earl of Essex in the mean time went to Court; and, at his return, the design was pursued, of attempting to fire the Spanish fleet at Ferrol, and along the rest of their coast; and to intercept their Indian plate-fleet. But a Council of war being called near the Groyne, it was resolved to give over the enterprize of Ferrol, as not only difficult, but impossible; and to go directly to the *Azores Islands*, in quest of the Spanish Indian fleet: from whence this came to be called the *Island Voyage*. They landed at Fayal, St Michael, Flores, and Gratiofa; losing at the same time, by wilful mistake, a large ship, which was a rich booty: and not being strong enough to attempt the Spanish Indian fleet, that consisted of twenty sail, and saved itself in the Port of Tercera (t). Sir William Monson, the Earl of Southampton, and Sir Francis Vere, who were nearest, gave them chace: and the two latter attempted to crowd into the haven with great boats at midnight, and to cut the cables of the nearest ships, that they might be forced to sea by the gusts which blew from the shore. But the Spaniards keeping a very strict watch, that project miscarried. So having taken only three Spanish ships, they returned from this unsuccessful expedition to England [I], about the end of October (u). In the same year, he was appointed Governor of the Briel, one of the cautionary towns in the Low-Countries, through the interest of Secretary Cecil, and Sir Fulk Greville, and also of the Earl of Essex [K]. He

(r) Commentaries, p. 45.

(t) Commentaries, p. 48, &c.

(u) Camden's Annals, as above; and Commentaries, p. 56.

(s) They sailed again, Aug. 17. Camden's Ann. under the year 1587.

[G] Which highly offended Sir Francis Vere.] His own account will be the best, and most authentic. When the Earl of Essex acquainted him with it, though 'with much demonstration of favour, and with many circumstances of words;' . . . 'I answered, says Sir Francis, that I had partly understood before my coming out of the Low-Countries, my Lord Mountjoy's going Lieutenant-Generall, so that I had forethought and resolved what to do. For though I was sensible, as became me, who saw no cause in myself, of this disgrace, yet my affections having been always subject to the rules of obedience, since it was my Prince's action, and that it could not be but that my Lord Mountjoy was placed with her Majesty's consent, my sincerity would not give me leave to absent myself, and colour my stay from this action with any feigned excuse; but counselled me to come over, both to obey my Lord Mountjoy, and respect him as his place required, much more his Lordship, which was Generall to us both; though I was not so ignorant of his Lordship's power, as to doubt that my Lord Mountjoy, or any subject of England, could be thrust upon him without his desire and procurement. That therefore, as I had good cause to judge that his Lordship had withdrawn much of his favour from me, so I humbly desired his Lordship, that as by a retrenchment of the condition I was to hold in this journey, I held it rather a resignation to his Lordship again of the honour he had given me the last yeare, so farre as concerned my particular respect to his Lordship sought for of me, then a service to him; so hereafter he would be pleased not to use me at all in any action, wherein he was to go chief (10).'

[H] Which Sir Francis opposed.] And for these very material reasons: . . . Our fleet's being so slenderly provided with forces and provisions, that nothing could be exploited there, answerable to the expectation would be generally conceived. And that in the mean time, through the want of her Majesty's Royal Navy, and other principall shipping of the realm, with the choice Commanders both for sea and land, the State might be endangered by an attempt made by the Spaniards upon our own coast; whom they certainly knew to have then in a readinesse a great power of sea and land-forces in the north parts of Spain.—This last reason was very material. For, on their return from the Azores, they met, toward the coast of Ireland, with two or three Spanish ships, full of soldiers, which they took: by which (adds he) we not only understood at our coming to Plymouth their purpose to have landed at Falmouth with ten thousand men, but saw the instructions and orders of the sea-fights, if they had met with us, which was so full of perfection, that I have ever since redoubted their sufficiency in sea cases (11).'

[I] They returned from this unsuccessful expedition to England.] Though there was no good understanding between him and the Earl of Essex, yet, at his first appearance to Court, he did not suffer his passions to get above Truth and Justice; of which take the account in his own words. . . . 'So soon as I was able to go abroad (12), I went to the Court, which was then at Whitehall; and because I would use no bodies help to give me access to her Majesty, as also that I desired to be heard more publickly, I resolved to shew myself to her Majesty, when she came into the garden; where, so soon as she set her gracious eyes upon me, she called me to her, and questioned with me concerning the journey, seeming greatly incensed against my Lord of Essex, laying the whole blame of the evil successe of the journey on his Lordship, both for the not burning and spoiling of the fleet at Faroll, and missing the Indian fleet. Wherein with the truth I boldly justified his Lordship with such earnestnesse, that my voice growing shrill, the standers by, which were many, might hear, (for her Majesty then walked) laying the blame freely upon them that deserved it. And some there present being called to confront me, were forced to confesse the contrary of that they had delivered to her Majesty, insomuch that I answered all objections against the Earl, wherewith her Majesty well quieted and satisfied, fate her down in the end of the walk, and calling me to her, fell into more particular discourse of his Lordship's humours and ambition; all which she pleased then to construe so graciously, that before she left me, she fell into much commendation of him, who very shortly after came to the Court. This office I performed to his Lordship to the grieving and bitter incensing of the contrary party against me; notwithstanding I had discovered his Lordship's coldnesse of affection to me. . . . fearing more to incur the opinion of ingratitude than the malice of any enemies, how great soever, which the delivery of truth could procure me (13).'

There appears also to have been a great enmity between Sir Francis, and Sir Walter Raleigh (14).

(12) For, in his coming home, he got a cold so violent, that for three weeks after he could not stir out of his lodging. Commentaries, p. 65.

(13) Commentaries, p. 66, 67.

(14) See there, p. 26, 47, 48, 52, 53.

[K] And also of the Earl of Essex.] Sir Francis was ignorant of it. For he says upon this occasion . . . 'As I had good cause to doubt my Lord of Essex would not further me in that suit, so I was as loth to have any thing by his means in the terms I then stood in with his Lordship; much less by any other persons that were known his opposers.—He rather discouraged me than otherwise in the pursuit (15).'

—But in a letter of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, of November 5, 1597, we find this passage . . . 'For the annexing of Brill to your government [of Flushing] upon the conditions you offer, of 500l. a yeare less, hath been already propounded to 1000

(15) Commentaries, p. 68, 69.

(10) Commentaries, p. 46, 47.

(11) Commentaries, p. 49, 64.

He was permitted, at the same time, to keep the command of the English troops in the service of the States. In September, 1597, he went over, and took possession of his Government (w) [L]. The December after, he was again in England, and resorted frequently to Court, where he and Sir Edward Norris were gallantly followed, by the military Gentlemen (x). In February, 1597-8, a warrant was drawn, to take away from him the allowance of ten pounds a day as Serjeant-major of the field: He, and the Earl of Essex, used all their interest to have it still continued, but the Lord Burghley was therein his assured enemy (y). The Queen sent him, in 1598, to the States, upon the conclusion of a peace between France and Spain, to know whether they would come into that peace, or continue the war: they chusing the latter, a new treaty was signed between England and Holland (z). And, the year following, when danger of an invasion was apprehended from Spain, the Queen constituted him Lord-Marshal: Being sent for over in all possible haste, he embarked, August the 22d, at the Briel, and came to London the next day, where he staid till all apprehensions of an invasion were over. During his stay, he was proposed, or mentioned, for Lord Deputy of Ireland. But the strong factions between the two parties of Essex and Cecil, seem to have rendered his interest very fluctuating at Court (aa) [M]. The 21st of October he came back to the Hague; and had an audience of the States. In the beginning of the year 1600, there happened great uneasinesses and disputes between him and the States, about matters of account [N]; and for their having lessened, in his absence, the companies he commanded for them, from a hundred and fifty to a hundred and thirteen men (bb). Happy was it for them, that they came not to an open rupture, nor did deprive him of the supreme command of their forces! For, to his undaunted valour and wise conduct was owing the signal victory, gained by their own and the English troops, on the 5th of July, 1600, near Newport. It was he that rallied and inspirited those troops, when they were giving way; and crowned them with certain victory [O]. The last and most signal military exploit performed by him, was his gallant defence

(w) Commentaries, 68—71.

(x) Letters and Memorials of the Sydney-family, Edit. 1746. Vol. II. p. 78.

(z) Camden's Annals, under the year 1598.

(aa) See Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 128—133, 142.

(y) Ibid. p. 93.

(bb) Ibid. p. 126, 136, 189, 191, 196.

(16) Letters and Memorials of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 75.

(17) Commentaries, p. 71.
(18) Annals, under the year 1597.

(19) Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 128.

(20) p. 130.

(21) p. 133.

(22) Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

(23) Robert Ratchiff.

(24) Sir Robert Sydney, Governor of Flushing.

[Earl of Essex] but he smiled at it, and wished it were foe. He delt very earnestly for Sir Francis Vere, but the Queen will not yield unto it. My Lord Sheffield still hopes to have it (16).—

[L] In September, 1597, he went over, and took possession of his government. So he says in express words (17). And yet Mr Camden affirms (18), that he and the fleet did not return till October: which we cannot tell how to reconcile.

[M] Seem to have rendered his interest very fluctuating at Court. So we gather from the extracts of the following Letters of Rowland Whyte, agent at Court for Sir Robert Sydney, to the said Sir Robert. In one dated from the Court, Nonfuch, Michaelmas-day, 1599, he writes thus: 'The States, if yt [the peace] goe forward, must have warning of yt, and I believe Sir Francis Vere will be sent unto them about yt. He lives very darckly, for he comes very seldome here, and little Speech of him. The Miseries that his poore Regiments are in, both in Camp and in Zealand, is spoken of here; but the States is blamed for want of pay (19). . . . In another letter, dated October 2, he has these words . . . 'This peace with Spaine, is a thing very much desired here; I beleve when her Majesty is disposed to harken unto yt thoroughly, she will give some notice of yt to the States, and that by Sir Francis Vere, who is here, but comes not much to Court (20). . . .

And in another letter of the sixteenth of the same month, he writes in a different strain . . . 'Sir Francis Vere is much graced at Court, and happy if this peace goe forward; that by the Warres he hath extremely enriched himself to be able to live without yt (21).—But what interest he had in particular with Secretary Cecil, and what his own disposition was, will further appear from this part of another Letter to Sir Robert Sydney . . . 'You are desirous to be advertised of Sir Francis Vere's welcom here. Many kind Lettres past between Mr Secretary and him, while he was in the Low-Countries; and, at his arrival, he came to Mr. Secretaries, who brought him to the Queen, with whom he was long, and very graciously used; and true it is, that Mr. Secretary gives him all grace. My Lord Admirall (22) also brought him to the presence, where all these saluted him, only my Lord Montjoy refraines speaking to him; and my Lord of Suffex (23) being in a corner of the presence, my Lord Admirall shewed him to Sir Francis, but he never sturd foote to goe towards him, but over his shoulder looked upon him, which the Earle tooke very ill, and began to chaffe at it. Yt was indeed here marvelled at, that the twenty companies came not to Flushing to be imbarqued; but I heare Sir Francis answered, that he wold not send any troopes of his, where their was so little love born him. He complaines, that your Lordship (24) went about to have his Comand from him; and when you

could not compas that, you wold have a regiment in the field, not to be comanded by him, which likewise the States wold not grant. And now when he was sent for, it was writ unto him that you shuld say, that his coming over here was not to be employed, but to answer such contempts as were by him comitted towards my Lord of Essex; and that now againe you wold have his place from him (25). Lastly, he belevies that you were some cause of my Lord of Essex's unkindness towards him, by your aggravating of matters; and saies, that the States had not so great an opinion of you, as you seme to assure to yourself (26).'

[N] In the beginning of the year 1600, there happened great uneasinesses and disputes between him and the States about matters of account, &c.] For these matters of fact, we are indebted to the Letters just now mentioned. In one of September 22, 1599, we read as follows . . . 'Sir Francis Vere hath written to the States, that he will be here shortly, but how he will lyke of the reduction of his companies from 150 to 113, that is doubtfull (27). In another of Aprill 3, 1600— 'I demanded of Monsieur Charon, why Sir Francis Vere was not in the field with his Excellency; he answered, that he grew too stately and ambitious, and, but for the respect was carried to some of his Friends here, he shuld find that he had offended the States by some late courtes (28). . . . 'He tells me, that the States will trust no more 29 [Sir Francis Vere] (29). . . . 'It is reported here still, that Sir Francis Vere is in disgrace with the States, about matters of Accounts (30). . . . 'Yesterday being Sondag, the Court was full that Sir Francis Vere will serve the States no longer; that he will come over to justify his actions (30).'

[O] And crowned them with certain victory.] The enemies forces were then weak and in mutinies, and their affairs in disorder; which induced the States to carry the war into Flanders. The army of the latter consisted of about twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and was divided into three parts, commanded by Count Ernest of Nassau, Count Solmes, and Sir Francis Vere; his troop consisting of one thousand six hundred English, two thousand five hundred Frisons, and ten cornets of horse: with which troop he took his turn of vanguard, battle, and reeward, as it fell out. The siege of Newport was the first action they resolved on: which the Spaniards advanced to hinder. And, partly the little canals which that country abounds with, and the many sandy hillocks near the sea-shore, rendered the situation of both armies very uneasy and disadvantageous. What share he bore in the action, let us learn from himself—'To give our men the more courage, I went into the bottom amongst them, where riding up and down, I was in their eyes both doing the office of a Captain and Soldier.—At my

(25) i. e. Government of the Briel.

(26) p. 121.

(27) p. 126.

(28) p. 186.

(29) p. 183. Dated April 19.

(30) Letter, dated April 30. p. 191.

(31) Letter of May 26, p. 196.

defence of Ostend; which was besieged by the Archduke Albert, and a very numerous army, in 1601. To qualify him for that great employment, the States conferred on him the important office of General of all their army in and about Ostend, with very ample power. Whereupon, he came to England, to obtain Queen Elizabeth's approbation; and leave, to raise 3000 of her subjects, at the States charge; and transport them into the Low-Countries in ten days warning, that is, by the 10th of May. He entered Ostend, July 11, with eight companies of English, sent him by Count Maurice, being part of the twenty English companies in his army; and found in the place thirty companies of Netherlanders, making about sixteen or seventeen hundred men (cc). With this handful, (for no less than four thousand were necessary for proper defence) (dd) he resolutely defended the place against the Spanish army, which was computed at twelve thousand men, until March 1601-2. During the course of this Siege [P], he received a reinforcement of twelve companies of English from Count Maurice: and cut out a new harbour [Q] at Ostend, which proved of great service to him (ee). The 14th of August, he was wounded in the head by the blowing up of a cannon; and that obliged him to remove into Zealand till September 19, when he returned to Ostend, and found two thousand English, and twenty ensigns of French, Walloons, Scots, and Frisons, that had arrived there in his absence (ff). On the 4th of December, in the night, the Spaniards fiercely assaulted the English trenches, so that Sir Francis was called up without having time to put his clothes on: but by his conduct, the enemy were repulsed, with a loss of about 500 men on their side (gg). In the mean time, the place began to be much distressed; for a hard frost having set in about the 12th of November, with a strong north-west wind, no ships, nor any succours out of Holland or Zealand, could come to Ostend. Sir Francis having advice, that the besiegers intended a general assault; in order to put them off, and gain time, he artfully contrived to enter into treaty with them, for the surrender of the place (hh) [R]. But receiving

(cc) Commentaries, p. 118, 119, 120.

(ee) Ibid. p. 124, 139.

(ff) Ibid. p. 132, 136.

(gg) Ibid. p. 140, 141.

(hh) Ibid. p. 147-161.

‘ my first coming I got one shot through my leg, and a quarter of an hour after another through the same thigh, which I then neither complained nor bragged of, nor so much as thought of any chirurgeon; for I knew if I left the place, my men would instantly quit. I therefore chose (not having been used to have my troops foiled) to try the uttermost, rather then to shew them the way to flee, hoping still for the coming of the Frisons and the horse I sent for. But their haste was so small, that my men, overlaid with number, forsook the place, notwithstanding my best endeavour to stay them, hastening along the sands towards our cannon, the enemy following them hard. I was forced, seeing them all going, to go for company, with the last, uneasily and unwillingly (God knows) and in the way my horse fell dead under me, and upon me that I could not stirre: I had neither officer, gentleman, nor servant about me to give me help. Sir Robert Drury by chance came, and a gentleman, being a servant of his called Higham, drew me from under the horse, and set me up behind his master; which help came very seasonably, for the enemy being near at hand when I fell, by this means I was saved out of their clutches. Thus I rode to the ordnance, where I found my brother Horace and the most of the officers that were living, with some three hundred foot. I made them stand from before the ordnance, and willed the Cannoniers to discharge upon the enemy that now swarmed upon the sands, and at the same instant my own companie of horse and Captain Balls coming thither, I willed them to go to the charge, and my brother with the foot to advance and second them home. This small number of horse and foot made an exceeding great change on a sudden, for the enemy in hope of victory followed hard, and being upon the sands, where horse might serve upon them, were soon routed, most cut in pieces, the rest saving themselves by flight, as they could, in the downs, our men both horse and foot followed them (32). The fortune of the day being thus decided, Sir Francis began to take care of himself, who all this while having been undressed, the blood leaking from him at four holes, together with a dangerous disease that had long held him, had made him extremely weak and faint. The enemy lost above 120 ensignes, most of his foot slain, not many of his horse lost. On the States side in a manner the whole loss fell upon the English, of which near 800 were hurt and slain, eight captains slain, the rest all but two hurt, and most of his inferior officers hurt and slain (33).—The accounts we have of this Victory in the Letters of the Sydney-family, are as follow (34): . . . ‘ The ennemy was overthrowen by the valor of the English, and the good direction of Sir Francis Vere, to whom his Excellency committed the whole charge and command of horse and foote; and that the vanguard of the army kyled

‘ 5000 Spaniards, took 200 captains, and 110 coullers. ‘ Sir Francis Vere hath gained a great deale of honor, ‘ and Prince Mores, in his lettre to the Queen, hath ‘ donne him right, attributing the victory to his good ‘ order and direction.’—‘ Sir Francis Vere's friends ‘ in Court doe highly comend the great service he did ‘ the last battell, and have possessed her Majestie with ‘ it, who very often is hard to say, That she holds him ‘ the worthies Capten of her time.’—‘ Yt is wondered ‘ here, by Sir Francis Veres friends, that the States have ‘ not presented hym with some giste of worth, either in ‘ plate or jewels, for the Victory he gott them that day, ‘ which preserved their cuntry from ensuing dangers.’

[P] During the course of this siege, &c.] These remarkable occurrences are recorded to have happened . . . During the first month of the siege, the Spaniards discharged little less than thirty-five thousand cannon-shot against the town (35). A bulwark, called the Sandhill, was so thick stuck with bullets, that the ordnance could hardly shoot without hitting its former bullets, which like an iron wall made the latter fly in pieces up into the air: Yea, the bullets in it were so many, that they left no room to drive in palisadoes, though pointed with iron; and some there were that would have undertaken to make the bulwark new, if they might have had the bullets for their pains (36). A gunner, more than once, shot a bullet into the mouth of a charged cannon; which, taking fire with the blow, returned the bullet instantly back again, attended with another of its own. As good a marksman was he (if he did it designedly) who, when a soldier of the town, having bought a loaf of bread was holding it up in a boasting way, took away with a shot the uppermost half, leaving the other in the soldier's hand, who finding that he had received no hurt, said ‘ it was a fair-conditioned bullet, for it had left him the better half behinde (37).’—John Carew, of Antony in Cornwall, a young English gentleman about twenty-three years of age, having in a fally had one of his Arms shot off, he went and took it up, and brought back with him into the town unto the chirurgeon: and coming back to his lodging, shewed it, saying, ‘ Behold ‘ the Arm which but at dinner did help its fellow.’ This he did and endured without the least fainting, or so much as resting upon his bed (38).

[Q] Cut out a new harbour.] It was of so great service, that sixty ships came into it in a few days: the Gueule, or old haven, became useles (39).

[R] He artfully contrived to enter into Treaty with them, for the surrender of the place.] He was then reduced to the greatest distress; knowing, that the enemy were preparing for a general Assault, which he was not able either to stand, or beat off. And therefore he expressed his uneasiness to Sir John Ogile, who hath given an account of this transaction (40), in the following manner . . . ‘ What think you? are we not in a fine taking ‘ here? ha! I will tell you, captain Ogile, there was ‘ never

(35) See Commentaries, p. 132, 133. Continuation of the siege of Ostend.

(36) Ibid. p. 136.

(37) Ibid. p. 136.

(38) Ibid. p. 141.

(39) Letters of the Sydneys, Vol. II. p. 250, 280.

(40) Continuation of the siege of Ostend, at the end of Sir Francis's Commentaries, p. 139, 160. and the end of the book.

(dd) See p. 148.

(32) Commentaries, p. 102, 103, 104.

(33) Ibid. p. 104.

(34) Vol. II. p. 204, 205, 208.

(ii) Commentaries, p. 161, 210.

(kk) Continuation of the siege of Ostend, p. 163, 164, 165.

(ll) Ibid. p. 177, 178.

receiving part of the supplies he had long expected from the States, with an assurance of more at hand, he broke off the Treaty (ii) [S]. Thunderstruck, and infinitely enraged at this disappointment, the Archduke took a resolution to revenge himself of those within the town; saying, he would put them all to the sword: His commanders and soldiers taking likewise an oath, that if they entered, they would spare neither man, woman, nor child. Accordingly, they made a general assault, on the 7th of January, 1601-2. But Sir Francis, with only about twelve hundred able fighting men, kept off the enemy's army of ten thousand men; which threw that day above two and twenty hundred shot on the town: And had, before, thrown upon it no less than one hundred and sixty-three thousand two hundred cannon-shot, leaving scarce a whole house standing (kk). Thus our brave hero having acquired immortal honour in the defence of Ostend, for about eight months together, resigned his Government, March 7, 1601-2, to Frederick Dorp, that had been appointed by the States to succeed him: And he, and his brother, Sir Horatio Vere, returned into Holland (ll). We shall only add, that this memorable siege lasted in all three years, and about a hundred days. Happy had it been for the soldiers, if the sea had broke in and swallowed it up; for this place proved the common grave, though indeed a most glorious monument at the same time, to the best soldiers in the Low-Countries, Spain, France, England, Scotland, and Italy; whilst they fought all the while for a mere barren

never man of my fortunes and reputation (both which have been cleared hitherto) plunged in greater extremity than I am now.—Adding, 'that he was like a man that had both courage and judgment to defend himself, and yet must sit with his hands bound, whilst boys and devils come and box him about the ears. Yet this I will tell you too, (said he) rather than you shall ever see the name of Francis Vere subscribed in the delivery of a town committed to his custody, or his hand to the least article of treaty (though with the Archduke's own person) had I a thousand lives, I would first burie them all in the rampier, yet in the mean while judge you of the quality of this our being.'—However, to ward off so dangerous a blow as a general assault; to gain time for the succours he impatiently expected, and that might possibly come every hour; as also to have an opportunity of repairing and strengthening the works; he proposed a treaty for surrendering the place. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, one of whom was Sir John Ogle.—But to protract yet the time, Sir Francis used this stratagem: Causing a Gentleman that waited on him in his chamber to make an alarm at the entry of the Spanish commissioners, He pretended thereupon treachery on their part (41); and made it the cause why he would neither let them stay in the town, nor return the way they came. This bred disputes, and messengers passed to and fro betwixt them and the General. In the mean time the flood came in, and the water waxed so high, that there was no passage that way without a boat; whereof there was none on that side of the town, nor any brought, for that had been to cross his own purpose. The Commissioners desired earnestly to be suffered to stay, though it were upon the worst guard of the town; but it was denied: for he must rid himself of them; he could not do his business so well, if their eyes and ears were so near him; he sent them therefore to their friends on the East side, forecasting wisely, that e'er they could come there, and thence by the South to the West side again, there to have admittance to his Highness, and there to have the matter debated in council, he should not only gain the whole winter-night, but most part of the next day for his advantage, which fell out according to that calculation; and beyond his expectation that it continued longer.—The reason of the General's proceeding in that unaccountable manner, was, 'To gain so much more time; for that was precious to him for the advancement of his works in the old town; to which, through the benefit of this cessation of hostility, he had now drawn most of the hands that could labour, giving them spades to work, and order to have their weapons by them ready upon occasion to fight; and he handled the matter so, that, e'er the Commissioners returned again, the old town and works were stronger by a thousand men. He could not have done this (at least so conveniently) had he begun conference with them at their first entry, nor avoided that first conference, had he let them stay in the town, at least he understood it so.'—This unaccountable Behaviour, one might naturally think, would have quite put an end to the Treaty. But Sir John Ogle, one of the English commissioners, who had not been let into the secret, managed it so with the Archduke, that the Commissioners were sent again: And, this second time,

their reception 'was better than the first. For the General feasted with them, and drank and discoursed with them; but came to no direct overture of article, though they much pressed him. That part of the day, and the whole night, was so spent, and in sleep. In the morning were discovered five ships out of Zealand, riding in the road, that brought four hundred men, and some materials for the sea-works. The men were landed, not without opposition, but without any hurt. And this pretext, of succour from the States, the General took to break off the Treaty, which he had not yet really entered into: Whereupon the Commissioners were discharged on both sides (42).—The States, unacquainted with the General's design, were highly discontented at his Treating; imagining, that he was about making a separate Peace between England and Spain; and even without the Queen's consent (43).

[S] He broke off the Treaty.] And wrote this paper to the Archduke . . . 'We have heretofore held it necessary, for certain reasons, to treat with the Deputies which had authority from your Highness; but whilst we were about to conclude upon the Conditions and Articles, there are arrived certain of our ships of warre, by whom we have received part of that which we had need of; so that we cannot with our Honour and Oath continue the Treaty, nor proceed in it; which we hope that your Highness will not take in ill part; and that nevertheless, when your power shall reduce us to the like estate, you will not refuse, as a most generous Prince, to vouchsafe us again a gentle audience. From our town of Ostend, the 25th of December, 1601.

'Signed, Francis Vere.'

Now, (as our Author goes on) whosoever shall but consider how many and how great difficulties the Archduke had struggled with to maintain the siege; how highly concerned he was in point of honour, and how eagerly engaged in his affections; and what assured hopes he had of taking the town; will easily conceive that he must needs finde himself much discomposed at so unexpected a disappointment. He had already taken it with his eyes; and, as if he had bound the Leviathan for his maidens to sport withall, under the assurance of the truce he walked the *Infanta* before the town, with twenty Ladyes and Gentlewomen in her train; as it were valiantly to stroke this wild beast, which he had now laid fast in the toiles; and to look upon the outside of the town before they entered into it (44).—Grotius adds, that all Flanders had flocked to see the surrender of the place as a certain spectacle. And represents the treaty as an unnecessary, dangerous, and not very handsome piece of craft (45). Every step of it might not indeed be consonant to the Rules laid down by that excellent Civilian, in his book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*. But it was certainly an act of consummate Generalship. And *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?* Grotius's words are, 'Commovit Archiducem ea contumelia, quippe Flandria omnis velut ad certum speculaculum potiundæ urbis concurrerat, & jam didita fama propinquis regnis vagabatur. Nec ordinibus fati excusata fraus per se indecora, ad hoc periculosa magis quam necessaria.'

and

(41) They came attended with sixty horse, which Sir Francis called coming in a hostile manner. See Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 240.

(42) See Letters of the Sydney-family, Vol. II. p. 239, &c.

(43) Ibid. p. 239, 242, 243.

(44) Continuation of the siege of Ostend, p. 163.

(45) Grotii Analecta, edit. fol. L. X. p. 414.

and fruitless spot of ground (*mm*). Soon after his discharge from the Government of Ostend, Sir Francis, at the request of the States, came to England to desire fresh succours; which went over in May, and were to be under his command (*mm*). He was a great favourite of Olden Barnevelt (*oo*). Upon receiving the news of Queen Elizabeth's death, he proclaimed King James I. at the Briel, in April 1603, and in June following came to England (*pp*). His Government of the said town expiring, or being superseded at his good Mistress's decease [*T*], it was renewed to him by King James I. [*V*]. But, under that peaceable Monarch, Gentlemen of the sword came to be less considered than under his martial predecessor. And they became almost useless to him, upon his making peace with Spain, in 1604. However, Sir Francis Vere could not live inglorious. But, after an honourable repose of about four years, he died quietly at home, August the 28th, 1608, in the fifty-fourth year of his age; and was buried in St John the Evangelist's Chapel in Westminster-Abbey: where an uncommon monument was erected to his memory by his Lady [*W*]. Besides his other preferments, he was Governor of Portsmouth (*qq*). His own glorious exploits, recorded by himself in his Commentaries [*X*], are the greatest character and encomium of him that can be. However, the good account given of him by Sir Robert Naunton, we shall add in the note [*Y*]. He married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of - - - Dent, Citizen of London, who survived him, and by whom he had three sons and two daughters, John, Edward, Henry, Dorothy, and Elizabeth; all which died before him (*rr*).

(*mm*) Grotii Annales; and Camden, under the year 1601.

(*oo*) Ibid. p. 255.

(*pp*) Ibid. p. 270, 275.

(*qq*) Epitaph.

(*rr*) Visitation of Essex, in the Heralds Office, No. 124.

[*T*] His government of the Briel expiring, or being superseded &c.] We do not know which it was. But Sir William Broune, in a Letter to Robert Lord Sydney, tells him, 'that Sir Francis Vere, hearing that he should loose his place, came himself to the Kinge, desyringe to be lycensed from the charge of the Brill (46).'

[*V*] It was renewed again to him by King James I.] That it was at an end, in the beginning of that King's reign, is most evident from the patent then granted to him; which begins thus: 'Whereas the Toune of Brill in the Lowe Countries is nowe without a Governor, forasmuche as we thinke meet and necessary, for the advancement of our service in those parts, to have the same place supplied by some personage of quality and gifts fitt for a Charge of that importance, Know ye &c. (47).' — Sir Francis enjoyed this Government in November, 1605 (48).

[*W*] Where an uncommon monument was erected to his memory by his Lady.] A print of it may be seen in Dart's and other Histories of Westminster-abbey. On a marble table, raised somewhat above the floor, rests Sir Francis's statue, as big as the life, on a quilt, all of figured alabastr: Above which is a canopy of Lydian, or touch stone, supported at the four corners on the shoulders of four knights in armour, kneeling on one knee upon the ground. And, on the canopy, are his helmet, vambrace, gauntlets, spurs and shield, of white marble exquisitely wrought. Round the verge, is this epitaph, in gilt letters: 'Francisco Vero, Equiti Aurato, Galfredi F, Joannis Comitiss Oxoniæ Nepoti, Brieliæ et Portsmouthæ Præfecto, Anglicarum Copiarum in Belgio Ductori summo; Elizabetha uxor viro charissimo, quocum conjunctissime vixit, hoc supremum amoris et fidei conjugalis monumentum mœstissima et cum Lacrymis gemens posuit. Obiit XXVIII Die Augusti, Anno Salutis MDCVIII, et Anno Ætatis sue LIII.'

But we find this other ingenious Epitaph made upon him:

'When Vere fought Death, arm'd with his sword and shield,

Death was afraid to meet him in the Feild:

But when his weapons he had laid aside,

Death like a coward strooke him, and he dy'd (49).'

[*X*] Recorded by himself in his Commentaries.] The title of them is, 'The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere, being diverse pieces of service, wherein he had command, written by himself in way of Commentary.' They were published from the Author's original, compared with a copy in the possession of the Earl of Westmorland, and another copy communicated by the Lord Fairfax, in the year 1657, by William Dillingham, D. D. finely printed by J. Field, Cambridge, fol. and adorned with very beautiful pictures of Sir Francis, and Sir Horace, Vere; Sir John Ogle; with maps, plans of battles, &c. At the end is subjoined, Sir John Ogle's account of the last charge at Newport battle; and his account of the parly at the siege of Ostend; with a short relation of some circumstances during that treaty,

by Henry Hexham. The Editor hath also continued the story of that siege, from the time Sir Francis put up his pen, to the time that he put up his sword there. — At the end, is a relation of Newport battle, in elegant Latin, by Isaac Dorislaus; the same who was one of the Judges of the Court of Admiralty, and an assistant in drawing up and managing the charge against King Charles I. at his tryal (50). — In the beginning, the Editor gives the following just encomium of this work.

Brave Vere! who hast by deeds of arms made good
What thou hadst promised by birth and blood;
Whose courage ne're turn'd edge, being back'd with wife
And sober reason, sharpened with advise.
Look (Reader) how from Newport hills he throws
Himself a thunder-bolt amongst his foes;
And what his Sword indicted, that his Pen
With like success doth here fight o're agen:
What Mars performed, Mercury doth tell;
None e're but Cesar fought and wrote so well.
Why may not then his Book this title carry,
The Second Part of Cesar's Commentary?

[*Y*] The good account given of him by Sir Robert Naunton, &c.] It is in these words. 'Sir Francis Vere was of the ancient and most noble extract of the Earles of Oxford: And it may be a question, whether the Nobility of his House, or the Honour of his Achievements, might most commend him; but that we have an authentique Rule to decide the doubt:

Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco

'For though he were an Honourable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobility, (which was no disadvantage to his vertue) yet he brought more glory to the name of Vere, than he took of blood from the Family. He was amongst the Queen's swordmen inferior to none; but superior to many: Of whom it may be said, "To speak much of him, were the way to leave out something that might adde to his praise, and to forget more that could adde to his Honour." I find not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almost perpetually in the Camp: but when he did, no man had more of the Queen's favour, and none less envied: for he seldom troubled it with the jealousy and allarum of supplantations; his way was another sort of undermining. They report, that the Queen (as she loved martiall men) would court this Gentleman as soon as he appeared in her presence. And surely he was a Souldier of great worth, and commanded thirty yeares in the service of the States, and twenty yeares over the English in chief, as the Queen's Generall: and he that had seen the Battail of Newport, might there best have taken him, and his Noble Brother, my Lord of Tilbury, to the life (51).'

(50) See Wood, Ath. Vol. II. col. 339. Edit. 1721.

(51) Naunton's Fragmenta regalia, &c. Edit. 1653. 12mo. p. 84.

(a) There were four brothers and a sister who are mentioned in the preceding article, remark [A] to which account we shall add of Robert, the third brother, that he died beyond the seas unmarried. Visitation of Essex, 1634, 82. A. 7. in Bibl. Harl. in the British Museum.

(f) Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries, p. 103.

(b) Ibid. p. 170.

(i) Ibid. p. 178.

(1) Dillingham, in the Preface to Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

(2) Sidney's Letters, and Memorials, p. 208.

(3) Commentaries, p. 108 to 111.

VERE [HORACE], Baron of Tilbury, youngest brother of the preceding (a), was born at Kirby-Hall in Essex, in the year 1565 (b). He took to a military life from his youth (c), and accompanied his brother, Sir Francis, in his most signal exploits, being in courage equal, and in hazards undivided [A]. In the 20th year of his age, he with his brother, Sir Francis, then aged 31, went over with those forces sent the latter end of the year 1583, to the assistance of the States of Holland, and served there in several actions with his brother, till he had the command of a regiment of foot; yet we don't find any particular mention made of him till the expedition to Cadiz, in 1596, wherein he embarked, and was knighted for his valour in taking of that sea-port town (d). In 1597, he was in the Low-Countries in the service of the States, and after the end of the campaign, lay sick at the Hague (e). He continued there the following year, 1598, without any considerable action; but the enemy making strong efforts in 1599, he greatly signalized himself in the campaign that year [B]. In 1600, he had a great share in obtaining the victory at the famous battle of Newport (f); where, after Sir Francis, his brother, was wounded, he pursued the enemy, making great slaughter among them [C]. In 1601, he was with Prince Maurice at the siege of Rhineberg; and his brother, Sir Francis, being appointed General of the army employed in and about Ostend, having orders for all the English to be sent to him, Prince Maurice, not willing to part them from the siege, detached only eight companies under Sir Horace Vere, with which entering Ostend, he had his share in that memorable siege, and behaved with great conduct and intrepidity. After the parley on December 28, 1601, the Archduke made a general assault on the town (g), when Sir Horace Vere's station was to maintain the Sand-bill, and defend the breach; Sir Charles Fairfax [D] being under him, with only twelve weak companies, whereof some had not above ten or twelve men; but had double arms, as pike and musket, with store of ammunition; all which was judged necessary for defending so dangerous a post. Yet it was performed with the loss of a few men (h) in repulsing the enemy by a stratagem [E]. In this general assault, the Archduke lost above two thousand men, and among them many noblemen, &c.; but of the English were slain only forty, and about a hundred wounded, among which was Sir Horace Vere himself, in the leg. After this bloody shower was over, the fortifications were repaired; and on the 7th of March, 1602, Sir Horace, with his brother, embarked themselves, their horses and baggage being sent before, having valiantly defended the town for above eight months against all the Archduke's power, and leaving it much better able to defend itself, than at their first coming thither; and both leaving behind them the marks of true honour and renown (i). The next news we hear of Sir Horace is, that he arrived at Flushing from England before the 20th of June,

[A] In courage equal, in hazards undivided.] As he must be allowed a great share in the actions recorded by his brother, so were his own services afterwards as eminent and considerable, that they might have furnished another Commentary; but his exceeding modesty would not permit of relating his own actions (1).

[B] He signalized himself in the campaign 1599.] Sir William Brown, from Flushing, July 2, 1599, gives the following information to Sir Robert Sidney: 'Letters from Sir Francis Vere, and others, say, that June 24, by break of day, there was a half-moon made in the upper part of Bommel's-Waert, right against the island Voorn, not a league from a fort the enemy was building, who, about seven of the clock in the evening, gave a very hot assault upon it for near an hour. In the half-moon was Sir Horace Vere, and four companies of his regiment, with some French soldiers, who defended it with great valour, repulsing the enemy, who left behind them on the place eighty men; and, as reported by their own men, they lost at least 500 men in the assault. Our nation, continues Sir William, gained reputation, though they escaped not spot-free; Captain Upchar being slain, and several officers wounded (2).'

[C] He pursued the enemy, making great slaughter among them.] Sir John Ogle, in his account of the engagement, says, 'that he being advanced near the enemy, and their men ready to fall on them, Sir Horace Vere came on horseback from pursuit of the enemy, whom the horse had scattered (mentioned by his brother, Sir Francis,) and with 200 men, marched along the Downs towards him, having with him his own Lieutenant-Colonel, Lowel, that commanded Sir Francis Vere's foot company, with other officers. And that Sir Horace willed him to join his forces, and give one good charge on that great troop of the enemy he saw stood firm before them, which they did accordingly, falling in pell-mell among them. And some troops of horse rushing also in, they were presently broken, and the slaughter was great on their side, as the execution easy to them (3).' Camden, on this victory, says, that among those who deserved the first commendations, were Sir Francis Vere,

and Sir Horace Vere (4).

[D] Colonel Charles Fairfax.] This Gentleman was the third son of Thomas Lord Fairfax, the first Baron of Cameron, and consequently uncle to Fairfax, General of the Parliament Army in the Civil Wars of England, who married Ann, fourth daughter of Sir Horace Vere. Sir Charles, besides his military abilities, was also a noted Antiquary, and particularly drew up a piece, intitled, *Analeta Fairfaxiana*, containing a very accurate account of the Fairfax family, which MS. was of great service in reducing the pedigree of that family by the learned Antiquary, Mr Ralph Thoresby, who congratulates his native town of Leeds in Yorkshire, on the happiness of having then resident among them the Colonel's son, the learned and pious Thomas Fairfax, Esq; 'who, says he, many years ago laid down his Commission of Justice of Peace for the West-Riding, and retired hither for devotion sake; whose example, continues Mr Thoresby, is at once both a happiness and reproach to the neighbourhood, who cannot but observe him and his family, twice every day, going to attend the worship of God in his holy Temple there, in the most solemn manner, to offer up their prayers and thanksgiving to that God whose service is perfect freedom (5).'

[E] The enemy was repulsed by a stratagem.] The soldiers by order falling flat on the ground, the enemies shot flew like hail over their heads, which saved the lives of many men. And when the Spaniards were climbing up the breach, they tumbled down among them much combustibles that were provided to impede them; the fight continued there hotter and hotter for the space of above an hour, and they were so bravely repulsed, that they could not enter a man. On perceiving their retreat, the west sluice was opened, out of which ran such a torrent through the channel of the west haven, as carried many of their sound, as well as wounded men into the sea. Under Sand-bill, which Sir Horace defended, lay heaps of dead men, and scaling ladders, store of spades, hatchets, and axes, with other materials (6).

(b) MS. I. 3. page 45, in *Office Armor.*

(c) He was probably initiated therein by Sir Will. Brown, as will be seen presently.

(d) Camden's Life of Q. Eliz. in the compleat Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 593.

(e) Letter of George Gilpin, Esq; the Queen's Resident, dated November 22, 1597, to Sir Robert Sidney, Governor of Flushing, in Sidney's Letters and Memorials, p. 77.

(g) Hexham's continuation of the siege of Ostend. Ibid. p. 167.

(4) Life of Queen Elizabeth, ubi supra, p. 624.

(5) Ducat Leodiensis, &c. Edit. 1715. fol. p. 65 66.

(6) Hexham's continuation of the siege of Ostend, in Commentaries, as above, p. 172 to 176.

1603 (k), whence he set out the same night for the Hague to relieve his brother, Sir Francis, who was to embark for England. On his arrival there, Sir Horace joined the army under Prince Maurice, who being afterwards before Gertruydenburg, letters from the camp there of the 6th of August, N. S. brought advice of a quarrel between the English and French [F], wherein were slain of the English fifteen or sixteen, and at least thirty-six wounded; also as many of the French; and Colonel *Bethune* so hurt, that he died the next day (l): and that the fray continuing, the French would have been all slain, had not Sir Horace Vere come timely in to save them; and so great was the rage of the English, that his presence could hardly prevail to stay their fury and revenge on the French; for neither the presence of his Excellency Prince Maurice, or any other Commander, could quiet them, so greatly did they honour and love him. It does not appear, that any action happened during that campaign. But in 1604, Sir Horace again joined the army under Prince Maurice before *Sluys*, and from the camp, May 2, that year, wrote the letter, inserted below, to Sir William Brown [G], with whom he had an intimacy, having, as it should seem, been initiated by him in military discipline; for he subscribed himself his *loving son*, yet was not allied to him. Sir William, by a letter to Robert Lord Sidney, dated at *Flushing*, July 12, acquaints him, 'that he had received a letter from Sir Horace Vere, on the 9th, from the Leaguers before *Sluys*, that a soldier, come out of the town, reported they were in great scarcity of provisions, and were weak in their bodies for want of competent food to eat: also that the Governor would have made a sally with 1500 men, which they refused, alledging their disabilities in weakness of their bodies (m).' Afterwards, by Sir Horace's good conduct, the town of *Sluys* was taken, overcoming difficulties, which, in the opinion of his friends, were impossible to surmount (n). In the campaign of 1605, he greatly signalized himself by his gallant retreat with 4000 men from *Spinola*, the Spanish General, when with three times that number he had grasped up Prince Maurice and his men against the sea-shore (o) [H].

(k) Sidney's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 274. Letter of Sir William Brown to Robert Lord Sidney.

(l) The English were killed with musket-shot, but those they killed were with pike and sword, for shot they used none, having spent their powder the night before in honour of King James's Coronation. Ibid. p. 277.

(m) Ibid. p. 299.

(o) Ibid.

On

[F] *A quarrel between the English and French.* The ground of discontent between them grew first at *Dort*, where three of the English being slain, and two French, and no justice done, the heart-burning continued, and broke out afresh at *Gertruydenburg* by accident. 'The Englishman, says Sir William Brown, who brought me the letter from the camp, tells me it began by an Englishwoman that had sticks to sell, which a Frenchman cheapened, and because she would not let him have them for the money he proffered, he snatched the wood from her; which provoking an Englishman, that was standing by, to pull them again from him; the Frenchman thereupon drew his sword, and run him through the body (7).' *Fœmina causa mali.*

[G] *A letter to Sir William Brown.* This is the tenour of it:

'I thank you very much for the letters you sent me. If it falls within the compass of my power to do you any acceptable service, you shall find me ready: you have the main of your honest friends of *Flushing* amongst us, that I do forbear to acquaint you with our occurrences. In the last business we had to do with the enemy, Captain Williams behaved himself very worthily with the troops he commanded. We mist a fair occasion to have a good day's work, which I doubt not but you have heard it at large. So with my kindest salutations, and my prayers for your health, I recommend you to the Almighty's protection, and rest

'Your Loving Son,

'And most assured Friend to be commanded,

'H. Vere.'

Sir William Brown, May 23, inclosed this letter to Robert Lord Sidney, observing, 'that therein due praise was given his Lordship's garrison from Sir Horace Vere, who, says he, honourably gives witness of our men's behaviour.' And Captain Williams, in a letter to Sir William Brown, informs him; 'that on Saturday evening the enemy marched out of *Sluys* about 800 in two troops, and with them most of their slaves: when they came, continues he, within cannon-shot of our shipping, that lay in the drowned land, they made a stand; and after some stay, returned (without doing any thing) the same way they came, which was over the drowned land into the town. They came for two ends, first, to receive provision brought them out of *Damm*; the second, to deliver their slaves to be led to *Bruges*; but their convoy did not come that night according to their expectation. The next day, at six in the morning, 3000 foot and 1500 horse came with twenty-four waggons laden with meal to be delivered them, and to receive the slaves. His Excellency having intelligence thereof, drew out his horse, and the better

'part of his foot, with three field-pieces; the French, and the old Scotch regiment had the van-guard led by Count William; other Nations made the battle, and the English had the rear, for so it fell to be their turn, &c. After two hours stay, word being brought to his Excellency, that the grofs of the convoy were near passing over a morass towards *Damm*, he commanded Sir Horace Vere to draw off half the English, and march to find the enemy: he thereupon drew off his own regiment and my troops, and when we came within sight of the enemy, he bad me send my musketeers, with a Lieutenant and a Sergeant. Our musketeers, after two volleys, had no powder, and were on a retreat till I came in with the pikes, and then we went on again, and pressed so hard the enemy, that they gave way; they had a river between them and us, which we passed, and I was in the way to follow the enemy, but Sir Horace Vere ordered me back. At my return I met his Excellency, who told me, if we had been an hour sooner, we should have had a good day: I said, if we followed them, we should have a good execution; but for that they made haste, and their retreat near, he judged it not convenient. Our men come to be in good order, and are glad of this small business; I think we shall have more. We are all exceedingly bound to Sir Horace Vere; who doth me all the honour he can, and hath given strict commandment, that none of his troops shall quarrel. I have lost two men, and seven shot, and Lieutenant *Zouch* had his arm broken with a bullet on our first going on. As soon as we came to our quarter, Sir Horace sent James to dress Lieutenant *Zouch*, and our soldiers: his care is much of us, and our loves must be as great to him. This siege will prove tedious, and produce many dangerous attempts by the difficult passage over (8).'

[H] *He made a gallant retreat, &c.* Sir John Throgmorton, Lieutenant Governor of *Flushing*, in a letter from thence, dated October 5, 1605, to Robert Sidney, Lord Viscount *Lisle*, has given the particulars thereof greatly to the honour of Sir Horace Vere, saying of him, 'that seeing their own horse had abandoned their foot, and the enemy falling desperately on their rear, he desired Prince Maurice to let him, with those of his nation, attack them. On which his Excellency giving him charge of the rear, and leaving him to make the retreat, he had no sooner passed a river (where his soldiers waded up to their middle) to come to the rear of the Dutch, and landed, but the enemy, with five or six troops of horse, charged his three troops he had with him to favour his retreat, who thereupon ran all away, leaving Sir Horace to receive them with only his foot; wherein he very bravely repulsed the enemy, and retired in good order to repass the aforesaid river, in the rear

(8) Sidney's Memorials, p. 289.

of

(6) Epistle to the Reader before Sir Francis Vere's Commentaries.

(7) Sidney's Memorials, p. 277.

On the death of his brother, Sir *Francis Vere*, in 1608, he succeeded him as Lord General of the English forces in the Netherlands (p). And on the 18th of October, in the 7th year of King James, he was, by Letters patent under the great Seal of England, made special choice of (as therein expressed) to supply the place of Governor and Captain of the Town of *Briel* in the *Low-Countries*, and of all other forts thereunto belonging, and of all the garrison and soldiers therein, or thereafter to be placed; with power to appoint a sufficient Deputy or Deputies (q): which government his brother also had till the time of his decease (r). A truce about that time had been made for twelve years between *Spain* and the *States General*, whereby they were in perfect tranquillity: but Sir *Horace Vere* being General of the English forces in the Netherlands, and Governor of the *Briel*, he was for the most part out of England till the latter end of King James's reign (s). In 1616 he was commissioned, May 22 (t), to render and yield up, into the hands of the States of the United Provinces, the town of *Briel*, and all the forts and sconces thereunto belonging, whereof he had then the charge, by virtue of the King's letters patent, together with all the Artillery and Ammunition remaining there, observing and performing, in all points, such instructions as he should receive under the hands of the Lords of the Privy-Council, concerning the rendering up the said town, &c. However, the King, in consideration of his services, and the loss of that Government, allowed him a pension (u), as he did to *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, who had been Governor of *Flushing* [I]. In 1618, 16 Jac. I, on the commotions which the *Arminians* had raised to oppose the Prince of Orange, Sir *Horace Vere* marched with him to *Utrecht*, whereof they were possessed, and seizing the Ringleaders of the faction, some of them were executed (w), and the Prince left Sir *Horace* Governor of the city (x), whose conduct was necessary to keep them in order [K]. In 1620, forces being raised for

of the Dutch whom he had saved, and by this time had got over; and the enemy, perceiving that the whole forces of Prince *Maurice* depended on their Rear, came very desperately on to charge them a second time. Whereupon Sir *Horace* caused his Vanguard to begin to pass the water, and chusing out about sixty of his best men, with them received this second charge, wherein his own horse was shot under him, but lived to carry him on the other side of the river. In that charge he lost most of the men with him; but by it he saved the army. Had our horse, says Sir *John Throgmorton*, done their duty, his Excellency had wholly defeated the enemy. Count *Henry* charged on another quarter of the enemy, and meeting with some resistance from their foot and their horse coming up, all Count *Henry's* horse shamefully ran away, that he was very greatly endangered, and Sir *Henry Carey*, of the Court, slain. That Sir *Horace Vere* saved the army, was confessed by *Spinola*, the enemy's General (g). [I] He allowed him a pension, as he did Sir *R. Sidney*. They both enjoyed it in the year 1626, when *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, by a letter, dated June 12, to *James Ley*, Earl of *Marlborough*, Lord High Treasurer, complains of want of payment of it, alledging that Lord *Vere* had his money; and that the reason for their pensions was all one (10).

[K] He attended prince *Maurice* to *Utrecht* against the *Arminians*, &c.] This expedition, with its consequences, is one of the most memorable events in the history of the United Provinces. The famous synod of *Dort*, The utter extirpation of *Arminianism*, The establishment of *Calvinism*, The execution of that eminent Patriot *Barneveldt*, Grand Pensioner of *Holland*, And the imprisonment of the celebrated *Hugo Grotius* for life, all followed as the natural fruits of it. And as the state of religion in *England* was likewise nearly connected with it, and the importance of Sir *Horace's* service at *Utrecht* cannot otherwise be perfectly understood, we shall give a concise account of it as follows.

In 1608, while the Truce between the Spaniards and the United Provinces was negotiating, *Arminius*, an eminent Professor at *Leyden*, began to broach his doctrine, which was warmly opposed by *Gomar*, another Professor in the same university. The doctrine of *Arminius* being directly opposite to that of *Calvin*, he was accused before the synod of *Rotterdam*, in which *Gomar's* party prevailed. Hereupon *Arminius* applying to the States of *Holland* and *West Friesland* to take cognizance of the dispute, *Gomar* was summoned, together with him, before these Magistrates, who promised to have the affair discussed in a synod; but the Grand Council reporting to the State, that the whole dispute was about some obscure questions concerning *Grace* and *Predestination*, *Barneveldt* happened to say, he thanked God that the fundamental points of religion were not in question, which was warmly resented by *Gomar* (11). *Arminius* died October 10, 1609 (12); but his Partizans drew up a *Remonstrance*, dated January 14, 1610, containing a

Confession of their faith, comprehended in five articles (13). On the other hand, the *Gomarists* opposed to it a *Contra-remonstrance*. Hence arose the names of *Remonstrants*, and *Contra-Remonstrants*. And the dispute still continuing with much bitterness, the States of *Holland*, who were made uneasy thereby, convened, in 1611, six of the principal Divines of each party to dispute before them on the points in question; which being done, the States, without determining any thing, recommended to them to live in peace; but enjoining them to deliver their thoughts of the most proper means thereto. The *Remonstrants* proposed a *Toleration*, the *Contra-Remonstrants* a *National Synod*. Both which opinions being laid before the States, they declared for a *Toleration*: thus the cause was gained to the *Arminians*; but the *Gomarists* were favoured by the people, and grew very factious. Hereupon the Grand Pensionary *Barneveldt*, imagining that, if they made themselves masters of the election of ministers, the States would insensibly appease these troubles, proposed the revival of an obsolete regulation made in 1591, by which the Magistrates and Consistory were each to nominate four persons, who should chuse a minister to be afterwards presented to the Body of the Magistrates, who might receive or reject him. This motion was agreed to by the States, to the great mortification of the *Contra-Remonstrants*, who complained that the States had exceeded their power. Hence arose a grand contest, who ought to be Judge in ecclesiastical matters. The *Arminians* attributed this power to the Civil Magistrate: The *Gomarists* to the Clergy alone. Hence arose a separation between them (14); each party seizing the churches of their adherents, stirring up sedition, writing libels, &c. These violences gave birth to a schism; some joining the old ministers, and others the new. In this time of confusion *Grotius* was nominated Pensionary of *Rotterdam*, and sent into *England*. It is imagined (15) he had secret instructions to get the King and the principal Divines to favour the *Arminians*, and approve the conduct of the States. He had several conferences with his Majesty on that subject (16). But at his return to *Holland* he found the divisions increased. *Barneveldt* and he having the direction of the proceedings of the states in this matter, he was appointed to draw up an Edict which might restore tranquillity. It was approved by the States, and contained in substance, 'That, whereas several Divines had taught, that God has created some men to damn them; that he has laid certain men under a necessity of sinning; that he invites some men to salvation to whom he is resolved to deny it: That other Divines were charged with teaching, that men's natural strength or works may operate their salvation. It is hereby ordained, that these doctrines be condemned by the Pastors, both from the pulpits and on all other seasonable occasions. But as to those who only believe and teach, that God hath from all eternity chosen to salvation, from the mere motion of his will through Jesus Christ, those who by *Grace*, which they have

(r) See his article.

(t) Patent 14 Jac. I. p. 1. in dorf.

(x) Camden's Annals of King James, in the said Hist. of England, p. 649.

(13) It was drawn up by *Utengobard*, minister at the Hague, and signed by forty-six ministers, being probably made in concert with *Grotius*, the intimate friend of *Utengobard*, at that time wholly employed on these subjects. From the five points this was called the *Quinquarticular Controversy*, well known and much bandied in *England*.

(14) *Grotius's* Apology, cap. 9.

(15) *Le Vassor's* Hist. de Louis XIII. lib. 4. p. 477.

(16) While he was in *England*, he wrote, in 1613, his *Reconciliation of the different opinions on predestination and grace*, which is printed in his Theological works. It contains a display of *Arminianism* in its favour.

(p) MS. I. 8. p. 45, in *Offic. di. nor.*

(q) *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XVI. p. 786.

(s) His two eldest daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, were born abroad, during this absence from home. *Rushworth's Collections*, Vol. I. p. 153.

(u) *Sidney's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 368, 369.

(w) *Wilson's Life of King James I*, in the Hist. of *England*, Vol. II. p. 718.

(g) *Sidney's Memorials*, p. 314, 315.

(10) *Ibid.* p. 369.

(11) He said he would be very sorry to appear before God with *Arminius's* sentiments. *Burigny's Life of Grotius*, p. 40. Lond. 1754.

(12) *Grotius* made his *Elogium in versu*.

(17) This Edict being warmly attacked by the Contra-Remonstrants, Grotius reprinted it, with a collection of passages, justifying it against their censures. He afterwards wrote a defence of that decree, which he did not finish; but, on occasion of the dispute concerning the power of Sovereigns, he composed a considerable treatise, and had before handled that subject in a tract on the rights of the States of Holland.

(18) Casaubon's Epistles, No. 933. (19) lb. Ep. 863. It is probable, that the Letter sent by the States of Holland and West Friesland, in 1618, to King James, was written by Grotius: it is his style and sentiments.

(20) Grotius was sent to this town to reconcile them to these proceedings: he laboured with all his might; but in vain; the grief for which threw him into a fever, which had well nigh carried him off. His speech on this occasion was translated into Latin by Schrivelius, and is in the third tome of his Theological works.

(21) Grotius's History of the Netherlands, lib. 17. (22) The substance of which was, that the five Articles should be examined in a Synod of Holland, and the decision carried to a Synod of all the Provinces; that, previous thereto, the sovereignty of all the provinces should be settled: that nothing should be fixed without an unanimous consent: that, if they could not agree, a general council of all the reformed churches should be convened: and that, in the mean time, a severe edict should be published against rioters and the authors of defamatory libels.

(23) The Provinces of Holland, Utrecht, and Overysel, protested against this resolution; and Barnevelt was so thunder-struck by it, that he would have resigned

the assistance of the King of Bohemia, he had the command of them conferred on him by King James, laying aside *Edward Cecil*, who was first designed. In consequence of this command,

not merited, and by the operation of the Holy Spirit, believe in Christ, and, by free grace given, persevere in the Faith to the end, We will (says the Edict) that they be not molested on that account, nor pressed to embrace other sentiments, or teach other doctrine. For we judge these truths sufficient for salvation, and proper for the instruction of Christians (17). The States were very desirous that the King of Great Britain and the English Bishops should be satisfied with the manner in which they had explained themselves in this Edict; they were the more anxious, as they had reason to believe James unfavourable to the Arminians (18). However, the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops, allowed the doctrine of the Edict to be orthodox, and equally distant from Manicheism and Pelagianism: the only thing which gave the King some pain, was to see the Civil magistrate assume a right of making decrees in matters of religion (19). But this Edict served only to increase the troubles, by driving the Gomarists, against whom it was manifestly levelled, into despair. The riots which had already happened, and which they hourly apprehended, made the Grand Pensionary Barnevelt propose to the States of Holland, that the Magistrates of the cities of the province should be empowered to raise troops for the suppression of the Rioters, and the security of their towns. *Dort, Amsterdam* (20), and three others of the most favourable to the Gomarists, protested against this step, which they regarded as a kind of declaration of war against the Contra-Remonstrants. Barnevelt's motion was nevertheless agreed to; and on the 4th of August, 1617, the States issued a placard accordingly. This fatal decree occasioned the death of the Grand Pensionary, and the ruin of *Grotius*, by incensing Prince *Maurice of Nassau* against them, who looked upon the resolution of the States, taken without his consent, as derogatory to his dignity of Governor and Captain-General. He had entertained a mortal enmity for several years against the *Grand Pensionary* (21), who concluded the truce in 1609 without his concurrence. Hitherto he had stifled his revenge for want of a proper opportunity to execute it; but it blazed openly on occasion of this decree of the States, which he considered as *Barnevelt's* act. He accused him of labouring to diminish his authority, found fault with the Edict drawn up by *Grotius* (22), declared publicly for the Gomarists, assisted at Divine service only in their Churches, and forbade the Soldiers to obey the States, when they would employ them to appease the riots. Some towns however, whether they suspected their garrisons, or found there was no other way to suppress the rioters, levied men in consequence of the States decree. The Contra-Remonstrants, seeing themselves powerfully protected by Prince *Maurice*, separated from the communion of the Arminians in 1617.

The States of Holland, wholly employed in seeking ways to compound matters, had come to a resolution, February 21, this year, to have a proper *Formula* drawn up, to which the Ministers of the two parties should be obliged to conform; that it should be sent first to Prince *Maurice*, and then presented to the States for their examination; and such a *Formula* was accordingly prepared by *Grotius*. But this project did not please the Prince; he wanted a National Synod; and the States General, entirely devoted to him, determined, in spite of the States of Holland, to convoke a National Assembly in Holland itself, at *Dort* (23). In the mean time Prince *Maurice*, who saw, with the utmost displeasure, several cities, agreeable to the permission granted them by the particular States, levy a new Militia without his consent, engaged the States General to enjoin the disbanding of those levies, which were stiled the *Attendant Soldiers*. And when these orders were not obeyed by the particular States (24), the Prince, considering this conduct as a rebellion, concerted with the States General, that he should march in person, with the troops under his command, to get these soldiers disbanded; that he should depose the Arminian Magistrates, and turn out the Ministers of their party. He accordingly set out, accompanied by the Deputies of the States General, in 1618, and, beginning with the province of *Guedres*, he removed from the senate of *Nimeguen* all who were known or suspected to favour Arminian-

his place of Grand Pensionary; but was prevailed upon to continue in it by the earnest desire of the province. *Grotii manes*, p. 78. (24) The particular States looked upon themselves as Sovereigns. *See* *Neuvill's Hist. of Holland*, B. III. c. 5.

ism, and turned out the Ministers, obliging them instantly to leave the Town. At *Overyssel* he met with no opposition. In *Arnhem* there was a numerous garrison of *Attendant Soldiers*; but the Prince, having intelligence from within the place, got into it by night; and the soldiers, seeing themselves betrayed, laid down their arms. Some Senators were deposed, and the Secretary of the Council banished the city. The States of Holland, knowing that the Prince was to treat *Utrecht* in the same manner, sent thither *Grotius*, and *Hoogerbetz*, Pensionary of *Leyden*, with instructions to consider and resolve on some method of opposing the commission given by the States General to the Prince, and to consult in what manner the Union between the particular State of the Provinces might be strengthened for their mutual aid and assistance (25). In consequence of these advices, the Magistrates doubled the guards at the gates, and armed all the militia they could assemble. Every thing seemed ready for enabling the city to make a vigorous resistance. The Burghers had taken up arms, and the *Attendant Soldiers* were posted in the principal quarters of the town. These dispositions did not divert the Prince from his design of seizing it. The old garrison, from a jealousy of the new, declared for him; this occasioned a mutiny: some of the Burghers left the interest of the city, which being unprovided of good officers, the Prince and the Deputies of the States found means to enter and reduce it. Being then Master of the town, he disbanded the *Attendant Soldiers*, made *Leydenberg* Secretary of the States (26), and some Senators prisoners, and turned out of their places those who had distinguished themselves by their resistance, putting in their room such as he could depend on. Nor was the Prince of Orange's (27) revenge so satisfied. The destruction of the Grand Pensionary he had resolved on; and, in that spirit, having procured an ordonnance of the States General, *Barnevelt* was seized on the 29th of August this year, 1618, and thrown into the castle of the Hague, as were *Grotius* and *Hoogerbetz* about the same time (28). Some days after these imprisonments, the Prince of Orange and the Deputies of the States General made a tour through the towns of Holland, where the Prince deposed such Magistrates as were relations or friends of the three illustrious prisoners, putting in their places others that were wholly devoted to him, and obliged some towns to receive a garrison, particularly *Rotterdam*. The Arminians had hitherto been the most powerful party (29) there, and had excluded the Contra-Remonstrants from preaching in the great church. But the Prince took that church from them, and gave it, with all the rest, to the Gomarists, except two only which were left to the Arminians. He placed a garrison of a hundred men in the town, and turned out and banished the Ministers who had appeared most zealous for Arminianism, such as *Vorsius*, *Utengobard*, and *Episcopius*. The warmest opposers of a National Synod being thus disabled from giving any further obstruction, the States General proceeded to the holding of it, and it was opened on the 15th of November, 1618, at *Dort* (30), wherein *Episcopius* and the other Arminian ministers were deposed, and Calvinism established.

The three prisoners were not brought to their trial till after the rising of this synod. But twenty-six Commissioners were appointed to be the Judges on the 19th of November. They began with *Barnevelt*, who was sentenced on the 12th of May, 1619, to lose his head. And this sentence was executed upon him the next day. The scaffold for his execution was erected in the court of the castle at the Hague, facing the Prince of Orange's apartments. After a short speech (31) to the people, the executioner struck off his head at one blow. It is affirmed, that the Prince of Orange, to feast himself with the cruel pleasure of seeing his enemy perish, beheld the execution with a glass. The people looked on it with other eyes. Many came to gather the sand, wet with his blood, to keep it carefully in phials; and the crowd of those who had the same curiosity continued the next day, notwithstanding all possible means were used to hinder them.

Five days after came on the trial of *Grotius* (32), which concluded in a sentence, pronounced May 18, 1619, condemning him to perpetual imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate (33). In consequence of this sentence, he was carried from the Hague to the own liberty, was owing to his opposition against making Prince *Maurice* Dictator. *See* *Du Maurier, Le Vassor, La Neuville, and Le Clerc.*

(25) *Grotius* and *Hoogerbetz* promised they should not be abandoned by the States of Holland, from whom they brought letters, persuading them, that it was their duty to obey the States of *Utrecht* who paid them, and to resist the Stadtholder.

(26) Upon hearing of the imprisonment of *Barnevelt*, *Grotius*, and *Hoogerbetz*, and the banishment of *Vorsius*, *Utengobard*, and *Episcopius*, he was so terrified, that he made away with himself in prison.

(27) *Maurice* had this title after the death of his brother *Philip-William*, which happened at *Brussels*, Feb. 21, 1618.

(28) Upon this arrest, *Carleton*, our Ambassador then at the Hague, was prevailed on by *Grotius's* enemies to complain against his *Mare liberum*, and to maintain, that the States ought to make an example of him. *Selden's Mare clausum*, lib. 1. p. 198.

(29) *Mercure Francois*, an. 1617.

(30) The States of Holland, who, in May 1618, had renewed their protest against it, frightened by the violences exercised against the three illustrious prisoners, at last gave their consent.

(31) 'Burghers, says he, I have been always your faithful countryman: believe not that I die for treason; but for maintaining the rights and liberties of my countrymen.' *Mercure Francois*.

(32) His accusation consisted of twenty-nine articles, confessed by himself. The chief of which was his opposing the Synod of *Dort*, being active in raising the *Attendant Soldiers*, and particularly in the resistance against the Prince of Orange at *Utrecht*.

(33) The same punishment had been moved for in the case of *Barnevelt*, but in vain; and it is not improbable, that the death of a person, to whom the Dutch were partly indebted for their

(y) Camden, ubi supra, p. 654.

command, he took leave of the King at *Theobalds*, July the 9th, and set sail from Gravesend on the 22d, with the Earls of Oxford (y), Essex, Dorset, and others. Wilson, who wrote

fortress of *Louvestein* near *Gorcum* in South Holland, at the point of the island formed by the *Vabal* and the *Meuse*, on the 6th of June following. He had been above eighteen months shut up in this fortress, when, on January 11, 1621, *Muys-Van-Holi*, his declared enemy, who had been one of his Judges, informed the States General, that he had advice from good hands, that their prisoner was seeking to make his escape. Some persons were sent to *Louvestein* to examine into this matter: but, notwithstanding all the enquiry that could be made, they found no reason to believe that Grotius had laid any plot to get out.

(34) She had been suffered to accompany him in the castle from his first imprisonment.

His wife however was wholly employed in contriving how to set him at liberty (34). He had passed his time in the prosecution of his studies, and for that purpose had been permitted to borrow books of his friends, which, when he had done with them, were carried back in a chest with his foul linnen that was sent to *Gorcum* to be washed. The first year his guards were very exact in examining the chest, when it went from *Louvestein*; but, being used to find in it only books and linnen, they grew tired of searching, and did not take the trouble to open it. Grotius's wife, observing their negligence, purposed to take advantage of it. She represented to her husband, that it was in his power to get out of prison when he pleased, if he would put himself in the chest that carried his books. However, not to endanger his health, she caused holes to be bored opposite to the part where his face was to lie, to breath at; and make him try if he could continue shut up in that confined posture as long as it would require to go from *Louvestein* to *Gorcum*. Finding it might be done, she resolved to seize the first favourable opportunity. It soon offered. The Commandant of *Louvestein* going to *Heusden* to raise recruits, Grotius's wife made a visit to his Lady, and told her in conversation, that she was desirous of sending away a chest full of books; for her husband was so weak, it gave her great uneasiness to see him study with such application. Having thus prepared the Commandant's wife, she returned to her husband's apartment, and, in concert with a valet and a maid, who were in the secret, shut him up in the chest. At the same time, to prevent any surprize in the people's not seeing him, she spread a report that he was ill. Two soldiers carried the chest: one of them, finding it heavier than usual, said, *There must be an Arminian in it* (35). Grotius's wife, who was present, answered with great coldness, *There are indeed Arminian books in it*. The chest was brought down on a ladder with great difficulty. The soldier insisted on its being opened to see what was in it; he even went and informed the Commandant's wife, that the weight of the chest gave him reason to think there was something suspicious contained in it, and that it would be proper to have it opened. Whether it was that she was willing to wink at the thing, or through negligence, she would not consent: she told him, that Grotius's wife had assured her, there was nothing but books in it. It is affirmed, that a soldier's wife who was present said, there was more than one example of prisoners making their escape in boxes. The chest however was put into the boat, and Grotius's maid, who was in the secret, had orders to go with it to *Gorcum*, and put it into a house there. When it came to *Gorcum*, they wanted to put it on a sledge; but the maid telling the boatman there were some brittle things in it, and begging of him to take care how it was carried, it was put on a carriage called a horse, and brought by two chairmen to *David Daxelaer's*, a friend of Grotius, and brother-in-law to *Erpenius*, having married his sister. When every body was gone, the maid opened the chest. Grotius had felt no inconvenience in it, though it was not above three feet and a half long. He got out, dressed himself like a mason, with a rule and a trowel, and went by *Daxelaer's* back-door, through the market-place, to the gate that leads to *Valvic* in Brabant (36). At this place he made himself known to some Arminians, and hired a carriage to Antwerp, taking the necessary precautions not to be known by the way. He alighted at *Antwerp*, at the house of *Nicholas Grevincovius*, who had been formerly a minister at Amsterdam, and discovered himself to no body else. It was on the 22d of March, 1621, that Grotius thus recovered his liberty; and on the 30th of that month he wrote to the States General, that, in procuring it, he had employed neither violence nor

(36) It was not the Spaniards he feared, for there was then a truce between them and the United Provinces.

corruption with his keepers; that he had nothing to reproach himself with in what he had done (37); that he gave those counsels which he thought best, for appeasing the troubles that had arisen before he was concerned in public business; that he only obeyed the Magistrates at *Rotterdam*, his masters; and the States of Holland, his sovereigns; and that the persecution he had suffered would never diminish his love to his country, for whose prosperity he heartily prayed. After a few weeks stay at *Antwerp*, he went by invitation to Paris, where he arrived in safety on the 13th of April, 1631. Grotius's escape exercised the pens of the most famous poets of that time (38); and he himself wrote some verses on his happy deliverance (39); and others also on the chest to which he owed his liberty; and in the latter part of his life he was at great pains to recover it (40). It was believed at *Louvestein*, for some time after his escape, that he was ill; and, to give him time to get clear off, his wife gave out that his illness was dangerous; but as soon as she learnt, by the maid's return, that he was in Brabant, and consequently in safety, she told the guards *the bird was flown*. They informed the Commandant by this time returned from *Heusden*, who hastened to Grotius's wife, and asked her where she had hid her husband? She answered, he might search for him: but, being much pressed, and even threatened, she confessed that she had caused him to be carried to *Gorcum* in a book-chest: and that she had done no more than kept her word to him, to take the first opportunity of setting her husband at liberty. The Commandant, in a rage, went immediately to *Gorcum*, and, acquainting the Magistrate with his prisoner's escape, both came to *Daxelaer's* house, where they found the empty chest. On his return to *Louvestein*, the Commandant confined Grotius's wife more closely; but she presenting a petition, April 5, 1621, praying her discharge, and Prince Maurice, to whom it was communicated, making no opposition, the majority were for setting her at liberty (41). Accordingly she was discharged two days after, and suffered to carry away every thing that belonged to her at *Louvestein*. This done, she followed her husband, and arrived at Paris in October, 1621 (42). We have been more particular in setting forth the violent steps taken in bringing about this revolution in Holland by Prince Maurice, since they furnish so many glaring proofs of his temper and principles in respect to religion: and therein are also seen the religious principles of Sir Horace Vere. He was entirely devoted to the Prince, who on his side was equally fond of him. We have seen him heartily concur in suppressing the Arminians and establishing Calvinism at *Utrecht*; and I believe it will not be doubted that he had imbibed the principles, though without the persecuting revengeful spirit, of his Commander. But it is well known, that the doctrine of the Remonstrants, upon the points of Grace and Predestination, was embraced at this very time by some of the most eminent Divines in England, particularly Dr Overal, the learned Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, whose example must have had great weight with many of the clergy: and though it is true, Calvinism was in general the doctrine of the church, as expressed in the articles of Faith, as long as King James, who had been bred in Scotland, held the crown, yet, in his Successor's reign, this doctrine began early to be disapproved, and in some years that of Arminius so generally prevailed, by the influence especially of Dr Laud, afterwards Archbishop, that the Church of England might truly be said to be Arminian, notwithstanding several eminent persons still retained the Dutch principles. Among these must be reckoned Sir Horace Vere, who (by long residing among those people, and through his devotion to the Prince of Orange) being a Calvinist, would certainly breed up his children there in the same belief in particular, together with some antiepisopal principles in general, who would thereby unavoidably contract a dislike to the Church of England. And the same is confirmed by Lord Clarendon (43), particularly in the case of Sir Horace's daughter *Anne*, who was married to Fairfax, General of the Parliament's army, and who, as that noble historian observes, *having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the church of England as she ought to have had*, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband's entering into rebellion. However, his Lordship makes this apology for her, that she never imagined what misery it would bring upon

(37) He was always persuaded, that, if he would own his transgression, and ask pardon, they would set him at liberty; but he never would take any step that might infer consciousness of guilt.

(38) Barlaeus wrote some very good verses upon it, printed in *Præstantium Virorum*, Epist. p. 655. He also celebrated his wife's magnanimity. *Grotii manes*, p. 230. Another Poem was also composed upon it by *Rutgerius*, who compared Grotius to *Moses*. *Ibid.* p. 204. and *Observat. Hallenf.* 15. lib. 7. p. 336.

(39) They were translated into Flemish by the famous Poet *John Van Vondel*.

(40) Grotius's *Hist.* No. 720. p. 670.

(41) Some indeed voted for detaining her a prisoner; but they were looked on as very barbarous, to want to punish a woman for an heroic action.

(42) Grotius, *Ep.* 156.

(43) *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. V. p. 255. 8vo edition.

wrote the Life of King James the First, and was in the Expedition, has given an account of it, which the Reader will find below [L]; and there see the reason of the ill success of it. After which, during the army's being in winter-quarters, the Imperial forces, under *Bavaria* and *Buquoy*, advanced towards *Prague*, and the Bohemians quitted their garrisons to make their army more compleat. On the 8th of November, both armies met for the decision of King Frederick's fate. The *Bohemians* stood on the advantage-ground between the *Imperialists* and *Prague*, but the enemy breaking through, ruined their whole army, and pursued the victory. The King and Queen, surpris'd with the discomfiture among a wavering people, in a city not defensible, were constrained to fly the next morning. The English were too far distant to be in the battle, and before they heard of it, the Earl of *Essex* pass'd through *Lorraine*, and through France posted into England, to solicit the King to send those regiments promised, and other supplies. The *Princes of the Union*, when they heard of the defeat, had not so much faith as to depend on King *James* for assistance; but before the spring, submitted themselves to the Emperor, leaving the almost ruined Palatinate as a prey to an insulting enemy. Sir *Horace Vere*, with the English, only gave spirits to the vital parts of it (x). The Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* left Sir *Horace* in his winter-quarters, and upon their narration of the state of affairs in those parts to the King, he called a full Council together to consider thereof, who met at Whitehall, Ja-

(x) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 17. and Hist. of Eng. as before, p. 725.

upon the kingdom; and that she utterly abhorred the proceedings of the pretended High Court of Justice against his Majesty as much as any body could do. Of which his Lordship gives a most remarkable instance, well worth perusing, as inserted in this work (44), where it well deserved a place.

[L] He went to the assistance of the King of *Bohemia*.] The account is in these terms: 'While they were grappling in *Bohemia*, says he, the marquis *Spinola* was forming an army in *Flanders*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, calling themselves Princes of the Union, raised forces for defence of the Palatinate, and their own interest, under the command of the Marquis of *Anspach*. But so odious was the name of war to King *James*, that it was with difficulty he consented to the raising one regiment of foot; but consented that two more should follow. Which regiment was the gallantest for their persons that in many ages had appeared, either at home or abroad. It consisted of 2200 men compleat, under the command of Sir *Horace Vere* (after Baron of *Tilbury*) bred up in the school of war, and a known master in the art of victory. The English followed *Spinola*, but at a distance; for he, being nearer the Palatinate, got much the start of them. On the last of August, by the assistance of *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, and a bridge of boats a little below *Wesel*, they pass'd the *Rhine* with Prince *Henry* of *Nassau*, who, with 2000 horse and 400 musqueteers, cleared the country before them. When they came to *Coblentz*, standing on the center of the two rivers, the *Rhine* and *Moselle*, giving out, on their march, as if the army intended to pass the *Moselle*, they (to divert the enemy's intelligence) drew two miles back from *Coblentz*, and pass'd the *Rhine*; and this sudden change of resolution amus'd the enemy. In the halt before *Coblentz*, one bullet (among others from the town) pass'd General *Vere* and the Earl of *Essex*, standing together, and hit *Flood*, a gentleman, on the elbow. Before the army pass'd the *Rhine*, General *Vere* sent Captain *Rouv* and Captain *Dexter*, with 94 sick men, tents, trunks, &c. that were cumbersome, by water, to *Bacrach*, which town, within few days, was yielded to *Spinola*, after the example of *Openbeim*, and other towns in the Palatinate: so spiritless were the people, that he met no resistance. The English taken in *Bacrach* were us'd with civility, and, with payment of small ransoms, had liberty to return home. After the army, both horse and foot, had pass'd the *Rhine*, they had hard marches through the pleasant country of *Nassau*, shaping their course towards *Frankfort*. *Spinola*, finding himself deluded on one side of the *Rhine*, pass'd the river *Maine* with all his horse and 4000 foot, intending to snap them on the other side; but, the stream being too high, his waggons and ammunition took wet, and some field pieces were lost, which admonish'd him to retreat; otherwise he had probably cut off our forces, before they could have join'd the Princes of the Union. The 24th of September, Prince *Henry* with the horse, and General *Vere* with the foot, pass'd the river *Maine* near *Frankfort*, the foot marching up to the middle through the stream, and that night flood in arms, on alarms from *Spinola's* approach, not yet hearing he was retired. The next day they had a long march to recover *Darmsted*, one half of which town belonged to the King of *Bohemia*, the other to the Landgrave of *Hesse*. There Prince *Henry* and the Dutch left the English, returning into the Netherlands

again. The 27th of September, being joined by 1500 German horse, sent by the Princes of the Union, they came to *Brinsheim*, the first town in the Palatinate, and, October 1, pass'd over the *Rhine* by *Worms*; and that day were met by the Marquis of *Anspach*, and others of the Princes of the Union, who staid to see them march by, wondering at their gallantry.

After two days rest, the Princes, with part of their army, being 2000 horse and 6000 foot, join'd with the English, and together march'd towards *Alzsi*, (a town in the Palatinate taken in by the enemy) which they intended to surprize. But hearing, by their scouts, of the town being quitted by the enemy, and that *Spinola*, with his whole army, was marching towards them, they faced about to make his way the shorter; and within three hours their scouts and the enemy's were in skirmish. The German Princes were not forward to engage, having not their whole army with them; but, finding how the enemy strove to secure themselves, they judg'd their strength not to be great, and resolv'd to attack them. The Dutch, in courtesy, yielded the vanguard to the English, which before they stood on as a punctilio of honour. General *Vere* drew out of every division 80 musqueteers to begin the onset, standing ready, expecting the command of the Marquis of *Anspach* to begin the charge; and the evening halting, General *Vere*, tired with his delays, rode up the hill, accompanied with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex*, and there saw the enemy begin to march away without drum or trumpet, till the last division moved, and then made the air shake with the noise of their shouts of joy, as was apprehended for their escape. *Wilson* blames the Princes in not attacking them, being not above 6000 foot and 2000 horse, and might have come up with *Spinola* before he reach'd *Openbeim*, whither he was marching. The Earl of *Essex* press'd the Marquis of *Anspach* to it, desiring him not to let slip an opportunity so happily put into his hand. He, not pleas'd to be urg'd to that, contrary to his humour, replied angrily, *There is a fort betwixt us and the town, and we must pass thither under the mercy of their cannon.* Sir *Horace Vere*, being by, said, *When shall we then fight, if we shun the cannon?* But no persuasion can be prevalent, where power and disaffection join, says *Wilson*. The Dutch horse skirmish'd with the rear of the Spanish; and some few of their straggling foot, and about five or six horse, were taken, which was all the hurt done them. The next day the English, with the other forces, march'd into quarters again, where the soldiers found the fruits and wine in the must, no good preservatives. But, after a stay of seven or eight days, *Spinola* led them a dance for digestion, pretending for *Keyfars Luther*, a town in the Palatinate, which made the Princes advance their whole body to attend him; but, as they drew near, he retreated: so they sported with one another; though neither of the armies could be pleas'd with the sharp frosty nights, so violent, that the soldiers lay in heaps on the ground, close together, like sheep, till they were fummon'd to warmer lodgings. The English were dispos'd in three principal garrisons. General *Vere* command'd in *Manheim*, Sir *Gerard Herbert* in *Heidelberg*, and *Burrows* in *Frankendale*, imprisoning themselves in walls, while the enemy roam'd round about them, having only power to preserve themselves, the forces of the Princes of the Union being garrison'd in their several countries (45).

(45) History of England, Vol. II. p. 722, 723.

bruary 16, 1620; when, in consideration thereof, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Essex*, and *Leicester*, the Lord Viscount *Wilmot*, the Lords *Danvers*, and *Alfield*, Sir *Edward Cecil*, and Sir *Richard Harrison*, Knights, were called to the Council-table, and acquainted with his Majesty's pleasure, that they, or any five or more of them, together with Sir *Horace Vere*, and Sir *Edward Conway*, Knights, (if they return to England whilst this Committee doth continue) shall undertake preparations for the recovery and protection of the Palatinate, and have their meetings and assemblies at the Council-chamber at Whitehall (*aa*). But no assistance was sent, pursuant to this order, farther than that 30000*l.* was given to the Princes of the Union to encourage them to keep in arms. Sir *Horace Vere* remained in Germany the year after, and kept the Palatinate from being quite over-run by the Imperial forces. On the re-assembling the Parliament, November 20, 1621, the King being absent by indisposition in health, commanded a message to be delivered to both Houses (*bb*) by the Lord Keeper, and the Lord Digby. After the Lord Keeper had acquainted the Houses with his Majesty's pleasure, the Lord Digby having also the like command, gave a brief account of his negotiation with the Archduke, &c. Then he proceeded to give also an account how bravely Sir HORACE VERE had behaved himself in the Palatinate, and that by his wisdom and valour, there were kept from the enemy, Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Frankendale, the last of which places had then endured a month's siege. And concluded, that the fittest redress was to furnish and keep up the army already there, which must be done by supplies of men and money, and more forces prepared against the next spring (*cc*). Thereupon, whilst Sir *Horace Vere* continued in Germany, he was by Letters Patent, bearing date the 16th of February, 1621, 19 Jac. I, in consideration of his fidelity, services, valour, and experience in military affairs, constituted Captain General of the forces in aid of Frederick, Elector Palatine, with full power and authority to raise and transport beyond the seas, with all expedition, 8000 foot and 1600 horse of the King's subjects, or of other nations, that will take on under his banner (*dd*). Whether after this any forces were sent abroad, or raised, history is silent: but towards the latter end of the year 1622, Heidelberg was taken, and soon after followed the loss of Frankendale, and Mannheim, the chief fortresses in the Palatinate (*ee*). Sir *Horace Vere* commanded in Mannheim (*ff*), and having neither strength of men or means to resist an enemy, after he had defended it as long as man was capable of doing, he surrendered up the town to Count *Tilly* on honourable conditions to march out with bag and baggage, &c. [*M*]. On his return, in January, 1622-3, the King received him so graciously and thankfully (as Camden observes) that, forgetting himself, he stood bare to him (*gg*). On July 20, 1624, 22 Jac. I, he was constituted one of the Council of War, in consideration of the knowledge the King had of his wisdom, integrity, and experience, to assemble and meet together to take such ways and means as shall be most requisite for securing the Realm of Ireland, with the rest of the King's dominions, and putting the Navy Royal in readiness: also to advise of such ways and means as may give advancement by the aforesaid means of assisting the King's allies, especially in the Low-Countries: and upon mature deliberation to set down in writing their opinions, and to offer to the King, and his Council, such propositions, as may be meet for their consideration, or to be by them put in execution (*hh*). At length, for his great merit and services, on the accession of King Charles to the throne, he was the first Peer of his Majesty's creation, by the stile and title of Lord *Vere* Baron of *Tilbury*, in the County of *Essex*, by Letters Patent, bearing date, July 25, in the first year of his reign (*ii*) [*N*]. Not long after, in the same year, the Council of War (whereof the Lord *Vere* was one) appointed to manage the business of the Palatinate, were called into the House of Commons, and this question propounded to them, *Whether the advice was followed in the four ends in the Act of Parliament of 21 Jacob. I, by which the monies given by that Act were to issue? Carey* Earl of *Totness*, and Lord *Brook*, desired to be excused from answering; the Lord *Vere* said, *he had been much absent in the Low-Countries, and could say little*; Lord *Grandison* said, that since July last, they had seldom met; Sir *Robert Mansel* and Sir *John Ogle* desired a copy of the question, and that they might all confer together to give an answer. The Lord *Vere*'s answer was satisfactory, he was excused from any further attendance; but all the rest were called before them again, and giving unsatisfactory answers, were pressed to deal clearly and fully in the business: on which they desired they might have the King's consent before they answered, as a special order of the House required an answer (*kk*). As his Lordship still held his Post of General

(a.) Rushworth, as before, p. 18.

(bb) Idem, ibid.

(cc) Rushworth, Prædict. p. 39, 40.

(dd) Rymer, Tom. XVII. p. 352, 353.

(ee) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 69.

(ff) Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 775.

(gg) Camden's Annalium Apparatus, &c. inserted in Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 619.

(h) Pat. I. Car. I.

(hh) Rymer, Vol. XVII, p. 615.

(kk) Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 217.

[*M*] He surrendered Mannheim to count Tilly, &c.] In short, the fault chiefly lay in the King of Bohemia himself, as appears from hence, that the Earl of Bristol, in the articles of impeachment exhibited against him in parliament, Charles I, being charged with the loss of the Palatinate; in answer thereunto alleged his solicitations for supplying the forces there, by presently sending 30000*l.* borrowed of Sir Baptist Hicks, &c. besides 10000*l.* which he lent, &c. and that if, by accidents of war, the Marquis of *Baden*, Count *Mansfield*, and the Duke of *Brunswick*, received each of them an overthrow, he hopes he shall not be liable to the blame, his Majesty having so far complained to his son-in-law, of the ordering affairs, as to give orders for withdrawing of his forces, as will appear by his Majesty's letters to him, and to Sir *Horace Vere*, of the 3d of June, 1622 (46).

(46) Rushworth's Collection, Vol. I. p. 282.

[*N*] He was created Baron Vere of Tilbury.] The preamble to the patent, setting forth his merit, as usual upon these occasions, presents us with his just Elogium in the following terms: ' Qui ad arma & munera militaria ab ineunte ætate accinctus, tam per serenissimam Principem Dominam Elizabetham nuper Regiam Anglie, quam per precharissimum Patrem nostrum nuper Regem Jacobum beate memorie, in gravioribus & magis arduis negociis & expeditionibus transmarinis in Hispania & Germania, Francia & Provinciis Belgicis ad primarios semper fidelitatis, & honoris locos merito evocatus, tanta cum fide, zelo, fortitudine & alacritate indefessa in maximum hujus Gentis honorem inservivit, ut ejus acta vere honorifica & laudabilia se Regibus & Reipublice suis acceptabilem, ipsumque per totum Christianum orbem gloriosum reddiderunt, &c.'

of the Forces in the service of the States-General, he frequently went over to them, in the year 1627 [O]. And he continued in the Low-Countries the following year, 1628, when King Charles, by the Ambassadors of Denmark, and the States-General, being solicited to send forces and shipping to secure the *Elbe*, and for the defence of *Luckstadt*, his Majesty borrowed six or eight men out of every company serving in the States pay, under the conduct of the Lord Vere, to fill up Sir *Charles Morgan's* regiments that were to be employed therein, engaging his royal word, that for every man then lent to him, he would fend them two, as soon as his forces returned from *Rochel* (ll). On the decease of *George Carew* Earl of *Totness*, Master of the Ordnance, who died March 27, 1629, his Majesty conferred that Place on the Lord Vere of *Tilbury* for life, as the said Earl of *Totness* held it (mm). In 1633, he made the campaign in the Netherlands, and by his Majesty's Letters Patent constituting him General of his Forces, being empowered to confer the honour of Knight-hood, his Lordship, in the camp of *Bockstal* near *Balduck* in *Brabant*, knighted, July 25, 1633, *William Boswel*, at that time the King's Resident with the States-General (nn). His Lordship afterwards resided for the most part in England, and growing near seventy years of age, made his last Will and Testament the 10th of November, 1634, 10 Car. I. And not long before his death, which happened the following year, taking a resolution to retire from the world, he disposed of all his employments. Being suffered to make the best advantage he could of his thirty-three companies in Holland, and troops of horse, Mr *Goring* had the one, and Mr *Wilmot* the other, and his office of the Ordnance he made over to the Lord *Newport*, to whom the reversion had been granted some time before (oo). Thus having bid farewell to the business of the world, he did not continue in it long after. On the 2d of May, 1635, dining with Sir *Henry Vane* at *Whitehall*, he was seized with an apoplexy as he sat at table. Calling for fresh salmon, and reaching out his plate to take it from one that carved, he was not able to draw his hand back again, but sunk down. They instantly carried him to a bed, where he expired within two hours. He was buried on the 8th of that month, in the same vault with his brother, Sir *Francis Vere*, in *Westminster Abbey*, with much military pomp, the train-bands attending the corpse in great numbers, besides most of the Nobility in town; and the ordnance of the Tower all going off at the time of his interment (pp). All which honours were judged to be due to a person, who had been Governor of the *Briel*, General of the English Forces in the Netherlands, Master of the Ordnance in England, and had reflected an honour to each Post by his distinguished fidelity, and superior abilities. He lies without any monumental inscription, or elogium over him. But this has been, in some measure, supplied by the general display of his worth in several writings. Among these, we shall take notice of the two following. First, Dr *Thomas Fuller*, who was acquainted with his Lordship, has given this short character of him: 'Horace Lord Vere had more meekness, and as much valour, as his brother; so pious, that he first made his peace with God, before he went out to war with man. Of an excellent temper, it being true of him what is said of the *Caspian Sea*, that it doth never ebb nor flow, observing a constant tenour, neither elated with good success, nor depressed with the reverse of fortune. Had one seen him returning from a victory, he would, by his silence, have suspected that he had lost the day; and had he beheld him in a retreat, he would have collected him a Conqueror by the cheerfulness of his spirit. No doubt but he was well prepared for death, seeing such was his vigilancy, that never any enemy surprized him in his quarters. Sir *Francis*, the elder brother, was more feared, Sir *Horace* more loved by the soldiers. Both lived in war, much honoured, and died in peace, much lamented (qq).' Dr *William Dillingham* also, who published the Commentaries of Sir *Francis Vere*, has given the following account of the Lord Vere: 'He was in courage equal to his brother, and in hazards undivided: for as he must be allowed a great share in the actions recorded by his brother, so were his own services afterwards, when General of the English, so eminent and considerable, that they might have furnished another *Commentary*, had not his own exceeding modesty proved a step-mother to his deserved praises. He was a religious, wise, and valiant Commander, and (which quartered him in the bosom of the Prince of Orange) he was successful in his enterprizes; sometimes to the admiration both of friends and enemies. When he took *Shays*, there was one strong-hold first to be taken, which he found some difficulty to overcome; and that was in the opinion of his friends an impossible enterprize. And for his enemies, *Spinola* himself did him, in his life-time, the right to bear witness of his gallant retreat with four thousand men from between his very fingers, when with three times that number he had grasped up the Prince [*Maurice*] against the sea-shore. And as the proficiency of the scholars was ever accounted a good argument of their Master's ability, I shall (with their leaves) give you a list of some of his: *Henry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Edward Vere* Lieutenant Colonel, Sir *Simon Harcourt* Serjeant Major, Sir *Thomas Dutton*, Sir *Henry Peyton*, Sir *John Burroughs*, Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *John Conyers*, Sir *Thomas Gale*, Sir *William Lovelace*, Sir *Robert Carey*, Sir *Jacob Ashley*, Sir *Thomas Conway*, Sir *John Burlacy*, Sir *Thomas Winne*, Sir *Gerard Herbert*, Sir *Edward Harwood*, and Sir *Mi-*

(ll) Rushworth, ubi supra, p. 649.

(mm) Funeral Certificates MS. I. 8. fol. 20 and 45. Offic. Armor.

(nn) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. 1. p. 805.

(oo) Letter of James Howel, dated Westminster, May 14, 1635, to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, in the Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. 1. p. 423.

(pp) Mr Garrard's Letter to the same, dated May 19, 1635. Ibid. p. 417. where there is also another letter in p. 426, 427, to him from the Earl of Arundel, Earl Marshal, dated from Arundel-house, May 3, 1635, referring the Deputy to Sir Thomas Wharton for an account of Lord Vere's sudden death of an apoplexy the day before.

(qq) Fuller's Worthies of Eng. p. 331.

[O] He frequently went over to the Netherlands.] John Lord *Haughton*, (afterwards the second Earl of *Clare*) who had married his eldest daughter, in a letter, dated May 19, 1627, to his brother-in-law, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, writes thus: 'Lord Vere's occasions will call him into the Low-Countries before he should go over, his wife desiring to lie in

here, and that her mother, Lady Vere, would be with her (47).' His Lordship also, in another letter from the Hague, December 7, O. S. that year, informs Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, 'that he, with his Lady, were then there with the Lord Vere, Lady Vere going over with them (48).'

(47) Strafford's letters, Vol. 1. p. 37.

(48) Id. p. 45.

(rr) Preface to the Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere, published in 1657. 4to.

(ss) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 141. and Vol. VI. p. 699. 8vo.

(tt) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. V. p. 37. 8vo.

chael Everard. Besides divers others, whose effigies do at once, both guard, and adorn *Kirby-ball* in *Essex*, where the truly religious and honourable the Lady *Vere* doth still survive, kept alive thus long by special Providence, that the present age might more than read and remember what was true godliness in eighty-eight (rr). The Earl of *Clarendon* also recites, that *Edward Lord Conway* was bred up a soldier in several commands, under the particular care of the Lord *Vere*, whose nephew he was. And that *Monk Duke of Albemarle* had the reputation of a good field-officer, when he was in the Lord *Vere's* regiment in *Holland* (ss). In his last Will having appointed his body to be buried where it shall please God, he ratifies and confirms several conveyances by deeds of trust of the Monastery of *Hailes* in the County of *Gloucester*, and several Manors, Lordships, Farms, &c. lying in the said County [P], and then proceeds in these terms: 'For it is my will and meaning, that the said Monastery of *Hailes*, with the premises, &c. shall be in the power of my said most loving wife, for her freely to dispose of as she shall think fit, either by sale or otherwise, for her own use and benefit, at her pleasure.' He also bequeaths to the said Dame *Mary*, his wife, all his goods, chattels, &c. and all monies, debts, &c. owing to him by any person or persons in England or elsewhere, and appoints her full and sole Executrix. Accordingly Administration was granted, May 6, 1635, to the Right Honourable *Mary Lady Vere*, his Relict and Executrix; who lived to be very aged. After the death of the Countess of *Dorset*, who had the tuition of the three youngest children of King *Charles I*; viz. the Duke of *York*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, and died in May, 1645, the Parliament, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, put them into the Custody of the Lady *Vere*, an old Lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance assigned for their support (tt). His Lordship makes no mention in his will of any of his children; but though he left no heir male to bear his name, yet his blood is distributed in the veins of many noble families, leaving issue by his said Lady, third daughter of Sir *John Tracey* of *Toddington*, in the County of *Gloucester*, Knight [Q], five daughters his coheirs (uu).

[P] Deeds in trust relating to the monastery of *Hailes*, &c.] For the satisfaction of such as are curious in these matters, we shall here insert the very words of the will relating to these deeds, as follows: 'First, whereas all that the house, site, &c. of the monastery of *Hailes* in the county of *Gloucester*, and several manors, lordships, farms, &c. lying in the said county, are by one pair of indentures tripartite, dated the 17th of May, in 8 Car. I. between myself and dame *Mary*, my loving wife, on the first part; and *Laurence Wright*, Esq; Doctor of physick, on the second part; and my kind loving friends, *Richard Winwood*, of *Dutton Park* in the county of *Buckingham*, Esq; *John Packer*, of the city of *Westminster*, Esq; *Walter James*, of the said city, Esq; and *William Perkins*, of the city of *London*, merchant, on the third part; have conveyed unto the said *Richard Winwood*, *Walter James*, *John Packer*, and *William Perkins*, for a term of years not yet expired, to the uses, trust, &c. declared in one pair of indentures, dated October 20, now last past, before the date of these presents, made between myself and dame *Mary*, my wife, on the one part; and the said *Richard Winwood*, *Walter James*, *John Packer*, and *William Perkin*, on the other part; the said monastery of *Hailes*, and other the premises, &c. Also by one other pair of indentures, dated December 25. 8 Car. I. made between *William Williams*, *Robert Michel*, *Walter Markes*, and *Robert March*, citizens of *London*, on the one part; and my much respected friends, Sir *Robert Harley* of *Brampton-castle*, alias *Brampton-Brian*, in the county of *Hereford*, Knight of the honourable order of the *Bath*, Sir *Robert Tracey*, of *Fairford* in the county of *Gloucester*, Knt. and *Richard Moor*, of *Okingham* in the county of *Berks*, Gent. on the other part; have conveyed the premises aforesaid unto the said Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *Robert Tracey*, and *Richard Moor*, for another term of years, not yet expired, to the uses, &c. of one pair of indentures, dated October 20, now last past, made between the said Sir *Robert Harley*, Sir *Robert Tracey*, and *Richard Moor*, on the one part; and myself and the said dame *Mary*, my wife, on the other part, &c. I, the said *Horace Lord Vere*, do, by this my last Will and Testament, ratify and confirm the said several &c. and every of them; and my desire and request, unto all and every my said Friends, whom I have trusted as aforesaid, is, that they would respectively perform, fulfil, and execute, the Trust by me in them respectively reposed, &c. (49).'

[Q] Daughter of Sir *John Tracey* of *Tedington* in com. *Glam. Knt.*] This family, which is very ancient and honourable, took the surname of *Tracey* from a maternal Ancestor, descended from the *Traceys*, Barons of *Barn-*

staple in *Devonshire*, who, ann. 1066, accompanied the Conqueror in his expedition to England, and were denominated from the town of *Traci* in *Normandy*. The honour and barony of *Barnstaple* (50) was the gift of King *Stephen* to *Henry de Traci*. By paternal descent, the family derives from the royal blood of the Saxon kings, namely from *Goda*, youngest daughter to King *Ethelred* (son of King *Edgar*) sister to *Edward the Confessor*, and *Walter de Maunt*, or *de Maige*, a noble Norman, whose son *Ralph* was Earl of *Hereford* in the reign of his uncle the Confessor, but was deprived of it by the Conqueror; and his son *Harold*, at the time of the general survey, possessing several Lordships, and fixing his chief residence at *Sudeley*, was Lord thereof, and of *Todington* in the county of *Gloucester*, and by his wife *Maud*, daughter to *Hugh Lupus*, Earl of *Chester*, left two sons; *Ralph*, Baron of *Sudeley*, progenitor of the *Sudeleys*, Barons of *Sudeley*, whose heirs male failed in *John Lord Sudely*, temp. *Edw. III.* (51); *William*, the younger son, was named *Fair*, from his mother (an usual thing in that age). This *William* lived in the reign of *Henry V.* and held lands of his brother *Ralph* by the service of one Knight's fee, which probably was the manor of *Todington*; for it appears, by *Domesday-book*, that it was held by the Lord *Sudeley*, of the manor of *Sudeley*, and temp. *Edw. I.* the *Traceys* are expressly said to be possessed of it; and this *William* (52); in a deed perfected by *Otwel*, Lord of *Sudeley*, son and heir of the said *Ralph*, is called his Uncle (53). This *William's* great great grandson *Henry* had a daughter *Margery*, married to *John Archer* of *Umberstade* in *Warwickshire*, ancestor to the present Lord *Archer*, Baron of *Umberstade*. From this *Henry* descended, in the tenth generation, Sir *William Tracey* of *Todington*, Knt. called the Martyr, who was Sheriff of his county in 1513, (5 H. VIII.) and was a person of distinguished parts and sound learning, and is memorable for being one of the first that embraced the reformed religion in England, as appears by his last will, dated in 1530 (22 H. VIII.) The preamble of which runs thus: 'In the name of God, Amen. I *William Tracey* of *Todington*, in the county of *Gloucester*, Esq; make my testament and last will, as hereafter followeth: First, and before other things, I commit myself to God and to his mercy, believing, without any doubt, or mistrust, that, by his Grace, and the merits of *Jesus Christ*, and by the virtue of his passion and resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that at the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh I shall see my Saviour. This my hope is laid up in my bosom; and, touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and

(uu) MS. I. 8. fol. 45, in Offic. Armor.

I. Eli-

(50) It had formerly belonged to *Jahel* the son of *Alured de Totneis*.

(51) The title was conveyed by his eldest sister, *Joan*, to the family of her husband, Sir *William Butler*, of the family of *Wenme*, who were thereupon summoned Peers of England, after whose extinction it hath also given the title of *Baron*, from a *Mary*, 1554, to the family of his Grace the duke of *Chandos*.

(52) He or some of his posterity differed their coat-armour from the elder house, by adding an escallop fable in the chief point between the two Bendlets *Ruby*, in a field *Topaz*.

(53) Fuller, in his *Worthies*, makes him one of the four assassins of *Tbo. à Becket*, A.B.C. but he hath mistaken him for his contemporary, Sir *William Traci*, of *Wollacomb* in *Devonshire*, who lies buried there. And this mistake was probably occasioned by Sir *William Traci* of *Todington's* removal, in his old age, into that country, where he had large possessions, and, dying there about ann. 1180, he is supposed to be buried in the church of *Mart.*

(49) Ex Regist. Sadler, Qu. 450, in Cur. Prerog. Cant.

1. *Elizabeth*, born abroad, and naturalized by Act of Parliament in 21 Jac. I, married to the Right Honourable *John Holes*, second Earl of *Clare*, an account of whose issue by her, has been already given (*xxx*).

(xxx) In the article of John Holes, the first Earl of Clare.

2. *Mary*, second daughter of the said *Horace Lord Vere*, was also born in the Netherlands, and naturalized with her sister by Act of Parliament, 21 Jac. I. She was first married to Sir *Roger Townshend* of *East-Raynham*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Bart, who departed this life on the 1st of January, 1636, and had issue by her Sir *Roger Townshend*, Bart, *Horace*, second son, *Mary*, *Jane*, *Anne*, *Elizabeth*, and *Vere*. Sir *Roger Townshend* dying in his minority, was succeeded in title and estate by Sir *Horatio Townshend*, who became the first Lord Viscount *Townshend*, and father of *Charles Lord Viscount Townshend*, Principal Secretary of State to King *George I.* and *II.*; and by his first wife *Elizabeth*, daughter and sole heir of *Thomas Lord Pelham* (father of his Grace *Thomas* the present Duke of *Newcastle* by his first wife, *Elizabeth*, daughter to Sir *William Jones*) left issue *Charles*, now [1762] Lord Viscount *Townshend*. The said *Mary Lady Townshend*, after the death of Sir *Roger Townshend* the first of January, 1736, entered into a second marriage with *Mildmay Fane* Earl of *Westmorland*, by whom she was mother of *Vere Fane* Earl of *Westmorland*, and four daughters, whereof *Mary* was first married to *Francis Palmer*, son and heir to Sir *Bryan Palmer* of *Astwell* in the County of *Rutland*, Knight; and secondly, to *John Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*. Another daughter, named *Catharine*, was wedded to *Conyers Darcy* Earl of *Helderness*. *Vere* Earl of *Westmorland*, was father of *Vere* Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Westmorland*, and *John*, now [1762] Earl of *Westmorland*, and Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*.

Catharine, third daughter of Lord *Vere*, was married to *Oliver St John*, son and heir of Sir *John St John* of *Lidiard Tregose*, in the County of *Wilts*, Knight and Baronet, who had issue by her several sons, whereof *Henry*, the youngest, left issue a daughter, *Anne*, married to *Anthony Bowyer*, of *Camberwell* in the County of *Surrey*, Esq; and the rest died without issue, except Sir *Walter St John*, the sixth son, who died July 3, 1708, and had issue

‘rehears’d is sufficient, as I suppose, without any other man’s works or merits. My ground and belief is, that there is but one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in heaven or in earth to be Mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ; all others to be but as Petitioners in receiving of Grace, but none able to give influence of Grace; and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent, that any man shall say or do to help my soul; for therein I trust only to the promises of Christ: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned. As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; for St Augustine saith, *De cura agenda pro mortuis*, that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead; and therefore I remit it wholly to the discretion of my Executors.—And touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, *I was hungry, and ye gave me meat*, &c. and it followeth, *That ye have done to the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me*. And ever we should consider that true saying, That a good work maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work; for faith maketh a man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liveth by faith; and whatsoever springeth not of faith is sin.’

This will was condemned as *heretical* in the Bishop of *London*’s court, and an order on that account issued to *Parker*, Chancellor of *Worcester*, to raise his body, according to the law of the church: The Chancellor, too officiously burning the corpse, was, two years afterwards, sued by the heirs of Sir *William*, fined 400*l.* and turned out of his Chancellorship. The Martyr’s second son, *Richard*, had, by his father’s gift, the manor of *Stanway* in the county of *Gloucester*, and part of the possessions of the Abbey of *Tewkesbury*, which Abbey was granted to him by the crown upon the dissolution of the monasteries. He was well educated, and wrote several treatises in defence of his father’s faith very learnedly and judiciously; among which was that most memorable one, intitled *Preparations to the Cross*, written experimentally (say the *Decem Scriptorum*) having suffered much in his estate for his father’s reputed heretical will. He also wrote prophetically, in 1550, two or three years before Queen *Mary*’s reign, another treatise to teach one to die, which was annexed to the former, when reprinted, and falsely ascribed by the Editor to *John Fitch*; being one of the three found in

the belly of a cod, brought, in 1626, to be sold in the market of *Cambridge*, wrapped in canvas (54): on which occasion the wits of that University diverted themselves. This *Richard*’s eldest son, *Paul*, was created a Baronet, June 24, 1664, being the thirtieth from the institution of that order; but the title became extinct in 1677, in *John*, the fifth Baronet, who, dying without issue, left the manor of *Stanway*, with all his estate, to *Ferdinando Tracey*, second son of *John Viscount Tracey*.

The Martyr’s eldest son, *William*, succeeded at *Todington*, and was father of *John* (or *Henry*) who married *Elizabeth*, second daughter to *John*, the first Lord *Chandos* of *Sudeley*. *John*’s grand-daughter, *Mary*, the subject of this remark, was born May 18, 1581, three days after which died her mother, *Anne*, daughter to Sir *Thomas Throckmorton*, of *Corsecourt*, Knt. which family had enriched themselves by the marriage of *Eleanor*, sister to the great grandmother of the Martyr. *Mary* was married first, when nineteen years of age, to Mr *William Hoby*, by whom she had two sons, who both died unmarried; and secondly to Sir *Horatio Vere*, Baron of *Tilbury*, one of the greatest generals of his age, and dying December 25, 1671, was buried, January 10, at *Castle-Heveningham* in *Essex*, having lived to see her eldest brother, Sir *John Tracey*, advanced, January 12, 1642, to the dignity of Viscount *Tracey* of *Rathcoole* in *Ireland*, whose grandson, *John*, the third Viscount, had, by his second wife, *Dorothy*, daughter to *Thomas Cox*, of *Castleditch* in *Hertfordshire*, Esq; a son, *Robert Tracey*, Esq; who, being bred to the law, went out Serjeant in that profession, November 6, 1700, having, October 3, 1699, been, by King *William*, deservedly made one of the Justices of the King’s-bench, which he surrendered November 13, 1700, and was advanced to the same station in the court of Common-pleas, being also, by Queen *Anne*, September 25, 1710, appointed, with Sir *Thomas Trevor* and Baron *Serape*, Commissioner of the great Seal of England, until it was delivered, October 17, to Sir *Simon Harcourt*; and again, April 15, 1718, with Sir *John Pratt* and Sir *James Montague*, Baron of the Exchequer, upon the resignation of Lord Chancellor *Cowper*. His ill state of health obliging him to quit his employment, October 26, 1726, his Majesty, King *George I.* in recompence of his services, settled on him 1000*l.* a year for life. He married *Anne*, eldest daughter to *William Dowdesley*, of *Pool-court* in *Worcestershire*, Esq; and his grandson, named *Dowdeswell*, is his heir. The Judge had also two daughters, the younger of which, *Dorothy*, was married, April 10, 1725, to *John Pratt*, Esq; eldest son of Sir *John Pratt*, Chief Justice of the King’s-bench (55), whose younger son, now Sir *Charles Pratt*, was knighted and raised from the post of Attorney-general to that of Chief Justice of the Court of Common-pleas, December 28, 1761.

(54) Which probably had been devoured by that voracious fish, out of the pocket of some ship-wrecked Seaman. One of the scholars in his verses had this distich: *If Fishes thus do bring us books, then we May hope to equal Eodley’s library.*

(55) Lodge’s peerage of Ireland, under the article of Viscount *Tracey* of *Rathcoole*.

(xx) See Lord Bolingbroke's article.

Sir *Henry St John*, who was created Lord Viscount *St John* by King George the First, and had issue *John* Lord Viscount *St John*, father of *Frederick*, now Lord Viscount *St John*, who, on the decease of his uncle, the famous *Henry* Viscount *Bolingbroke*, and Baron of *Lidiard Fregose*, succeeded to those titles, together with the seat and manor of *Baterfea*, and a large estate (xx). The said *Catharine* was, secondly, married to *John* Lord *Paulet*, who had issue by her *John* Lord *Paulet*, father of *John*, created Earl *Paulet*, by the late Queen *Anne*. He had issue *John*, now Earl *Paulet*.

Anne, the fourth daughter of the Lord *Vere*, was married to *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax* of *Cameron* in *Scotland*, who was General of the Parliament Army against King *Charles I.* A remarkable instance of this Lady's spirit and loyalty at his Majesty's trial, has been already mentioned, as related by Lord *Clarendon*.

Dorothy, the Baron of *Tilbury*'s fifth and youngest daughter, was married to *John Wolstenholm*, Esq; son and heir of Sir *John Wolstenholm* of *Nostel*, in the County of *York*, and of *Fourtree-ball* in *Enfield*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Bart; but died without issue by him.

The Lord *Vere* was evidently determined in the choice of *Tilbury* for his title, from the consideration of that Manor's having been possessed by his Ancestors almost from the first settling of the *Vere* family in England (yy). And though the patent declares the Barony to be the just reward (as it really was) of his personal merit, yet he was not even then without some view of succeeding to the Earldom of *Oxford*, and soon after became heir apparent to it [R]. We shall therefore, agreeably to the plan of this work (zz), give a full account of that noble family in a distinct article: and the rather, because the title of the *Earl of Oxford* having been many years extinct in the name of *Vere*, and transferred to another (*), the many renowned actions of that most illustrious family, which produced so many heroes to the great honour of our country, may be otherwise in some danger of sinking into oblivion.

(yy) See the ensuing article.

(zz) See the families of *Beauchamp*, *Beaufort*, *Bertie*, *Butler*, *Campbell*, *Carew*, *Dudley*, *Grant*, &c.

(*) Viz. that of *Harley*.

[R] He became heir apparent to it.] Upon the death of *Hugh Vere*, the eighteenth Earl of *Oxford*, without male issue, in 1625, there arose a great dispute about the descent of the title, which was claimed by *Robert* (*Bertie*) Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, in right of his mother, *Mary*, daughter of *John de Vere*, sixteenth Earl of *Oxford*, against *Robert Vere*, great grandson of *John de Vere*, the fifth Earl of *Oxford*. The Cause being brought before the House of Peers in 2 Car. I. each Claimant, as usual, drew up a state of his case for the use of their Lordships: And the case of *Robert Vere* was as follows.

The Earldom of *Oxford* was granted by King *Henry II.* by his letters patent, to *Aubrey Vere* and his heirs; and the same Earldom descended from heir male to heir male unto *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland* and Earl of *Oxford*, which *Robert* was attainted of high-treason by act of parliament, ann. 11 Rich. II. And ann. 16 Rich. II. in parliament, it was certified, that, before the said attainer, certain Lands and Tenements, which were belonging to the said *Robert Vere*, were intailed by fine, and by force of the said intail ought to descend to Sir *Aubrey Vere*, uncle and heir to the said *Robert*. Now the King, by the assent of the Parliament, granted to the said Sir *Aubrey Vere* livery of all the lands and tenements to him soe intailed by fine as aforesaid. And further, whereas the said *Aubrey* had yet shewed nothing in special that the name and estate of the Earle of *Oxford* are to him intailed; notwithstanding the King, having consideration to the good service which the said *Aubrey* had done to him and his noble father, and howe the ancestors of the said *Aubrey* had bine Earles of *Oxford* a long time, and being willing that the estate and name of the Earle of *Oxford*, although they were forfeited, should not cease, but should be continued in time to come to the honour of the King and his realm, hath now of his special Grace restored, given, and granted, by assent of Parliament, to the said Sir *Aubrey*, the Name, Title, and Honour of *Earle of Oxford*, to have the same Title, Estate, and Honour to the said *Aubrey*, and his heirs male for ever; and him made Earle of *Oxford* in full parliament; and presently the said Earle did his homage to the King, and after was put and set in his place with the Peeres of Parliament.

After which, ann. 21 R. II. the said Act of Parliament, ann. 11 R. II. and all the dependancies thereupon, was repealed and made voyde.

After which, ann. 1. H. IV. the said Act of Parliament, ann. 21 R. II. was repealed and made voyde.

And after the Act of Parliament, ann. 1. H. IV. was repealed and made voyde by Parliament, ann. 3 and 4 Edw. IV.

And in ann. 14 Edw. IV. the Earle of *Oxford* and

twoe of his sonnes were attainted of treason by Parliament.

And in ann. 1 H. VII. that Act was repealed and made voyde.

Aubrey Vere, Earle of *Oxford*, ann. 16 R. II. had issue *Richard Vere*, his son and heir, and died; *Richard Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, had issue *John*, his eldest sonne, and *Robert* his youngest sonne; the grandchild and heire male of the bodie of *John*, his eldest sonne, died ann. 18 H. VIII. without heire male of his bodie, or any heire male of the body of *John*, the eldest sonne of *Richard*, having three sisters att his death, which were his heirs and heirs general to *John*, Earle of *Oxford*, eldest sonne of *Richard*.

John Vere, grandchild of *Robert Vere*, second sonne of *Richard*, was next heir male, and had the Earldome by virtue of the Act of Parliament of *Richard II.* without any new creation; and soe it was found by office, ann. 18 H. VIII. after the death of *John Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, his couzen.

Ann. 23 H. VIII. the three daughters, sisters and heirs of *John*, Earle of *Oxford*, deceased, clayme the landes of the Earldome, but not the Honor; and they of the one parte, and *John*, Earle of *Oxford*, couzen and heir male to their brother, submitted themselves to the award of King *Henry VIII.* and an award was made, which was confirmed by Parliament.

The said *John*, Earle of *Oxford*, died (*), having issue *John* his eldest sonne, *Aubrey* his second sonne, and *Jeffery* his youngest; *John*, the eldest son, had issue by his first wife (*a Nevile*) *Catharine*, married to the Lord *Windsor*, who pretends not; and by his second wife had *Edward*, Earle of *Oxford*, and *Lady Mary* his daughter, and died; *Edward*, Earle of *Oxford*, had issue *Henry*, Earle of *Oxford*, by one Venter; and the *Lady Derby*, the *Lady Montgomery*, and the *Lady Berkshire*, by his first wife, who pretends not, and died; *Henry*, Earle of *Oxford*, his sonne, died without issue. The said *Aubrey*, son of *John*, had issue *Hughe Vere*, his only sonne, and died. *Hughe Vere* had issue *Robert Vere*, his only sonne, now Earl of *Oxford*. And *Jeffery* had issue *Horace*, now Lord *Vere*, and next heir male to *Robert*. The *Lady Mary* had issue *Robert*, Lord *Willoughby*, her sonne and heir, and died.

In this case, *Robert Vere*, now Earle of *Oxford* (56), sonne of *Hugh Vere*, and after him *Horace*, Lord *Vere*, clayme the Earldom as next heire male of the bodie of *Aubrey Vere*, which was Earle of *Oxford*, ann. 16 R. II. by virtue of the said Act of Parliament of ann. 16 R. II. which is no waye repealed, but is in force.

And thence it follows, that *Horace*, Lord *Vere* of *Tilbury*'s male issue, had he left any, would have succeeded to the Earldom of *Oxford*.

(*) This *John*, thus coming to the honor, was greatgrandfather to the now Earle of *Oxford*, and to the Lord *Willoughby*, who now pretends as heire general, and goeth about to overthrowe the title from which himself claims, wherein is a plain contradiction.

(56) i. e. the right, as he alleges; and the title was adjudged to him by the Peers, though not the title of Lord *Bolebeck*, *Sanford* and *Badlesmere*.

VERE, Earls of Oxford. This noble and ancient family, the first of which, mentioned in our records, came into England with William, stiled the Conqueror (a), derives its descent much earlier. Leland, the famous Antiquary, carried it up as high as to the Patriarch NOAH [A], from whom he deduces the pedigree down to *Alberic de Vere*, the noble Earl, who, having married *Beatrix*, sister to the Conqueror, and attending him into England, was greatly favoured by that Monarch. In whose reign we find him possessed of *Chenefiton* (now wrote *Kensington*) in com. *Middlesex*, *Geling* and *Emingford* in com. *Huntingdon*. As also of nine Lordships in the county of *Suffolk*, and fourteen in the county of *Essex* (b), whereof *Colne*, *Heningham*, and *Benetly*, were part; which continued in his posterity till the last century. The Conqueror gave him likewise the whole inheritance of a great man in the Saxons days, called *Walsine*: in consequence whereof he took from the Monks of *Ramsay* what *Walsine* had before the Norman conquest, and left it to his own posterity (c). However he bore a great respect to the Monks of *Abingdon* in *Berkshire*, to whom he gave the church of *St Andrew*, at *Colne* in *Essex*, with the land of *Randulph* the Priest, the tythes of the whole Lordship, Town, and Park, and of all that was tytheable there, and 120 acres of the demesnes, the *Spinney* beyond the Park, as also the Park itself, *Coleford* mill, *Mees* pasture beyond *Coleford* bridge, one acre and a rood in *Brademede*, together with their meadow-land in *Kinbrane* and *Linland*, the woods of *Dodespellesho* and *Littlebar*, with twenty acres of land; the lands of *Goda*, *Edwin* the Brewer, and of *Alymeri* the Long; also the land called *Waluricmucche*, the church of *Beauchamp*, together with three acres of meadow, and the whole tythes of the said town. The church of *Duurecourt*, and the tythes there; also of the fishery, with pasture for 100 sheep in the marsh. The churches of *Campis* and *Benetlei*; the tythes of the demesnes of *Rodings-Grimbald*, together with that church, and also *Colne-Miblanc* church, with every thing thereunto belonging, in the manors of *Haingham*, *Laoreham*, *Aldeham*, and *Roinges*, with two parts of all the tythes, and the moiety of the tythes of the demesnes in *Walde* and *Wadobo*; the third part of the tythes of *Haingham*, together with that mill, 10d. land at *Burgate*, 3s. at *Cripping*, and 2s. 8d. which *Hargar* pays for his land in *Roinges*, together with a messuage in *Colchester*. Whereupon *Colne* afore said was made a cell to that great Abbey of *Abingdon*; and in the latter part of his life he took a religious habit, and was shorn a Monk in the said Abbey, to which he had been so large a benefactor (d); and there lies buried, together with *William*, one of his younger sons [B]. This *Alberic* the first had issue by *Beatrice*, his wife, four sons, *Geffery*, *Alberic*, *Roger*, *Robert*, whereof *Geffery* dying before his father, he was succeeded by

(a) Stowe's Annals, p. 106, from the Roll of Battle-abbey, where Alberic's name appears.

(b) Domesday-book penes Thef. & Camer. Scacc.

(c) Regist. de Ramsay, penes H. Spelman, Equ. aur.

(d) Monast. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 436, 437, 438.

(e) Id. Vol. I. p. 436. n. 60.

Alberic de Vere, the second of that name, who confirmed all the grants made by his father to the Monks of *Abingdon* (e), and was in such high esteem with *Henry I.*, that in the beginning of his reign he made him Lord Great Chamberlain of England, to hold the said office in fee to him and his heirs, with dignities and liberties thereto belonging, as honourably as *Robert Malet* (f),

[A] Leland carries the family up to Noah.] The pedigree is in this form.

Ex libello Genealogix comitum Oxoniensium.

Repetit genus a Noe. Deinde a Tideo Græco. Insuper a Vero (1) nobili Romano. Postremo à Milone comite de Genney alias Gifney. Milo, Duke of Aungiers, and Duke and Leader of great Charles's hoste and army, married *Beribelle*, sister of great Charles. Hic sinit superstes, A. D. 800.

1. Milo had to his first sunne *Rothuland* or *Rouland*, Erle Palatine, Erle of *Maunce* and *Bleuys*, that was slaine of the Paganes at *Rumidevale*. 2. He had also *Baldewine de Ver*, afterwards Duke of *Maunce*. 3. He had also *Milo de Ver*, to whom, as to the youngest brother and his nephew, King Charles gave the Erldom of *Genney* or *Gifney*, *Avelina*, daughter of the Erle of *Nautes*, wif to *Milo de Ver* the sun. *Nicasius de Ver*, Erle of *Genney*, sunne to yonge *Milo*, Erle of *Genney*. This *Nicasius* had to wife *Agathe*, the daughter of the Erle of *Champain*. Of *Nicasius* cam *Otho de Vere*, Erle of *Genney*, married to *Constance*, daughter to the Lord of *Charters*. Of *Otho* cam *Amelius de Ver*, Erle of *Genney*: *Helena*, daughter to the Erle of *Bloys*, tooke to husband *Amelius*. *Gallus de Ver*, Erle of *Genney*; *Gerthrudis*, daughter of the Erle of *Cleremont*, wif to *Gallus*. *Manasse de Ver*, Erle of *Genney*; *Petronilla*, daughter of the Erle of *Boleine*, wif to *Manasse de Ver*. *Alphonsus de Ver*, Erle of *Genney*; *Katarine*, his wife, daughter to *Arnalde*, Erle of *Flaundes*. *Albery de Ver*, Erle of *Genney*; *Beatrice*, his wife, siter to King *William*, Conqueror.

The said *Alberic* is the noble Erle who came over with the Conqueror, and was rewarded by him with the Lordships mentioned above. Yet of the name of *Alberic* there was an Earl in *Edward the Confessor's* time, possessed of six Lordships in com. *Warwick*, fourteen in *Leicester*, six in *Northampton*, two in *Oxford*, and ten in *Wiltshire* (2). But this *Alberic* is stiled *Albericus Comes* in *Domesday-book*, has not there the name of *de Vere*, and may be of another family (3). *Waleber*, Bishop of *Durham*, purchased the Earldom of *Northumberland* of King *William* the Conqueror, in

the eleventh year of his reign, anno 1076, and was slain in 1079 (4); upon which the King gave the Earldom of *Northumberland* to *Alberic*, who probably was the same *Alberic Comes*; who, going with the King into *Normandy*, married there a widow, named *Græcia*, which gave an accomplishment to a prophecy, *That he should possess Græcia*; whereupon he foolishly went thither, to make himself King of that country, but was expelled by the *Grecians*. And going on that expedition, King *William* the Conqueror gave the Earldom of *Northumberland* to *Robert de Mowbray* (5).

[B] He lies buried there, with William, a younger son.] It is said that a monument was erected for him, with the effigies of him and his wife, and the following epitaph:

Cedunt e vita votis animisque cupita,
Barbarus et scita, gentilis & Israelita.
Has pariter metas habet omnis sexus et ætas:
En puer, en senior, pater alter, filius alter
Legem, fortunam, terram, venire, sub unam:
Non Juveni tote quas epotavit Athene
Non vetulo tote vires vel opes valuere.
Sed valere fides, et prælia quæ memoramus
Ut valeant valeant per sæcula cuncta, precamur.

We are indebted for this to Mr *Weever*, who likewise says he had another epitaph for the said *Aubrey* and *Beatrice*, mentioned in the book of *Colne* Priory, to be engraven on their monuments in these English words:

Here lyeth *Aubrey de Veer*, the first Earl of *Guines*, the sonne of *Alphonsus de Veer*: The which *Aubrey* was the Founder of this place, and *Beatrix*, his wife, siter of King *William* the Conqueror (6).

The said *Alberic* and his wife *Beatrix* did, for the health of the soul of *Geffery*, their first born son, give to the Monks of *Abingdon* the church of *Kensington*, in com. *Middlesex*, with two hides, 240 acres, and a curcate of land there, which *Henry I.* afterwards confirmed. He also gave, to the same Monks, his house in *Westminster-street*, *London* (7).

(4) Simeon Duneim, inter decem Script. p. 205.

(5) Knighton, p. 2409.

(6) Weever's Fun. mon. p. 613, 614.

(7) Monast. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 106 and 437, where it is said they had also a daughter, *Rose* or *Rohesia*, wife of *Geoffrey de Mandevill*, Earl of *Essex*; but this is probably a mistake. See *rem.* []

f) Malet was disinherited and banished in H. I. for deserting the King, and adhering to Robert Curthoise. Alberic Vitalis, 104. c. and 805. c.

1) Some of our Antiquaries derive the name from Vere, a town in Zealand. Vincent on Brook, p. 396. Weever's Funeral monuments, p. 613.

2) As he possessed some of these Lordships in the Confessor's time, he was probably then in England. Domesday-book. 3) Alberic II, son of Alberic senior, is not stiled Earl, though Henry I. made him Lord Great Chamberlain and Chief Justice of England; therefore it is not to be supposed there could be any deprivation or loss of honour.

(Lord of the honour of Eye in Suffolk) or any other before or after him, held the same, with such liveries and lodgings of his Court as belonged to that office (g). This Alberic was also Justice of all England in that King's reign (h). In the fourth of King Stephen he suppressed an insurrection of some Bishops at Winchester [C]. And in the fifth of Stephen (with *Richard Basset*, then Justice of England) he executed the office of Sheriff for the counties of *Surrey, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Essex, Hartford, Northampton, Leicester, Norfolk, Suffolk, Buckingham, and Bedford* (i); which office was then of great power and trust. But before the end of that year, in the contests between the King and Maud the Empress, he was killed at London (k). He gave to the Monks of Thorney, in com. Cantab. certain rents in *Islep*, amounting to 6l. 10s. per annum (l). By his wife *Adeliza*, daughter to Gilbert, Earl of Clare (m), he had issue three daughters and five sons: 1. Alberic, his heir; 2. — a Canon of *St Ositb's*, at *Chick* in *Essex*; 3. Robert; 4. Geffery [D]; 5. William. The three daughters were, *Robesia*, wife of *Pagan de Beauchamp*, and secondly of *Geffery Mandevil* [E]; 2. *Adeliza*, wife of *Henry de Essex*, Lord of *Ralegh* (n); 5. *Juliana*, wife of *Hugh Bigot*, first Earl of *Norfolk* (o). Their mother *Adeliza* gave to the Monks of *St Ositb* or *Chick* in *Essex*, lands of 7l. per annum value, lying in *Dalbam, Tunstal, and Denbam*, being part of her frank marriage, which was confirmed by her son,

Alberic the Third (p), who in his father's life-time was at the conquest of the cities of *Nique [Nice], Antioch, and Jerusalem*, in the company of *Sir Robert Curtoise* (q), Duke of *Normandy* [F]; and in a siege of *Antioch*, in a battle against *Solyman*, commander of the Turkish

[C] *He suppressed an insurrection &c.* King Stephen having surprized divers great persons, and forced them to deliver up those castles they then held, and amongst them *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, being compelled to deliver up *Shireburn, Devises, and Malsbury*, thereupon the other Bishops called a council at *Winchester*, 4 Kal. Sept. to which they summoned the King, who thereupon, say some, sent this *Alberic* to seize upon that assembly (8); but others, with greater probability, tell us, he was only sent to them with the King's answer, being learned in the laws; and by his speeches and arguments he put a stop to the proceedings of the Council, and caused them to break up without any conclusion, telling them, among other particulars, that the King had been informed they were sending some persons to *Rome* against him; but he charged them to forbear that presumption, lest the King should prevent their return (9).

[D] *His sons, Robert and Geffery.* Of these, *Robert*, in 12 H. II, on levying the aid for marrying the King's daughter, certified, that he then held half a Knight's fee in com. *Northampton* (10). And he also held the Lordship of *Turwell*, in the same county, of the Monks of *Thorney*, in fee-farm, as his father did (11). *Geffery* and *William* were his other sons, who are mentioned in the grant of *Maud*, the Empress, to their brother *Alberic*. *Geffery* was Sheriff of *Shropshire* from 11 H. II. to the end of the 16th of that reign (12). Also in 12 H. II, upon levying the aid for marrying the King's daughter, he then resided in com. *Salop*, and certified his Knights fees to be nine *de veteri feoffamento*, and three *de novo* (13). What posterity he had, if any, is not known; but, in 6 Rich. I, *William de Boterel* paid 9l. for the scutage of his Barony (14).

[E] *A daughter, Robesia, &c.* Our Antiquaries differ in their judgments whose daughter she was, whether of *Alberic* the first or second. *Sir W. Dugdale*, who mentions her (as aforesaid) to be the daughter of the said *Alberic*, yet, in his account of *Pagan de Beauchamp*, he recites her marriage with him, and of her being the widow of *Geoffry Mandevil*, Earl of *Essex*, and that she was daughter of the second *Alberic* (15). *Sir William Seagar*, Garter, in his collection of the *Baronage* in manuscript, makes her to be the daughter of *Alberic* first mentioned, and to be first married to *Pagan de Beauchamp*, and secondly to *Geoffry Mandevil*, Earl of *Essex*. *Vincent* asserts (16), that she was daughter of *Alberic* 2d; also that she was married to *Pagan de Beauchamp*: And with him *Weever* (17) and others concur. *Nicholas Jekyl Esq;* a laborious Antiquary, contemporary with *Selden* and *Camden*, and of their society, has left in manuscript the pedigrees of the Barons; and in both families, of *Beauchamp* and *Mandevil*, mentions the said *Robesia* to be daughter of *Alberic* 2d, and that she died 1 Kal. Oct. 1160; yet there is no account when *Pagan de Beauchamp* died; but her son, by him, *Simon de Beauchamp*, was Steward to King *Stephen* (18), and died before 9 John, when *William*, his son and heir, was of full age, and had livery of his lands (19): whereby it may be concluded, that she had, for her first husband, *Pagan de Beauchamp*, son of *Hugh de Beauchamp*, who came in with

the Conqueror; which agrees in time: and it is certain he, with his wife *Robesia*, confirmed to the Monks of *Thorney*, in *Cambridgeshire*, the grants of lands that four of her tenants had made to them within her Lordship of *Colworth*; and, with her said husband, was founder of *Chicksand* in *Bedfordshire*; and she was buried at *Chicksand* (20). All which, except her burial, was before 1 King *Stephen*, when she was present with her husband, *Geoffry de Mandevil*, at the consecration of the church-yard of the Abbey of *Walden* in *Essex*, founded by the said *Geoffry* (21). The said *Robesia* was a Lady of singular piety, and, on the northern edge of the county of *Hertford*, erected a cross by the road side, which was thought, says *Weever*, in that age a pious work, to put passengers in mind of *Christ's passion*, whereupon it was called *CRUX ROBESIA* before there was either church or town (22). And under it she caused to be made a kind of subterraneous chapel or oratory, whither she used to retire for her private devotions. This chapel, not long since, hath been discovered, and largely described by *Dr Stewkley* (23). And, near the said cross, *Eustachius de Mare*, in the reign of *Henry II*, founded a Priory of black Canons, stiled *de cruce Robesia*; and soon after, says *Weever*, Inns were built there for the use of Travellers, and, in process of time, it grew to be a town, which, instead of *Robesia's* cross, was called *Robesia* town, and thence contracted into *Royston*.

[F] *He was at the conquest of Antioch.* *Leland* relates (24) that, in 1098, *Corborant*, Admiral to the Soudan of *Persia*, was fought with at *Antioche*, and discomfited by the Christians. The night coming on, in the chace of this bataille, and waxing dark, the Christians being four miles from *Antioche*, God willing, the fauste of the Christians shewed a white star, or molette of fyve pointes, which, to every manne's sighte, did lighte and arrest upon the standard of *Albrei*, there shining excessively. Thus we see that Light and Ornament of Great Britain promptly recording an ordinary natural meteor for a miracle, declarative of an extraordinary Divine interposition in favour of a set of superstitious Christians. However, such a scrap of credulity is pardonable enough in that distinguished Scholar's circumstances. In reality it was *vitium temporis magis quam hominis*. When *Leland* wrote his *Itinerary* (25), where this superstitious brat is found, notwithstanding he had followed his Royal Master and munificent Patron *Henry VIII*, in throwing off the Pope's supremacy, and all such tenets as were appendant thereto, yet he certainly still retained, together with the same master, most of the old leaven of the Popish faith, which, among other errors, inculcated the firm belief of an un-failing course of miracles throughout the whole Christian period. In justice to *Leland* it ought likewise to be further observed, That these meteoric stars had been uncontestedly held for miraculous from the earliest ages of Christianity, a superstition that not improbably had its first rooting in, and was originally grafted upon, that truly miraculous star which conducted the three Eastern Sages to *Christ*. The star upon the Earl of *Oxford's* standard had, it seems, the figure of a mullet, or star with fyve points or rays: when the same kind of meteor has happened to be thrown into four rays,

(g) Pat. 1 H. 1. p. 2. m. 26.
(h) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 2.

(i) Rot. Pip. 5 Stephen.

(k) Matth. Westm. p. 476.

(l) Monast. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 248.

(m) Leland's Collect. by R. Glover, Somerset Herald.

(8) M. Westm. an. 1139, p. 476.

(9) Daniel's life of King Stephen, in Compl. hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 127.

(10) Lib. Rubr. in Scacc. sub tit. Northamp.

(11) Mon. Angl. Vol. I. p. 248.

(12) Rot. Pip. de iisd. Ann. Salop.

(13) Lib. Rubr. in Scacc. sub tit. Salop. The vetus feoffamentum was 5l. the novum 15l. Spelman's Glossary sub tit. feodum and miles.

(14) Rot. Pip. 6 R. I.

(15) Baronage of England, Vol. I. p. 223, which is a flat contradiction to what he asserts in his account of the Vere family, p. 88.

(16) Discovery of Brook's errors, p. 400.

(17) Funeral Mon. p. 547.

(18) Richard Hagustald, p. 315. l. 2.

(19) Rot. Pip. 9 John, Bedford, and Buck.

(n) Rot. de Domin. &c. sub titulo Northampton, Rot. 3 in dorso.

(o) Ibid. sub titulo Essex, Rot. 32.

(p) Monast. Angl. Vol. II. p. 183.

(q) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 38.

(20) Mon. Angl. Vol. I. p. 245.

(21) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 793. p. 238 and Vol. I.

p. 447, 459, who says it was consecrated by Robert de Sigillo (Keeper of the Signet) Bishop of London, Nigel of Ely, and William of Norwich, and that it was placed at the West end of the town, upon the meeting of four road-ways, and in an angle of two waters, one returning from Newport, and the other descending from the side of his castle, that was his chief feat.

(22) Fun. Mon. in Royston, p. 51.

(23) In Palæog. Brit. Numb. 1. edit. 1743, 4to.

(24) In his Itinerary, as cited in the text.

(25) He began his travels thro' England, upon this design, in 1536, and spent six years upon them. See his article.

Turkish army, ann. 1097, he retook a banner of St George, taken from the Christians; whereupon he afterwards gave the arms of St George in his shield. After the death of his father, returning to England, he was made an Earl in King Stephen's time by Maud the Empress: for by that title she rendered and granted to him all the lands which his father *Alberic de Vere* held at the time of his death, and particularly the office of great Chamberlain of England. Also the land of *William de Albrinces*, with the inheritance which he claimed in right of his wife; and the castle of *Colchester*, as soon as she could deliver it to him. The Earldom of Cambridgehire, with the third penny thereof, as an Earl ought to have, if the King of the Scots had not that Earldom; or she could procure him to exchange it: But if not, he was to be Earl either of *Oxford*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, or *Dorsetshire*, at the discretion of her brother, the Earl of *Gloucester*, Earl *Geoffry*, and Earl *Gislebert* [Clare]. Also the inheritance, to him and his heirs, of *William de Helion*, namely ten Knights fees; likewise *Dibam*, which belonged to *Roger de Rannis*, and was the right of the nephews of this Earl *Alberic*, viz. the sons of *Roger de Rannis*. And *Turroc*, which belonged to *William Peverell*, Earl of *Nottingham*, and the land of *Salamon*, the Priest of *Tillebery*. And to him and his dependants freedom to profit by these gifts, without being called to answer for any thing which they had done, before they joined *Maud* the Empress and the Earl of *Anjou* her husband (r). This deed was given at *Oxford*, and signed by the Empress *Maud's* own hand, and several sureties named for the performance thereof; and that the Earl of *Anjou* her husband, and *Henry* her son, should confirm it under their hands [G]. Accordingly that son, King *Henry II*, by a deed, dated at *Dover*, in his passage, granted to *Alberic* the Earldom of *Oxford*, and the third penny of the pleas of the county, to him and his heirs (s). In the twelfth of this King's reign, upon levying the aid for marriage of his daughter, *Alberic* certified his Knights fees to be 28. a 4th and 8th part (t); for which, in the 14th of that reign, he gave 20 l. towards the aid (u). In the 2d of *Rich. I*. he gave a fine of 500 marks for the sister of *Walter de Bolebec* to make a wife for his son (w).

And in the 6th of that reign, on the collection of the aid for the King's redemption, he paid 30 l. 2 s. 6 d. for the Knights fees he then held (x). Before the end of that year he died, and was interred in the Priory at *Colne*, where a monument was erected to his memory [H]. By his second wife (y), *Lucia*, daughter and heir to *William de Albrinces* [I], he had two sons, *Alberic* and *Robert*, successively Earls of *Oxford* [K].

Alberic the eldest, and second Earl of *Oxford*, was with the King in *Normandy* in the life-time of his Father (z), and at his death, viz. in 7 *Rich. I*, gave 100 l. for his relief (aa); as also 500 marks, upon collecting the aid for the King's redemption (bb). Likewise, 8 *Rich. I*, he paid 30 l. 2 s. 6 d. upon collecting the third scutage of *Normandy* (cc). In 6 *John* (dd) he gave 200 marks for the *tertium denarium* of *Oxfordshire*, paid to the Earl of that county as customary (ee). In 10 *John* he was Sheriff of *Essex* and *Hertfordshire* (ff) for one half of that year, and so continued till the 15th of *John* (gg). In the 14th of that reign he was a witness, made between the King and the Earl of *Bulloign*, not to make a separate peace with *France* (hh); and being firm in the interest of King *John*, he was one of the

thus exhibiting the form (how rudely soever) of a cross, that figure rivetted the belief of a miracle therein. The cross is particularly sacred to Christianity, and the appearance of one has been constantly held for a *signum salutis* to the Christians. Thus, for instance, when *Julian* the *Apostate*, for the particular encouragement of the Jewish religion, set about rebuilding the temple of *Jerusalem*, great numbers of these meteoric crosses or stars happened to light upon the cloaths of the workmen and by-standers: What was the consequence? Did not the Christian writers, even the most famed for learning and sound sense (26), claim them, with the utmost assurance of faith, for so many miracles, denouncing the overthrow of that attempt: A piece of superstition, which has been marked by the present Bishop of *Gloucester* (27); who indeed may be thought to have lavished more learning and labour upon it than would have been needful, had not the delicacy of his design required such a conduct. The reputation of the Fathers was to be carefully managed, and the weight of their evidence in general was to be signified by the respect shewn in the extraordinary pains taken to set it aside in one particular, which was to be censured so as not to hurt the credit of their testimony with regard to the miracle of the fiery eruption, the truth whereof his Lordship had undertaken to assert.

[G] The deed was to be confirmed by *Henry*.] In the same deed she grants to *Geffery de Vere* all the land that was *Geoffry Talbot's*, or the value of it, at the discretion of *Geoffry*, Earl of *Essex*, Earl *Gislebert*, and Earl *Alberic*, brother to the said *Geffery de Vere*. And to *Robert de Vere* a Barony, of equal worth with his brother *Geoffry's* (or an equivalent) within a year after she had possession of the realm of *England*. And to the said *Alberic*, her office of Chancellor, for the use of his brother, *William de Vere*, as soon as it could be got from *William*, brother of *John*, the son of *Gislebert*, who then had it.

[H] A monument to his memory at *Colne*.] The monu-

ment, on the suppression of the Priory, was removed into the church of *Earls-Colne*, having his effigies lying cross-legged, and a Saracen's head thereon, as a memorial of having killed one in the Holy land, and this inscription: *Hic jacet Albericus de Vere, filius Alberici de Vere, Comes de Guisney, & primus Comes Oxoniæ, Magnus Camerarius Angliæ, qui, propter summam auidaciam & effrenatam pravitatem, Grymme Aubrey vocabatur. Obiit 26 die Decembris, anno Christi 1194, Ricardi I. sexto* (28).

[I] His second wife *Lucia* was daughter to *William de Albrinces*.] This first Earl of *Oxford* is also said to marry a daughter of *Henry de Essex*, Baron of *Ralegh*, mentioned above, in the text, to marry *Adeliza* [*Alice*] Earl *Alberic's* sister, who was secondly the wife of *Roger Fitz-Richard*, Lord of *Warkworth* in *Northumberland* (29). But it is also evident, by the aforesaid grant of *Maud* the Empress, that the wife of the said *Alberic* was daughter of *William de Albrinces*; for she grants to him all the lands of the said *William*, with the whole inheritance, which he claimed in right of his wife. Besides a Priory of Nuns at *Ikellington* in *Cambridgeshire* (30), he also founded that of *Heningham* in *Essex*, *Lucia*, his wife, being the first Priores there. He likewise founded the Priory of *Hatfield-Broad-Oak* in com. *Essex*, and gave *Hexford*, with a certain wood called *Alcotehegh*, to the Nuns of *St. Cross* (31).

[K] Two sons—Earls of *Oxford*.] Besides these she also brought him another son, *William de Vere*, who was a great builder, and consecrated Bishop of *Hereford* in 1186, 33 *Henry II*. He died December 24, 1190, and was buried against the South wall, opposite to the presbytery of the Cathedral church of *Hereford*, where a tomb, erected to his memory, was remaining in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth* (32). *Henry de Vere* is said to be another son; and he had also two daughters, *Adeliza* and *Sarab*, wife of *Richard de Ergoze* the elder, of *Blakewick* in *Lincolnshire* (33)

(r) Vincent's discovery of Brook's error, p. 400, as before.
(s) He had been a witness to King Stephen's settling the crown of England, anno 1153, in favour of Henry. Rymer's Fœd. Vol. I. p. 13.
(t) Lib. Rub. in Scacc. Essex.
(u) Rot. Pip. 14 Hen. II. Essex.
(w) Ibid. 2 R. I. Essex.
(x) Ibid. 6 R. I. Essex.
(y) His first wife, Euphemia, daughter of Sir William Cantelupe, brought him no issue. Vincent on Brook, p. 396.

(z) Rot. Pip. 9 R. I. Buck. and Bedf.
(aa) Ibid. 7 R. I.
(bb) Ibid.
(cc) Ibid. 3 R. I. Essex.

(28) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 613, 615, i. e. Here lies Alberic de Vere, son of Alberic de Vere, Earl of Guisnes, and first Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain of England, who, for his consummate boldness and unbridled depravity, was called Grimme Aubrey, &c. Leland says he was named Aubrey the Grymme, for his greatness of stature and stern look. Itin. Vol. VI. p. 35.

(29) Dugdale's Mon. Aug. ubi supra, whomakes her the sister of Rohesia before mentioned.

(30) Leland's Itin. as last cited.

(31) Mon. Ang. Vol. I. p. 545, 1020, 1021.

(32) Godwin's Cat. of Bishops of England, p. 374, 375.

(33) Miller, p. 679.

(dd) In the 5th year of K. John, upon his settling his Q. Isabel's dower, the last was one of the witnesses, and affixed his seal to the deed. Rymer's Fœd. Vol. I. p. 134, 135.
(ee) Rot. Pip. 6 John, Essex.
(ff) Ibid. 10 John, Essex and Hertf.
(gg) Ibid. de iisdem annis.
(hh) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 151.

(26) As Gregory Nazianzen, in particular.

(27) In his Julian &c. chap. III. edit. 1752, 3vo.

(ii) Matth. Paris, 131. n. 10.
(kk) Leland's Collect. Vol. II. p. 324.

(ll) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. VI. p. 38.

(mm) Rot. Pip. 16 John, Essex and Hertf. & Clauf. 16 John, m. 19.

(nn) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 198.

(oo) Clauf. 17 Joh. in dorfo, m. 4. and Rymer, Vol. I. p. 201. He was also in the number of those whom Pope Innocent III. excommunicated on that occasion. M. Paris, p. 254. and Rymer, Vol. I. p. 211.

(tt) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 158. N. B. 15 H. III. performing his homage, he had livery of all the lands of his father. Clauf. 15 H. III. m. 1.

(xx) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 387, 388.

(yy) M. Paris, 700. a. n. 60.

(zz) Ibid. 743. n. 50. and 744. n. 30.

(aaa) Rot. Pip. 33 H. 14. Essex and Hertf.

(eee) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 447.

(34) Miller's Cat. of Honour, p. 678.

(35) Fuller's Worthies in Northamptonshire.

(36) Seager's Baronage MS.

(37) Fuller's Worthies, Præd.

(*) Viz. in 1752.

(38) Pat. 34 H. VIII. p. 207.

Nobles then reputed evil Counsellors to that King (ii). In 16 John he died, and was buried at Colne (kk). He married *Adeliza* [*Alice*], daughter of *Roger Bigot*, Earl of *Norfolk*, and left issue *Margaret*, his daughter and heir, married to *Hugh*, Earl of *Chester* (ll). To this *Alberic* succeeded

Robert his brother, the third Earl of *Oxford*, who the same year, 16 John, gave 100 marks to the King for livery of the lands of his inheritance, with the castles of *Heningham* and *Camenent*; together with the wardship of the heir of *William Fitz-Oats*, to marry to his niece (mm). The same year he was also one of the witnesses to that grant, whereby the King, on a vacancy among the Ecclesiastics, gave them licence to make a free choice among themselves (nn). In the 17th of John he was one of the chief of those Barons that took up arms against the King, and was party to the covenants then made between them, whereby they were to have the city and Tower of London delivered up into their hands (oo). But, upon the death of King John, a peaceable accord being made between Henry III. and these Barons, Earl Robert was received into favour. In 4 Henry III. he was one of the Judges in the King's court of justice (pp); as he was also in 5 Henry III (qq). In which year he departed this life, and was buried in the Priory of *Hatfield-Broad-Oak* in *Essex* [L]. He married *Isabel*, daughter of *Hugh*, and sister and heir of *Walter de Bolebec*; of *Bolebec-castle* in *Witchurch*, in com. *Bucks*, by whom he left issue a daughter, *Isabel*, wife of *Sir John Courtney*; and two sons, *Hugh* and *Sir Henry Vere* (rr) [M]. His wife, surviving him, gave a fine to the King, 6 Henry III, of 2228l. 2s. 9d. for the wardship of *Hugh*, her son and heir (ss), which fine was over and above a debt of Earl Robert, her husband, of 1780l. 11s. [N].

Hugh, fourth Earl of *Oxford*, in 14 Henry III, was one of the witnesses to that league the King made with *Reginald*, Earl of *Boloigne*, to make no peace or truce with the King of *France* without a mutual consent (tt). In 1233, 17 Henry III, he was solemnly knighted at *Gloucester*, on the King's solemnizing the feast of *Pentecost* there (uu). In the 21st of Henry III. the King ordered twenty marks yearly to be paid him for the third penny of the county of *Oxford*, as Earl of that county (ww). And, 23 Henry III, on a difference between the King and the Monks of *Winchester*, relating to the election of an Archbishop of that see, he, with other peers, wrote about it to the Pope, who returned them for answer, that his Legate had instructions to provide a person of whom the King could have no suspicion (xx). In the 30th of Henry III. he was one of the Barons who subscribed that letter sent to the Pope, complaining of his exactions upon this realm (yy). In 32 Henry III. he was in that parliament wherein the King was upbraided by the Lords with his licentious expences, and that his Treasurer and Chancellor were not persons of their approbation (zz). In 33 Henry III. he paid 1000 marks to the King for the wardship and marriage of *Alice*, heir of *Gilbert de Saunford* (aaa), whom he married to *Robert* his son soon after (bbb). In 44 Henry III. he went against *Lewellin*, son of *Griffin*, his accomplice, and other rebels in *Wales* (ccc). He married *Hawise*, daughter of *Sayer de Quincey*, Earl of *Winchester* (ddd), and, with his wife, lies buried at *Colne* [O].

Robert, his son, fifth Earl of *Oxford*, in his father's life-time, having taken upon him the cross, in order to go to the Holy land, had thereupon the King's protection (eee) for three years, and probably staid there during that term; for nothing further appears of him till after the death of his father, when, in 48 Henry III, he was one of those powerful peers who set their hands and seals to the Ordinances made by *Simon de Montfort* and his accomplices at *London*, in the parliament held in *June*, 1264, till such time as a peace should be

[L] He was buried at *Hatfield-Broad-Oak*.] Where he had the following memorial: Sir *Robert de Vere* the first, and the third Earl of *Oxford*, lyeth here: God, if he please, have mercy on his soule. Whofoever shall pray for his soule, shall obtain a forty-days pardon (34).

[M] *Sir Henry Vere*.] He was of *Great Addington* in com. *Northampton*: His son and heir, *Sir Robert Vere*, was Sheriff of the said county in 33 Edw. I. (35), and had issue *Richard Vere*, of *Great Addington*, who had to wife *Isabel*, daughter of *John Green*, of *Drayton* in the county of *Northampton*, Esq; (36), and sister and heir to *Henry* her brother; by which match the manor and mansion of *Drayton* accrued to his posterity, that terminated, in the male line, in *Sir Henry Vere*, who was possessed of *Great Addington*, *Drayton*, and *Thrapston*, in *Northamptonshire*, and was Sheriff of the said county 1 Henry II (37). He had to wife *Isabel*, daughter to *Sir Thomas Tresham*, of *Rushton* in com. *Northampton*. and left issue four daughters, his coheirs; first, *Elizabeth*, wife of *John*, Lord *Mordant*, ancestor to *Charles*, now * Earl of *Peterborough*, who had thereby, on partition, the manor of *Drayton*, now possessed by the *Lady Elizabeth Germaine*, daughter of *Charles*, Earl of *Berkley*. Second, *Ann*, wife of *Sir Humphry Brown*, of *Abbots Reading* in *Essex*, made Lord Chief Justice of the Common-pleas (38), 4 Henry VIII, and had issue *Sir Weston Brown*. Third, *Constance*, wife of *John Parr*, Esq; who died without issue by her. Fourth, *Ethelred*, married to *John Brown*, of *Rookwood-Hall* in *Abbots-Rooding*, *Essex*, Esq;

[N] *Isabel* his wife survived him, &c.] She was after married to *Henry de Novant* (39), and died the day after the purification of our Lady, 29 Henry III, having founded the abbey of *Woborne* (40), and the house of *Friar Preachers* at *Oxford*, where she was buried (41).

[O] He lies buried, with his wife, at *Colne*.] The following epitaph is engraven on their tomb:

Hic jacent Hugo de Vere ejus nominis primus Comes Oxonie Quartus, Magnus Camerarius Anglie, filius & hæres Roberti Comitis et Hawise Uxoris ejus, filia Saeri de Quinci Comitis Wintonie. Qui quidem Hugo obiit MCCLXIII. Quarum animabus propitiatur altissimus (42).

He founded the hospital at *Castle Heningham* in *Essex* (43). He also bestowed on the Knights Templars the church of *Radenache* in *Buckinghamshire* (44). The inquisition taken after his death, 47 Henry III, sets forth, that he died seized of the manor of *Kensington* in com. *Middlesex*, the manors of *Castreton* and *Whitchurch* in com. *Buck*. The manor of *Campes* in com. *Cantabr*. (45), which manor appertained to the Barony in right of his office as Chamberlain of England; also the manor of *Awiton* in that county, appertaining likewise to his Barony: Also of the manors of *Cokefeud* and *Prefton* in com. *Suffolk*; of *Hengham* castle in com. *Essex*, and advowson of the Priory there; with the hamlet of *Tillebyri*, and manors of *Hengham*, *Ravetiles*, *Bonethy*, and *Colun*, held likewise of the King in capite, by the service of Chamberlain of England, together with the advowson of the Priory of *Colun* or *Colne* (46).

(pp) Fin. Levat. T. Pasch. 4 H. III.

(qq) Ibid. Craft. Mart. 5 H. III.

(rr) Rot. Pip. 9 John, Essex and Hertf. Miller's Catal. of Honour, p. 678.

(ss) Rot. Fin. 6 H. III. m. 9.

(uu) MS. in Bibl. Bodl. K. 84. Cant. f. 50.

(ww) Pat. 21 H. III. m. 5.

(bbb) Leland's Collect. Vol. II. p. 375.

(ccc) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 706, 707.

(ddd) Leland, p. 38. and Rot. Pip. 7 Hen. III. sub tit. Honor. Bolon.

(39) Rot. Pip. 20 Henry III. Devon.

(40) Leland's Itin. Vol. VI. p. 38.

(41) Miller, p. 679.

(42) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 616.

(43) For the health (as expressed in those times) of his wife, children, and ancestors. Mon. Angl. Vol. I. p. 2021.

(44) Ib. Vol. II. p. 545.

(45) Whereof the Park was four miles in compass.

(46) Ffcaet. 48 H. VIII. n. 26. Middlesex.

concluded between the King and his Barons [P]; and, on the 24th of December following, the King, at Woodstock, informed the Earl of Oxford, that whereas, after many distractions in the kingdom, his eldest son, Prince *Edward*, for the tranquillity and peace of the realm, is become an hostage, and, all matters reconciled, he commands him to be at London on the octave of Hilary next, to give his assent for the more effectual performance thereof (fff). On the 16th of February, 1265, 49 Henry III, the King, at Westminster, signified to *Simon de Mountford*, *Gilbert de Clare*, and *Robert de Vere*, Earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Oxford, with other great Barons, who had appointed a meeting at Dunstable, to tilt (as given out) to forbear coming there (ggg): And as the day after, viz. Ash-Wednesday, was concluded on to treat finally about setting at liberty Edward, his eldest son, he commands them to attend him on that day. But shortly after, in the same year, being one of the Barons in arms against the King (bbb), and made Knight in the field by *Mountfort* (iii) (the chief of them) he was, among others, surprized at *Kenilworth* (kkk), a little before the battle of *Evesham*, which proved so fatal to *Mountfort* and those rebels. But afterwards, making his peace according to the tenor of that decree, called *Dictum de Kenilworth*, he, in 4 Edward I, was one of the council to whom was communicated a letter from *Lewellin*, Prince of Wales, refusing to do his homage (lll). Whereupon his Highness, by advice of his Council, forbids all correspondence with the said *Lewellin*; and, in the tenth year of this reign, Earl *Robert* was employed against the Welch (mmm). He died in 24 Edward I. (nnn), leaving issue by Alice, daughter and heir of Gilbert Lord Samford aforesaid, Chamberlain to the Queen of England in fee, several children [Q], besides his eldest son.

Robert de Vere, who succeeded him, became *sixth Earl of Oxford*, and was surnamed the good Earl of Oxford, his government, both in peace and war, being so prudent, his hospitality and works of charity so wisely abundant, and his temperance with a reli-

[P] *The peace concluded between the King and his Barons.*

In this treaty are the following remarkable articles: 1. That three wise and loyal persons shall be elected, with power from the King (who was then in their custody) to nominate nine Counsellors, three of whom always to attend in court. 2. The King, by the advice of the said nine, to order and dispose all matters relating to the kingdom, and to elect a Justice, Chancellor, Treasurer, and other officers, for the government of the kingdom; any of which nine shall, by the advice of the aforesaid three, be removed, and others nominated. 3. That all officers may be removed by the assent of the Nine. 4. That Two of the Three, upon any difference, shall be a majority; and, in case of a difference between the Nine, the aforesaid Three to determine it (47).

[Q] *He left several children, besides Robert, by Alice, his wife.* These were, 1. *Alphonfus de Vere*, Knt. who had to wife *Jane*, daughter of Sir *Richard Foliot*, Knt. by whom he had a son, *John*, hereafter mentioned, as succeeding to the title of Earl of Oxford (48). 2. *Hugh de Vere*, who eminently distinguished himself. In 21 Edward I, being then in the wars of France, he was made Governor of *St Cyverine*, having 200 horse and many foot in that garrison (49). And the next year he was there also, with *Edmund* Earl of *Leicester* (the King's brother) and *Blanch* his wife, the Queen of *Navarre* (mother to the Queen of France), and the Duke of *Burgundy*, at the ratification of the peace made betwixt both realms through the mediation of those Queens (50). In 24 Edward I. he went Ambassador, to conclude a truce with the French King; also to *Reginald*, Earl of *Guelderland*, to treat about an alliance with him; likewise to take the oath of *Florence*, Earl of *Flanders* and *Zealand*, relating to the agreement of the said Earl to furnish the King with armed men (51). In 25 Edw. I. he was sent with the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*, *William de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, and others, to treat of peace between the Kings of England and France (52), and continued in Gascoigne, in the King's service, a great part of that year (53); and, for his good service in those parts, had a special livery of the lands of *William*, the son of *Warine de Mountchenst*, whose daughter and heir, *Dyonisia*, he had married, though she was not then of full age (54). In 26 Edward I. the King at Ghent notified to the Pope, that, in order to settle a peace with the King of France, he sends to him *Hugh de Vere* and *Otta de Grandison*, Knts, desiring him to counsel and help them (55). And accordingly he went to the Court at Rome (56). 27 Edward I. he obtained a Charter for Free Warren in all his Demesne lands within his Lordships of *Hairwode* in com. *Norfolk*, and *Hasingbroke* and *Pbanges* in *Essex* (57): and he was at the Abbey of *Holmecham* in Scotland, Oct. 7, 1300, 28 Edward I, when Robert, Bishop of *Glasgow*, swore fealty to King Edward as his lawful Sovereign (58). In 29 Edward I. he was employed, with *John* Earl

Warren, and others, to treat with certain French Ambassadors about the peace with the Scots (50), and, 32 Edward I, being returned to England, did his fealty to the King for the lands of his wife's inheritance (50). He was also the same year in the wars of Scotland (61). In 34 Edw. I. he was employed in the Scottish wars (62). In 1 Edward II. he was summoned to be at the King's coronation, as was also his wife *Dyonisia* (63), by whom it seems he had no issue: For, upon her death, 7 Edw. II, *Ademare de Valence*, son of the Lady *Joan de Valence*, was found to be her next heir, she then dying seized of the manors of *East and West Hanyngfeld*, *Stanford*, and *Fenge*, with the advowsons of those churches; as also of the manors of *Rodeswell*, *Great Fordham*, and *Thurstone*, with the advowson of the church of *Thurstone*, all in *Essex* (64).

This Earl Robert had also two daughters; *Joan*, married to *William de Warren*, son of *John*, Earl *Warren* and *Surrey*, who had with her, by gift of her father, the manors of *Midingham*, *Tyburne*, *Priterwell*, *Wifhamstoue*, *Nechamsfede*, and *Gynges*, with lands in *Cestresham* of 10l. a year (65). He had by her a daughter, *Alice*, married to *Edmund*, the son of *Allan*, Earl of *Arundel*, and died before his father, 18th Kal. January, 1286, in the nineteenth year of his age, leaving the said Joan his wife great with child, who, 2 Kal. July, was delivered of a son, named, after his grandfather, *John*, and succeeded him in the Earldoms of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, and was also Earl of *Strathern* in Scotland, but deceased, without lawful issue, on the anniversary of his birth-day, anno 1347, in the sixty-first year of his age, leaving *Alice*, his sister, heir to all his estates, married, as said before, to *Edmund Fitz-Allan*, Earl of *Arundel*, and had by him a son, *Richard*, who succeeded in the Earldoms of *Arundel* and *Surrey*, which through the Mowbrays, Dukes of *Norfolk*, descended to the Howards, Dukes of *Norfolk* (66).

The other daughter of Earl Robert and *Alice*, his wife, was *Lora*, wife of *Reginald de Argentein*, with whom her brother, Earl Robert, gave the manor of *Ketlingham* in *Norfolk* in dower; and from her descended the families of the Lord *Fitz-Warin*, *St George of Hatley*, *St George* in *Cambridgeshire*, and the *Allingtons* of *Horfeheath* in the same county (67).

This Earl Robert, in 18 Edward I, obtained the King's charter for an annual fair at his manor of *Lanlan* in *Suffolk*, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, in Easter week (68). And for works of piety it appears, that, for the health of his soul, he gave to the Knights Hospitallers all his royalty, and services of two Knights fees in *Ashby* and *Silverly* which *Geffry Arfick* had wont to perform unto them (69). And, 16 Edward I, 145 acres of land and meadow in *Bilchaungre* and *Takdegh* in *Essex*, to the Canons of *Trenkale*, for the health of the soul of *Gilbert* his son (70).

(fff) Rymer, Vol. I. p. 203.

(ggg) Ibid. p. 206.

(bbb) Ffcaet, 49 H. III. n. 5. (iii) MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Mtd. 20. 119. a.

(kkk) Chron. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. K. 8. 4. Cont. 63. a.

(lll) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 68, 69.

(mmm) Rot. de Scutag. Wall. 10 Edw. I. m. 4.

(nnn) Ffc. 24 Edward I. n. 26. Leicester.

(50) Rot. Alem. 29 Edw. I. m. 7.

(60) Rot. Fin. 32 Edw. I. m. 2.

(61) Rot. Scoe. 32 Edw. I. m. 7.

(62) Ibid. 34 Edward I. m. 3.

(63) Rymer, Tom. III. p. 53, 60.

(64) Ffc. 7 Edward II. n. 31. Essex.

(65) Claus. 12 Edw. I. m. 5, and 13.

(66) Miller, p. 629, 630.

(67) Ibid. p. 682.

(68) Cart. 18 Edward I. n. 13.

(69) Mon. Angl. Vol. II. 507. 2.

(70) Ibid. 24. l. p. 10. Ffcaet. 71 Edw. I. n. 75. Essex.

(47) Rymer's Ffcaet. Vol. I. p. 793, et seq.

(48) Miller's Cat. Hon. p. 632.

(49) Knighton, p. 2499. n. 10. and 2500. n. 20.

(50) Tbo. Wal-ling. p. 24. n. 40.

(51) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 703, 704.

(52) Rot. Alem. 25 Edw. I. m. 15.

(53) Rot. Vafcon. 25 Edw. I. m. 14.

(54) Claus. 25 Edw. I. m. 10.

(55) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 803.

(56) Claus. 26 Edw. I. m. 12.

(57) Cart. 27 Edw. I. n. 29.

(58) Rymer, Vol. II. p. 867.

(ooo) Leland,
p. 38. Miller's
Cat. of Honour,
p. 633. Wee-
ver's Fun. Mon.
p. 616.

(ppp) Rymer,
Vol. II. p. 688.

(qqq) Id. p. 736.

(rrr) Id. p. 823.
and Rot. Scoc.
26 Edw. I. m. 9.

(uuu) Rymer,
Vol. II. p. 986.

(yyy) Ibid. p. 113.
He had the other
summons, 19 Ed-
ward III, but was
excused after-
wards, on the
prospect of a
peace. Ibid.
p. 217.

(4a) Ibid. p. 217.

(4b) Efc. 5 Ed-
ward III. n. 71.
Leicest.

(4c) Ibid.

(4d) Rymer,
Vol. IV. p. 564,
566.

(4e) Rot. Scoc.
8 Edw. III. m. 9.
The truce ex-
piring the next
year, the King,
about Midsum-
mer, went to the
head of his army
at Newcastle, and
was attended by
this Earl of Ox-
ford, and the Scots
were obliged to
submit to King
Edward at St
Johnston, where
both were. Ibid.
9 Ed. III. m. 27.
and Barnes's hist.
of Edw. III. p. 94
to 99.

(71) Baronage,
Vol. II. p. 192.
col. 2.

(72) Rot. Scoc.
31 Edw. I. m. 7.

(73) Comp. Joh.
de Drokenesford
Custod. mag.
garderobæ penes
Remem. R. in
Scacc. and Ash-
mole's order of
the Garter, p. 38.

(74) Rot. Scoc.
34 Edw. I. m. 9.

gious zeal so admirably conjoined, that the common people esteemed him as a Saint (ooo). He inherited from his father the office of Great Chamberlain of England and the title of Lord *Bolebec*, and in right of his mother was Lord *Samford*. In 23 Edward I, his father then living, he was commanded by the King to attend his brother *Edmund*, Earl of *Lancaster*, with horse and arms to *Gascony* (ppp). In 25 Edward I. the King required him to be present, with his Countess, at the marriage of his daughter *Elizabeth* to the Earl of *Holland* at Ipswich (qqq). In 26 Edward II. he attended the King on an expedition to Scotland (rrr), and was also in that war the following year (sss), and in 30 Edward I. was Sheriff of Northampton (ttt). In 34 Edward I. he was summoned to assist at settling the aid in the knighting, at Westminster, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, of the King's son, *Prince Edward* (uuu), afterwards Edward II, upon whose accession to the throne, the Earl and his Countess were summoned, January 10, 1 Edward II, to attend at the King's coronation on the Sunday after Valentine's day at Westminster, on which solemnity, *Thomas de Vere*, the Earl's eldest son, together with the *Earl of Arundel*, *Hugh de Spencer*, and *Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore*, bore the Royal robes (www). July 30, 1309, 3 Edward II, he received the King's commands to march against the Scots at Michaelmas next ensuing. On which business he was also summoned again, 7 Edward II, and in the tenth of that reign he went by the Royal command against the Welch (xxx). In the 18th of Edward II. he attended the King into Gascony against the French (yyy). In the 1st of Edward III. he was commanded to attend in arms against any hostile attempt that should be made by *Robert de Bruce* and his adherents, who, in case he could not obtain a peace to his liking in treaty, to be negotiated on the marches of Wales, threatened to invade England (zzz). In the 4th of Edward II. the King, April 2, 1330, notified to his Treasurer and Chamberlains, that Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, had set forth, that by inheritance he claimed to be Chamberlain to the Queen on the day of her coronation, and that he and his ancestors, time immemorial, have enjoyed and exercised the same office. That, for the fee on that day, they received the Queen's bed, her shoes, and sandals, three silver basons in which the Queen is served, viz. one for the washing of her head, and two for her hands; that the King was willing to deliver the same to him on account of the coronation of Queen Philippa his consort, on which day he attended as Chamberlain; and that, as it evidently appeared he and his ancestors had enjoyed the same, he had the shoes and sandals delivered to him; therefore he now orders his said Treasurer and Chamberlains to pay him, in lieu of the said bed, a hundred marks (4a). This Earl died the 19th of April, 5 Edward III, and was solemnly buried at the Priory of Colne (4b). He had issue by *Margaret*, his wife, daughter of *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of March, one son, Thomas de Vere [R], who dying in his life-time, the Earldom fell to his nephew,

John, the seventh Earl of Oxford (4c), who, at twenty years of age, subscribed to that agreement the King made with *Patrick*, Earl of March, and others, for a cessation of arms on Tuesday, the feast of St Margaret the Virgin, 1333, 7 Edward III (4d), and the year after he was in the expedition made into Scotland (4e). His Lordship attended the same King in his wars against the Scots in the ninth and tenth years of his reign (4f), and in the fourteenth went with him to Flanders. In the fifteenth he was at the great feast and justing in London, which the King caused to be made in respect to the Countess of *Salisbury* (4g), and the same year had an assignation out of the subsidy then levied of 300l. in part of a greater sum due to him for his services in the King's wars beyond-sea (4h). He had also that year a summons, dated November 4, 15 Edward III, to be at *Newcastle* upon Tyne with forty *Gens d'Armes* and Archers on the 24th of January, ready to march against the Scots. In 16 Edward III. he was again in the wars of France, in which service he had forty men at arms (himself accounted) one Banneret, nine Knights, twenty-nine Esquires, and thirty Archers on horseback, with an allowance of fifty-six sacks of wool for the wages of himself and his retinue (4i). In 17 Edward III. he accompanied *Henry de Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, and other great Lords, into Scotland, for raising the siege of *Laumaban-castle* (4k); but before their arrival the Scots had retreated (4l). And soon after the King coming to *Berwick*, with all his forces, a truce was made for two years. After which, the same year, the Earl embarked with *William Montague* Earl of *Salisbury*, and other Lords, to aid the Countess of *Montfort* in *Bretagne*; and in their way met with a fleet fitted out by the Lord *Charles* of *Blois*, which lay to intercept them before the isle of *Guernsey*; on which the two fleets engaging, the action was very bloody, being fought with much fury and bravery till night parted them. About midnight arose such a storm as separated the fleets (4m). The Earl of Oxford, with

[R] He had issue one son, *Thomas de Vere*.] Sir *William Dugdale* (71), in his account of this family, has recited some particulars of *Thomas de Vere*, whom he makes a younger brother of the said *Robert*, Earl of Oxford; but it does not appear, by any authority, that he had such a brother; and what Sir *William* mentions of him is certainly true of *Thomas de Vere*, son of the said Earl *Robert*, which is evident in what he says of him. In 32 Edward I. he was in the wars of Scotland (72), and in 34 Edward I. he was knighted with *Prince Edward*, by Bathing and divers other sacred ceremonies, and is expressly said to be son and heir to the Earl of Oxford (73). The same year he attended the Prince in his expedition into Scotland (74). On the coronation of Edward II. he attended, and is filed *Thomas de Vere*,

son and heir of the Earl of Oxford. In 12 Edward II. he was again in the wars of Scotland (75), and, in 18 Edward II, the King having appointed him guardian of the coasts of Essex, the Bishop of London had the King's orders to administer to him the oaths for that office (76). He married, in 8 Edward II, Agnes, widow of *Pain Tiptoft*, but had no issue by her (77). His father, *Robert* Earl of Oxford, in 3 Edward III, obtained the King's charter for a court-leet at his manor of *Chebbam* in Bucks, with all those profits and advantages that the Sheriff of that county used to enjoy there, paying yearly five marks into the King's Exchequer. As also another charter for his tenants of *Lavenham* in *Suffolk* to be *Tell free* throughout all England (78).

(ss) Ibid. 27 Ed-
ward I. m. 16.

(tt) Fuller's
Worthies, in
eod. comitat.

(www) Idem,
Vol. III. p. 52,
and 63.

(xxx) Ibid. p. 108,
et seq. et p. 463
and Vol. IV.
p. 694.

(zzz) lb. p. 281.

(4f) Rot. Scoc.
10 Edward III.
m. 27. and
Barnes, p. 102.

(4g) Froisart,
Chron. fol. 45.

(4h) Claus. 15
Edw. III. p. 14
m. 31.

(4i) Rymer,
Tom. V. p. 290.

(4k) Tho. Wal-
singham, in eod.
ann. p. 150.

(4l) Barnes,
p. 269.

(4m) Id. p. 270.

(75) Id. 12 Ed-
ward II. m. 13.

(76) Rymer,
Vol. IV. p. 77.

(77) Claus. 8 Ed-
ward II. m. 4.

(78) Cart. 3 Ed-
ward III. n. 2,
and 30.

the English, when the storm was over, landed in *Bretagne*, near the city of *Vannes*, to which they presently laid siege, and took both the town and castle by stratagem, thus; the Earl of Oxford and his forces approaching silently to the walls without any difficulty, mounted up scaling ladders, and entered the town, which so dismayed the French, that every man shifted for himself, and escaped out of a privy postern (4*n*). The siege of Rennes and Nantes followed that of Vannes the same year, in both which our Earl signalized himself: but these, as also the particulars of the campaign the ensuing year, 18 Edward III, together with the famous battles of *Cressy* and *Poitiers*, under the Black Prince, are too much known to be retailed here; and the glorious share our Earl had in them is particularly enlarged on by Mr *Barnes*, in his history of this King, to which therefore we refer the Reader: And only observe, that, notwithstanding the great and exemplary services the Earl of Oxford had performed for his King and country, it does not appear that he had any beneficial grants; and probably his large estate made him less solicitous to obtain any such favour, contenting himself with the glory he had achieved. On the 24th of June, 32 Edward III, the truce between England and France (which from the battle of *Poitiers* had continued, with expectation of a full peace) being wholly expired, the French refused the conditions agreed on by King *Edward* and King *John* of France, then prisoner in England (40). Hereupon Edward raised an army of 100000 fighting men (4*p*), and, having seen them mustered and embarked between *Sandwich* and *Dover*, he notified, October 10, 1359, 33 Edward III, from *Sandwich* to the Earl of Oxford, that, for the dispatch of the war with France, and for the defence of his kingdom, he was going beyond the seas, having constituted Thomas, his son, guardian of the kingdom of England; and the welfare of his kingdom lying much at heart, he had appointed a Council to be at Westminster on Sunday next after St Martin's day (November 11) and commands him to be present there (4*q*). The Earl accordingly staid to attend this Council, not embarking with the King; but he followed him not long after, and died in this expedition in the English army encamped before *Rheims*, January 24, 34 Edward III, in the forty-seventh year of his age. Before he set out he made his will [S], and thereby bequeathed his body to be buried in the chapel of our Lady, within the Priory of *Colne*, on the South side of the quire, at the head of John and Robert his sons, there interred before. He married Maud, widow of *Robert*, son of *Robert Fitz-Pain*, and eldest daughter of *Bartholomew*, Lord *Badlesmere*, and sister and co-heir of *Giles*, Lord *Badlesmere*, a great Baron in Kent (4*r*), by whom he had also other issue [T], besides his eldest son,

(4*n*) *Barnes*, p. 271.

(40) *Froisart*, c. 201. f. 107.

(4*p*) They were raised by summons (which is still the custom in France) suffering none to stay at home (except some particularly named) between the ages of 20 and 60, so that, after many thousands had been rejected, there remained 100000.

(4*q*) *Rymer*, Tom. VI. p. 138.

(4*r*) *Vincent* on *Brook*, p. 40.

Thomas Vere, who succeeded him, and became the eighth Earl of Oxford, and, in the life-time of his father, attending the King in his expedition to France (29 Edward III.) was knighted on the Downs, by his Highness (4*s*). On the death of his father he was likewise beyond the seas in the King's service (4*t*). On the 15th of March, 1361, 35 Edward III, holding an estate in Ireland, the King signified to him, that, by the incursions other sons to Barons of the realm, in the whole 27, all about the same age. Efc. 34 Edward III. n. 84. and Knighton, p. 2609.

(4*t*) Yet he had livery of the lands descended to him, and his homage was respited till his return. Rot. Fin. 34 Edw. III. m. 4.

(81) *Claus.* 15 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 111.

(82) Efc. 40 Edward III. n. 38. Essex.

(83) *Miller*, p. 685.

(84) *Chitting's* descents of nobility, MS. Lanç. Ferial. penes nup. A. Collins.

(85) *Vincent* on *Brooke*, p. 403.

[S] He made his will. It is dated at *Bentley* in *Essex*, on Friday the feast of All-saints, 33 Edward III. In it he appointed, that 400 marks sterling, left by his ancestors in aid of the *Holy-land*, should be paid by his Executors with all convenient speed. And towards the building of the church at *Colne* he gave 100 marks, and towards re-edifying the chapel, called the *Nerv-Abbey* in *Castle-Heningham*, 100 marks, for celebrating masses, as formerly, by one or two priests. He bequeathed to Maud, his wife, all the utensils of his house, as well silver as other; and to Maud, his daughter, for her marriage, 1000 marks. He died seized of the castle at *Leonhals* in com. Hereford, *Langle* and *Bradele*, com. Bedford; of the manors of *Wykingston* in com. Leicester, *Great Bentley*, *Fratynge*, *Great Kemfeld* and *Fingre* in *Essex*; as also of the manors of *Colne*, the castle and manor of *Heningham*, the manors of *Heningham-Sibill*, *Gelham-Le-Vaux* in *Beauchamp Otes*, *Dodinghurst* and *Stansted-Mountfitchet* in the same, and *Whitchurch* in *Bucks*. And of the inheritance of Maud, his wife, he died seized of the manors of *Market-Overt* in com. Rotel, *Welles* in com. Hertford, *Laughton*, with the hundred of *Sheplake*, in com. Sussex, in the possession of the late Hon. *Henry Pelham*, Esq; brother to the Duke of *Newcastle*, *Palton* and *Milton* in *Northamptonshire*; and, for his wife's life, the manors of *Wroxhall* and *Worth* in com. *Derjet*. Also jointly with her, by the endowment of *Robert*, son of *Robert Fitz-Payne*, her first husband, of the manors of *Storktone*, *Polc*, and *Hurdecote*, in *Wilts*; and likewise, jointly with her, of the manors of *Abyeton* and *Campe* in com. *Cantabr*. *Flete*, *Rydingwolde*, *Bokynfeld*, *Badlesmere*, and *Whitstable* in com. *Kanc*, *Kensington* in com. *Middlesex*, *Great Hormede* in com. *Hertford*; of *Lavenham*, called *Over-Hall* and *Nether-hall*, *Aldham* and *Cokefield* in *Suffolk*, and *Bumstede* in *Essex* (79). The said Maud, then surviving, had, for her share, part of the inheritance descended to her by the death of her brother, *Giles de Badlesmere*, the manors of *Badlesmere* and *Bokynfeld* in com. *Kanc*, with fifty acres of wood belonging thereto (80). Also the manors of *Rydingwolde* in com.

Kanc, *Laughton* (except *Waldern-wood*) and *West-Dene* in *Sussex*, *Welles* in *Hertford*, and a fourth part of the manor of *Thaxted* in *Essex* (81). She died ann. 40, Edward III (82).

[T] He had other sons.] These were, 1. Another *John de Vere*, Knt. who died without issue by his wife, —widow of—*Lutterel*. She died on the 7th of August, 9 Richard II. (83). He had also two daughters; *Margaret*, first married to *Henry*, Lord *Beaumont*, who had issue by her, *John*, Lord *Viscount Beaumont*, Knight of the *Garter*, father of *Henry*, whose grandson, *William*, *Viscount Beaumont*, dying without issue, his sister and heir was *Joan*, wife of *John*, Lord *Lovell* of *Tichmersb*, who by him had issue *Francis*, *Viscount Lovell*, who dying without issue, his two sisters were his heirs, viz. *Jane*, wife of *Sir Bryan Stapleton*, Knt. ancestor to the *Stapletons* of *Yorkshire*; and *Fridiside*, married to *Sir Edward Norris*, Knt. ancestor to *Francis Norris*, Earl of *Berkshire*, from whom the present Earl of *Abingdon*, and others are descended (84). The said *Margaret* had, to her second husband, *Sir John Devereux*, Knt. Constable of *Dover-castle*, and Steward of the Household to King *Richard II*, who left issue by her *Joan*, his daughter and heir (85), married to *Walter*, Lord *Fitz-Walter*, who had by her *Walter*, *Viscount Fitz-Walter*, who, by *Agnes*, his wife, daughter of *Sir John Chidioc*, left *Elizabeth*, his sole daughter and heir, married to *Sir John Ratcliff*, Knt. who had issue by her *John Ratcliff*, Lord *Fitz-Walter*, *Burnell*, and *Egremond*, father of *Robert Ratcliff*, *Viscount Fitz-Walter*, whose son and heir, *Henry*, Earl of *Sussex*, had two wives; 1. *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom he had issue *Thomas* and *Henry*, successively Earls of *Sussex*; and by his second wife, *Anne*, daughter of *Sir William Calthorp*, Knight, had issue *Frances*, his daughter and heir, married to *Thomas Mildmay*, Esq; ancestor to *Benjamin*, now Earl *Fitz-Walter*.

Isabel, the second daughter of the said Earl of Oxford, was married to *Sir John Courtney*, Baron of *Oakhamp-ton*, ancestor to the *Courtneys* of *Devonshire*, and 2dly to *Sir Oliver Dinham* (86).

(4*s*) He was then only 18 years of age; but there were knighted with him the King's two sons, *Lionel* of *Answerp*, and *John* of *Gaunt*, besides

(79) Efc. 34 Edward III. n. 84. Leicester.

(80) Rot. Fin. 12 Edw. III. m. 8.

of his enemies in Ireland, and the inability of the inhabitants there, by reason the owners of lands resided in England, and receiving the issues and profits thereof, yet took no care to defend them, the King, willing to prevent the same, has appointed *Lionel*, Earl of *Ulster*, his son, forthwith to repair thither with a great army, and requires those who have estates there to go in company with his said son for the defence thereof. And being desirous to consult with those who have estates there before they go, he commands this Earl of Oxford to be at Westminster in the Quindenes of Easter to consult thereon (4u). In 37 and 38 Edw. III. he, by the title of Lord Great Chamberlain, was witness to two deeds executed by the King [U]. And in 43 Edward III. he was in the wars of France, the King then sending an army, about Midsummer, under the command of *John of Gaunt* (w). He married, in his father's life-time, *Maud*, daughter of Sir *Ralph de Ufford*, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, by his wife *Maud*, widow of *William de Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster*, (who by her left Elizabeth, his daughter and heir, wife of *Lionel*, Duke of Clarence). The Earl of Oxford, by the said *Maud*, his wife, had issue

(4z) Rymer, Tom. V. p. 318, 319. but the Earl neglecting to go, the King, Feb. 10, 1362, 36 Ed. III, commanded him to embark on the Quindenes of Easter at farthest. But that he be at Westminster on Friday in the second week in Lent, to consult thereon. Ibid. p. 350, 351.

(4v) Rot. Franc. 43 Edw. III. m. 4.

Robert, their only son and heir, who, on the death of his father, September 18, 1371, 45 Edward III, became ninth Earl of Oxford; but being then in his minority, King Edward III, in the 45th year of his reign, granted his marriage to *Ingelram de Coucy*, then Earl of Bedford, to the intent he might take to wife the Lady *Philippa*, daughter of that Earl by *Isabel*, daughter of King Edward III. (4x), which marriage being effected, King Richard II, in the second year of his reign, granted to *William*, Bishop of London, and *Roger de Beauchamp*, 100l. per annum, for his better support till he should arrive at full age (4y). Also, in 6 Richard II, wanting lands of sufficient worth to maintain her the said *Philippa*, he obtained from the King, in consideration of his service done and to be done, that, during her life, they should enjoy all those lands which were bestowed by Edward III, in remainder after *Joane*, the wife of *John de Coupland*, upon the said *Ingelram*, Earl of Bedford, and *Isabel*, his wife, and the heirs of their two bodies (4z). After which, the same year, making proof that he was of full age, and then doing his homage, he had livery of his whole lands (5a), and the next year he was summoned among the Peers to parliament (5b). In the 9th of Richard II. the King, having retained him in his service, gave him, in consideration thereof, the castle and Lordship of *Okeham* in *Rutland*, with all the forest of *Rutland*, to hold to him and his heirs male. And purposing to confer on him the title of *Marquis* of *Dublin*, that he might the better support the said honour, he assigned unto him in reversion, after the death of *James de Audcleigh*, the castle, manor, and borough of *Barnstaple*; the manors of *Fremington*, *Ilferecombe*, *Combe-Martyn*, *South-Moulton*, *Holdesworthby*, *Nemet-Bowe*, *Uppeye*, *Bovy-Tracey*, *Holne*, *Dertyngton*, *Kyngeston*, *Blackdon*, and *Long-Acre*, with all other lands of the same *James de Audcleigh*, lying in the counties of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, and *Somerset*, which, after the death of him the said *James*, were to descend to the King (5c). He was accordingly created a Marquis of Dublin the same year (5d), which being consented to in parliament (5e), the King granted him the land and dominion of Ireland, with all profits, revenues, and regalities, as amply as the King himself ought to have the same, reserving to the King the homages, resort, and superiority of that country, which confirmation in parliament was made by the girding of a sword, and putting a circle of gold upon his head (5f). The title of *Marquis* had never till then been heard of in England, and therefore was much distasteful by others of the nobility (5g). The King also granted him all the benefit which might be had by *John*, son of *Charles de Blois* (then prisoner in *Gloucester*-castle) that he might be able to maintain 500 men at arms, and 1000 archers, at the accustomed wages of war, by the space of two years after his arrival in Ireland (which he intended about Candlemas the same year) in order to the conquest of that realm. And to go thither, warrants were issued out to employ vessels to transport him and his retinue (5b). And the King esteeming that honour, so lately conferred upon his chief favourite, too low for his merits, he was advanced to the title of Duke of Ireland upon the feast-day of *Edward the Confessor* (5i). He also ordained, that the heir of *Charles de Blois*, who challenged the Dukedom of *Britany*, (and whose ransom he had obtained) should sell it to the French for 30000l. to the intent that this Duke, with that money, might by force get the dominion of Ireland before Easter ensuing (5k) [W]. In 11 R. II. the King gave him liberty to reside at *Berbemstede*-castle in

(4x) Pat. 45 Edward III. p. 2. m. 13.

(4y) Ib. 2 R. II. p. 1. m. 45.

(4z) Ib. 6 R. II. p. . m. 15.

(5a) Claus. 6 R. II. p. 2. m. 17.

(5b) Cotton's Records, p. 290. He was also in parliament next year, where *Walter Sibal*, being accused of slandering him, was convicted to the damage of 500 marks to the said Earl, for which, and for his fine and ransom, he was committed to prison. Ibid. p. 304.

(5c) They were chagrined at his being set above them, who was not their superior either in wisdom or valour, says *Walsingham*, p. 348. n. 40. (5k) *Walsingham*, p. 352, 353, 354. n. 2. who says the Lords and Commons willingly assented, being rather content to want the money than be troubled any longer with his company.

(5c) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 1. m. 6. & Ibid. p. 2. m. 28.

(5d) Rot. Parl. 9 R. II. n. 17. Cart. 10 R. II. m. 1. n. 2.

(5e) Ibid.

(5f) Ibid.

(5b) Pat. 9 R. II. p. 2. m. 17. & Ibid. m. 14. & Rym. Vol. VII. p. 503, & 506. (5i) Cart. 10 R. II. m. 1. n. 2.

[U] Witness to two deeds.] These were, 1st, 37 Edward III, February, 1363, a confirmation of the treaty concluded between Peter, King of Castile and Leon, and Sir William Latimer, Knt. Lord Latimer, and John de Stretely, Dean of Lincoln, his Plenipotentiaries. The second was articles of a contract of marriage, executed at Dover-castle, 38 Edward III, October 19, 1364, between Edmund de Langule, the King's son, and Margaret, Dutcheffs of Burgundy, daughter to the Earl of Flanders (87).

[W] That he might get the dominion of Ireland.] The Irish historian gives this account of him: 'The English parliament, says he, to get rid of him, gave him a debt of 30000 marks, due from the French King, upon condition that after Easter he should pass into Ireland, to recover the lands the King had given him there. He had 500 men at arms, at 12d. per day, and 1000 archers, at 6d. a day, appointed him for two years, for the reduction of that country. He was trusted with the whole dominion of the realm during

his life, without paying any thing therefore, or making any account for it. He had power to pass all writs under his own test, and to place and displace all officers, how great soever, even the Chancellor, Treasurer, Admiral, &c. and to name his own Deputy, and all other ministers. Afterwards he had a larger patent, whereby the King granted him the whole territory and government of Ireland, the isles thereto adjacent, with castles, counties, burroughs, towns, seaports, &c. together with homages, obeissances, vassals, servants, and acknowledgments of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons, &c. with the royalties, regalities, liberties, &c. with all other things belonging to the sovereign power, with absolute and joint authority, so fully, perfectly, and truly, as he the King held, or had the same, or any of his progenitors in times past. To hold by homage and allegiance (88).

But that, says another historian, which is most strange is, that those letters patent should be authorized by the assent of the Prelates, Dukes, and other Peers, and

(88) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 135, 136.

(87) Rymer, Tom. V. p. 401, and p. 444 to 449.

in Hertfordshire, one of his own Royal palaces, granting him fire-wood out of his woods and parks there (51). Thus puffed up with wealth and honour, he grew insolent, and thereby raised such powerful enemies, as obliged him to fly for his safety beyond-sea with Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk [X]. Yet it was not long e'er he again landed in England with about four or five thousand men, and, being got into Oxfordshire, came, on the feast-day of St Thomas the Apostle, to Radcote-bridge upon the river Isis; which bridge Henry Earl of Derby, who with his power was not far off, had broken in three places, and placed soldiers there to stop his farther passage. The Duke therefore, seeing himself in this desperate condition, displayed the King's banner, and animated his men to fight, advancing before them to the bridge; and finding it impassable, environed by the Duke of Gloucester on one side, and the Earl of Derby on the other, he threw away his sword, gauntlets, and armour, and, leaping into the river, escaped them. But the Lords, growing powerful, caused the King to summon a parliament, which met at Westminster, 11 R. II, where articles of high-treason were exhibited against him by the Duke of Gloucester, Henry Earl of Derby, Richard Earl of Arundel, and others; and he, not appearing, was forthwith banished, and all his possessions confiscated, excepting his entailed lands, which only were to remain to his right heirs (5m). Being likewise attainted, outlawed, and fled beyond sea (5n), he was, after five years banishment, struck by a wild boar in hunting (5o), and died of his hurts at Lovaine, November 22, 1392, 16 R. II. (5p), in great distress and penury, leaving nothing, says my Author, but his tomb and titles, and the world matter of talk (5q) [Z]. The Duke dying without issue, his heir was his paternal uncle,

Alberic de Vere, who, in 16 R. II, was restored to the honour (5r), and thereby became the ninth Earl of Oxford. This Alberic, before he had the title, was employed in several commissions in the service of his country [Z]: But being now grown infirm, the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England was, on 17 R. II, bestowed by the King on John Holland, Earl of Huntington, for life (5s). And the Earl of Oxford continuing still weak, had special licence to be absent from that parliament held at Shrewsbury, 21 R. II, in which the attainder of his nephew Robert, Duke of Ireland, was revoked and annulled (5t). He departed this life on St George's day, 1 Hen. IV (5u), leaving issue by his wife Alice, daughter of John, Lord Fitzwalter,

Richard (5w), his heir, who thereby became the eleventh Earl of Oxford. The Commons the same year in parliament prayed in his behalf, that having married Alice, the daughter of the King's sister, he might be restored to the office of Chamberlain of England, being his due inheritance, and taken away by violence by King Richard II; but the King, Henry IV, did not then assent (5x) [AA]. However, being a minor, his Majesty, in the third year of his reign,

Commonalty of the English parliament. Yet nothing violent is permanent: And that new strange shadow of honour soon vanished. He went as far as Wales, and the King with him, in order to go to his government; but they could not be persuaded to part; so he never went over, and deputed Sir John Stanley Lord Deputy (89).

[X] He fled beyond sea, with the Earl of Suffolk.] He grew insolent and blustering, says Walsingham, and put away the fair Lady Philippa, his wife (kinswoman to the King) with purpose to take another who came out of Bohemia with Queen Anne, and was of mean extraction; which gave great distaste to the nobility, especially to the Duke of Gloucester, the King's uncle, who, though he could not at present vindicate his niece, so repudiated, reserved himself for an opportune time to do it. But soon after, Easter being passed, and the expectation of his going to Ireland still continuing, the King, to prevent any tumult by the Nobles, accompanied him part of his way; and continuing retired for a while, they consulted together how to murder the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, and Nottingham. And having staid in those remote parts of the kingdom, till they imagined the people had forgotten the so much talked of voyage into Ireland, he returned with the King to Nottingham castle, there to consider farther how they might best put in execution the designed murders. The Nobles therefore, by way of prevention, raised all the power they could, and met at Haringhay Park, near High-gate in Middlesex, in an hostile manner; which so startled the King, and his party then about him, that all of them began to desire an accommodation, and to that end sent to the Lords at Haringhay to come to Westminster, that, upon a calm debate together, differences might be quietly composed: Who meeting there accordingly, the Lord Chancellor (Bishop of Ely) made a short speech to them, in the close whereof he said the King desired to know the cause of this their insurrection; to which they answered, that it was for the King's advantage to rid him of those Traitors he then had about him; among whom they first named Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland. But the King, giving them fair words, and taking them into his chamber, where he made them drink together, told them they should all meet in parliament, and equal justice should be done to each. Matters being thus

qualified, the Duke of Ireland, by the King's connivance, hastes forthwith into Wales, there to raise what power he could (90); but discerning his danger, privily got away, disguised, as was said, in the habit of a servant, with a bow and a quiver of arrows at his back, and so, with five others in his company, alike accoutred, came to Chester, and soon after that fled beyond-sea, with Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (91).

[Z] Leaving the world matter of talk.] About three years after, viz. in November, 1395, 19 R. II, the King having caused his body to be embalmed, and brought over into England in a Cyprus case, made a solemn funeral for him at Celne in Essex, which he honoured with his presence, and caused the coffin of Cyprus, wherein his body lay, to be opened, that he might behold his face, and touch him with his fingers, openly shewing his love to the dead carcass which he bore him when alive (92). And Speed relates (93), that he caused him to be apparelled in princely ornaments and robes, and put about his neck a chain of gold, and rings upon his fingers (94).

[Z] He executed several commissions.] On the 14th of May, 1377, 51 Edw. III, he was joined in commission with the Bishop of St David's, Lord Chancellor, William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, and others, to treat of a peace and truce with Charles, King of France (95). In 4 Rich. II, as Ambassador, he treated with the Emperor of the Romans, and signed the articles of marriage between Richard and Anne daughter of the said Emperor (96). In 7 Rich. II, Oct. 4, 1383, he was commissioned with John Devereux, Governor of Calais, to treat about a time and place for meeting of Plenipotentiaries of France to conclude a peace and truce at (97). And, in 8 Rich. II, he was retained to serve the King in the wars of Scotland (98).

[AA] The King did not then assent.] However, in 2 Hen. IV, it was enacted by parliament, that, if this Richard Earl of Oxford, when he came of age, should consent that Philippa, Dutchess of Ireland, might enjoy her dower out of the entailed lands, confirmed and assured to her by Earl Aubery, his father, he should have, to him and his heirs, all those lands which were the Duke of Ireland's, in demesne or reversion, and in the King's hands, upon the 1st of March preceding (99).

(51) Par. II. R. II. p. 1. m. 2.

(5n) Ibid. 2727. n. 30 and 40.

(5o) Leland's Collect. Vol. 1. p. 190. Ypod Neustr. p. 152. n. 40.

(5p) Milles, p. 633.

(5q) Borlase's Hist. of Ireland, p. 60.

(5r) Rot. Parl. 16 R. II. n. 15.

(5s) Ibid. 21 R. II. p. 2. m. 14. & 22. R. II. p. 3. m. 1.

(5t) Efc. r. H. IV. & 1b. schedul. p. 4.

(5x) Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. n. 140.

(90) Walsingham, p. 358 to 362 inclusive.

(91) Knighton, p. 2701. n. 60. p. 2702.

(92) Leland's Collect. Vol. I. p. 155. n. 10.

(93) In his Chronicles, p. 618. And Stow's Annals, p. 312.

(94) With the King, at his funeral, were the Countess of Oxford, the Duke's mother, the Abp. Cant. with many of the Bps, but few of the temporal Lords, their old hatred towards him being not then abated, says Walsingham, p. 359.

(95) Rymer Vol. VII. p. 145, 151. In this commission he is wrote Sir Aubrey de Vere, Kat.

(96) Ibid. p. 290. The other Ambassadors were Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, and Hugh de Segrave, Steward of the Household.

(97) Ibid. p. 412.

(98) Ex Autog. penes Cleric. de Pall.

(99) Rot. Parl. 2 Henry IV.

(5m) Knighton, p. 2702, 2703, 2706, 2714, and 2726. in their pursuit of him, it is said his chariot was taken, and in it the King's letters, appointing him to haste to London with what strength he had, expressing, that he was ready to live and die with him. Walsingham, p. 363. n. 10. and Rymer, Vol. VII. p. 567.

(5n) Milles's Cat. of Nob. p. 690. & Par. 17 R. II. p. 1. m. 23.

(5o) Milles, ubi supra, who mentions another son, John, that died unmarried, and a daughter, Alice, married to Sir John Fitz-Lewis, Kat.

(89) Borlase's Reduction of Ireland, p. 60.

(5y) Pat. 3 H. IV.
p. 1. m. 34.

(5z) Rymer,
Vol. VIII. p. 463.
It was settled up-
on the Prince and
the heirs male of
his body, with
remainder to his
other sons, Tho-
mas, John, and
Humphrey, and
the heirs male
of their bodies.

(*) Chichley,
Vol. I. p. 304. a.
(6c) Esc. 4 H. V.
n. 53. Buck.

(6e) Ex Autog.
penes Cler. Pell.
p. 1. m. 3 & 5.

(6b) Pat. 7 H. VI.
p. 1. m. 3 & 5.

(6l) Rot. Franc.
14 H. VI. m. 5.

(6m) Hall's
Chron. p. 133.
In the same year
performing his
homage, he had
livery of all the
lands which de-
scended to his
wife by the death
of her mother,
being sole heir
to her parents.
Rot. Fin. 16 Hen-
ry VI. m. 5.
and Descents of
Nobility, per
Hen. Chiting.
Lanc. Feclal.

(6s) Ibid. p. 247,
248, 293, & 327.

(6u) Ibid. p. 389,
426, et seq.

(6w) Stowe's
Annals, p. 416.
Holinshead,
p. 665. b. n. 20.
Hall's Chron.
fol. 139.

(6x) Weever's
Fun. Mon. p. 418.

(6y) Esc. 3 Ed-
ward IV. n. 23.
Oxon.

(100) Walsing-
ham, p. 411.
n. 20, 30, 40.
(101) Rymer,
Vol. VIII. p. 379.

granted him 100 l. per annum for his maintenance, to be received out of the profits of his own lands (5y) [BB]. In the eighth of Henry V, being then of full age, he was one of the witnesses to the King's altering the succession of the crown, and settling it on his son Henry, Prince of Wales (5z), who succeeding to the throne, under the stile of King Henry V, did, in the third year of his reign, summon this Earl Richard, among other great Lords, to meet him in the *Quindenés* of Easter, when he thanked them, and declared his intentions of going beyond-sea for the recovery of his rights (6a). Going soon after the same year, he was attended into France by the Earl (6b); but before the end thereof, finding himself infirm, he made his last will on the 6th of August, 1415, therein bequeathing his body to be buried in the conventual church of the Priory of *Colne* in *Essex*, where his ancestors lay interred, and gave to Alice, his wife, all his personal estate, to pay his debts, discharge his funeral expences, and dispose of for pious uses (*). He was the second Knight of the Garter elected in the reign of Henry V. (6c); and in the fourth of Henry V. he was retained to serve the King in person in his wars of France (6d), but died the same year on the morrow after St Valentine's day, leaving issue by Alice, his wife, daughter and co-heir of Sir *Richard Sergeaux*, Knt. two sons (6e) [CC], of which the eldest,

John, became the *twelfth Earl of Oxford*, being then only nine years of age (6f). On 4 Hen. VI. he was, among others, knighted by the King at *Leicester* on Whitsunday (6g). In 7 Hen. VI. being then in ward, and having married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Howard the younger, Knt. without licence, he was obliged to purchase his pardon at the expence of 2000 l. paid into the Exchequer. And before the end of that year, making proof of his age, and doing his homage, he had livery of his lands (6h). In 13 Hen. VI. the King granted him his licence, with twelve persons of his retinue, to go in pilgrimage to the Holy land (6i): As also his protection for two years, with allowance of carrying, in specie or bullion, 100 l. and to receive 500 marks more, by way of exchange, to defray his expences (6k). In 14 Hen. VI. he was one of the commanders under the *Duke of Gloucester* sent to the relief of *Calais*, then besieged (6l); and the French, on hearing of their arrival, retired before it, July 18, in the night, with such precipitation, that they left behind them their provisions, tents, &c. (6m). In 17 Hen. VI. the Earl was joined in commission with John Duke of Norfolk, and others, to treat in the marches of *Calais* with *Charles de Valois*, or his Ambassadors, about a perpetual peace between England and France (6n); and also about setting at liberty the Duke of Orleans, then prisoner in England (6o). In 18 Hen. VI. (Richard, Duke of York, being made Regent of France on the death of the Earl of Warwick) the Earl of Oxford was the principal commander under him; and, with other noblemen, going into *Normandy*, obliged the French King to raise the siege of *Pontboise*, leaving behind great riches and much provision (6p). The Earl probably continued in the wars of France till the conclusion of a truce in 23 Hen. VI (6q), in which year (1446) the King, at his instance, as proprietor of the ship called the *Jesus of Orwel*, granted licence, March 8, to the captain thereof to transport as many persons as he shall think proper, going on a pilgrimage to St James in Galicia (6r). In 28 Hen. VI, a truce being made between England and France, he was appointed a conservator thereof on the part of England; as he was also of another truce, made the year following, for three years, from August, 1451, to August, 1454; and likewise of a third, concluded at Newcastle in 31 Hen. VI, to continue from May, 1453, to May, 1457 (6s). In 32 Hen. VI. he, with the Earls of Salisbury, Shrewsbury, and some other Lords, undertook to keep the seas for three years next following, being allowed the subsidies of tonnage and poundage then granted for that service (6t). In 35 Hen. VI. he was again appointed one of the conservators of the truce made for two years with Scotland; as also of another, concluded for five years, in 38 Hen. VI (6u). But when King Edward IV. attained the crown, he caused this Earl *John*, far stricken in years, and *Aubery*, his eldest son (with others) to be attainted in parliament, and afterwards (viz. Feb. 1, 1 Edw. IV.) beheaded them both on Tower-hill (6w), and they were buried in the church of the Augustin friars, London (6x). Besides Aubery, he had, by his wife Elizabeth beforementioned, four sons, of whom

John, the eldest, became the *thirteenth Earl of Oxford*, who was then twenty-three years of age (6y). The Earl, during the reign of King Edward, went through great hardships for his loyalty to the Lancastrian party; and being in France in the 9th of Edward IV, was at the consultation at Amboya with the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and the French King, Queen Margaret, Henry VI's Queen, and Edward her son, to restore Henry VI; which being effected, the Earl of Oxford bore the sword in the procession from

[BB] *Out of the profits of his own lands.*] About this time, or not long before, Maud, Countess of Oxford, widow of Earl Thomas, and mother to Robert, Duke of Ireland, still surviving, caused it to be divulged, that King Richard II. was alive, and that he would forthwith lay claim to his crown; and procured hearts to be made of silver and gilt, (badges that King Richard gave to his friends, soldiers, and servants) to be in the King's name distributed in the country, whereby the people might be the sooner ready to rise on his behalf: Giving it farther out, that he was privately kept in Scotland till he could have a fit opportunity to come in with an army of French and Scots. Hereupon she was committed to prison, and her goods confiscated (100). But the King, at the request of his Queen, pardoned her, and restored her to all her lands and tenements, fees, advowsons, goods, and chattels (101). This Maud, by her will, dated

at Bentley, Jan. 20, 1412, (14 Hen. IV.) bequeathed her body to be buried in the Nuns church-yard at *Brusezard*, and gave those nuns the manor of *Wrabnase* in pure alms, and died on the conversion of St Paul the same year (102).

[CC] *He had two sons.*] Viz. John and Robert. The younger of which took to wife Joan, widow of Nicholas, Lord Carew, daughter to Sir Hugh Courtney of Haccomb, Knt. and heir to her mother *Philippa*, one of the daughters and heirs to Sir Warine Archdecon, Knt. and had issue John, who married Alice, daughter and heir to Walter Kilrington of Trefithryn in Cornwall, by whom he had issue *John Vere* (103), who, after the death of that Earl John, commonly called *Little John of Campes*, became Earl of Oxford, as will be seen presently.

(6a) Ibid.
Tom. IX. p. 222.
(6b) Rot. Franc.
3 Hen. V. m. 14.

(6d) Ashmole's
Order of Garter,
p. 610.

(6f) Esc. 4 H. IV.
ut supra.

(6g) The King
himself having
received that ho-
nour at the hands
of the Duke of
Bedford. Le-
land's collec-
tions, Vol. I.
p. 705.

(6i) Rot. Franc.
ibid.

(6k) Rymer,
Vol. X. p. 601.

(6n) Rot. Franc.
17 H. VI. m. 10.

(6o) Rymer,
Vol. X. p. 728.
Their instruc-
tions bear date
May 21, 1439,
17 Hen. VI.

(6p) Stowe's An-
nals, p. 378, 379.

(6q) Hall's
Chron. fol. 148. b.

(6r) Rymer,
Vol. XI. p. 79.

(6t) Ex Autog.
penes Cler. Pell.
The following

year, 1455, he
was one of the
Council, who,
with the King,
signed a mandate
for releasing the
Duke of Somers-
set out of the
Tower upon bail,
Feb. 15; and
was with the
King in Council
at Greenwich,
when he declared
the Duke his true
and faithful sub-
ject, and dis-
charged his bail,
March 4. Ry-
mer, Vol. XI.
p. 361, 362.

(102) Arundel,
Vol. II. f. 161. a.

(103) Vincent's
Coin. of Brook,
p. 406.

the Tower (where the King was imprisoned) to St Paul's cathedral (62). Upon the recovery of the Crown, King Henry VI. called a parliament, wherein Edward being declared a Traitor and Usurper, the Earl of Oxford, attainted by him (7a), was restored in blood, dignities, and ancient possessions. On the 23d of December following he was commissioned, with Richard Earl of Warwick, and others, to levy all persons capable of bearing arms, and to muster and review them as often as occasion should require; and to lead and command them in opposing King Henry's enemies, with a mandate to the Sheriffs of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertford, to aid and assist as often as required (7b). And John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, having rendered himself very obnoxious to the Lancastrians, he was seized and brought to London, where the Earl of Oxford sat High Steward on his trial, and, pronouncing the sentence of death upon him, he was beheaded on Tower-hill (7c). On the first news of King Edward's return and landing, the Earl of Oxford repaired immediately to the Earl of Warwick in Warwickshire, and was with him when Clarence's message was delivered, unto which he made this reply: *Go, tell your Duke, that I had rather be an Earl, and always like myself, than a false and perjured Duke; and that e'er my oath shall be falsified (as his apparently is) I will lay down my life at my enemy's foot, which I doubt not but shall be bought very dear* (7d) [DD]. Soon after followed the memorable battle of *Barnet-field*, where the Earl of Oxford commanded the right wing of the army against Edward, and led the van-guard; but, by mistake, his own men shooting against each other (7e), he and all his party were routed; whereupon he fled into *Wales* [EE], and thence to *St Michael's mount* in *Cornwall* (7f); but being besieged there, after a stout resistance, was forced to surrender a prisoner to King Edward, who sent him to the castle of *Hams* in *Picardy* (7g); and in the parliament begun at Westminster, Oct. 6, 14 Edw. IV. he (together with his brothers, Sir George and Sir Thomas) were attainted, but pardoned for their lives (7b). In 2 Rich. III, being still prisoner in the castle of *Hams*, and observing what hopes of aid the Earl of *Richmond* then had from the French and others, he escaped thence, and together with Sir *James Blount*, Governor of that castle, and Sir *John Fortescue*, Porter of *Calais*, went to the Earl of *Richmond* (at *Montargis*) to assist him in gaining the crown of England; *Richmond* received him with much joy, being a person of high nobility, expert in military affairs, and withal of high integrity; as *Polydore Virgil* relates (7i); and our other historians mention the great joy *Richmond* had on seeing him, looking on it as a presage of his happy success. When *Richard* received this news, he appointed part of the garrison at *Calais* to march out to regain the castle of *Hams*; but the garrison sending to the Earl of *Richmond* for more aid, he dispatched the Earl of Oxford with a choice number of expert soldiers, who, by his skilful conduct, drew off those in the castle without any loss. After which he hastened to the Earl of *Richmond* in Paris, and never left him till he had settled the crown of this realm upon his head, by the name and stile of *Henry VII.* (7k) [FF]. Upon which event the Earl was immediately restored to all his possessions (7l), and chosen of the Privy Council (7m). Also, at his coronation, was constituted one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Steward of England (7n), and was the first Knight of the Garter elected in that King's reign (7o) [GG]. And September 22, the said

(62) Hall's Chron. l. 2. c. 10. 210, and again, l. 42. c. 107. See also the Chron. l. 1. c. 107.

(7a) Hall, f. 210. and Speed, p. 693, 364.

(7b) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 677, 678.

(7c) Speed's Chron. p. 693, who tells us, that Tiptoft was found hidden in the top of a tree in the forest of Weybridge, not far from Huntingdon.

(7e) For an account of this battle, see the Gen. Histories of Eng. The mistake was owing to the Earl's men having stars with streamers for their liveries, which, by reason of a mist, rendered them not distinguishable from those of K. Edward; whereupon the Earl's soldiers crying treason, he fled, with 800 of them. See Hollinshed, Hall, and Speed.

(7m) Pol. Virg. p. 566. n. 30. (7n) Pat. 1 Henry VII. p. 2. m. 17. (7o) Ashmole's Order of Garter, p. 712.

(7d) Ibid. p. 694, 695.

(7f) Polydore Virgil, p. 526, 527, and 532. (7g) Hall, f. 224.

(7i) Cotton's Records, p. 699, 700.

(7j) In his Hist. p. 558. n. 20.

(7k) Ibid. p. 558. (7l) Rot. Parl. 1 H. VII. m. 10. Rec. de Term. Hil. 2 H. VII. Rot. 5.

[DD] *It shall be bought dear.* King Edward, upon his landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, laying aside all claim to the crown, pretended he was come only to enjoy his dutchy of York, whereupon he was admitted into that city, on taking his oath to be true to King Henry (104). But after that growing more potent, and the Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward, falling from the Earls of Warwick and Oxford, to whom, in France, he had taken an oath to continue in firm amity with them, Edward took on himself the title of King at Nottingham (105). The Earl of Oxford was linked in close friendship with the Earl of Warwick, having married Margaret his sister, and had cause of inveteracy against King Edward, who had banished him, and put his father and brother to death, as beforementioned. Therefore it may be presumed he had some influence on the Earl of Warwick, in keeping him steady in the interest of King Henry; when the Duke of Clarence, who had married Warwick's daughter, endeavoured to reconcile him to King Edward, promising him *to work his peace, and that with such honour, as Warwick should know himself not only a father to CLARENCE, but likewise to Edward, England's King* (106).

[EE] *He fled into Wales.* Leland says he fled into Scotland (107); but others say more truly that he fled towards Scotland, and finding danger in so long a journey, he altered his purpose, and turned into Wales, and thence, with the Earl of Pembroke, into France, and having gotten much at sea, came into the West country, where by subtlety he entered *St Michael's mount* in Cornwall with 397 men (108), on the last of September, and divers times coming down there into the adjacent villages, had good cheer of the inhabitants: Whereupon Bodrigan, the King's Lieutenant in that county, being commanded by the King, besieged the Mount, but so favourably, that the Earl revictualled it; so that *Richard Fortescue*, Esq; of the body to the King, Sheriff of Corn-

wall, was sent to continue the siege. And King Edward, by sending pardons, so wrought with the soldiers in the Mount, that, had not the Earl submitted, his own men would have made him prisoner, whereby Fortescue entered the Mount on the 15th of February following, wherein he found victuals enough to have served till Midsummer (109).

[FF] *He settled the crown upon Richmond's head.* Upon Richmond's arrival in England, he marched with him to Bosworth, where King Richard being ready to give him battle, Richmond marshalled his army, and appointed this Earl to command the vanguard, consisting of archers. And he behaved with such great courage in the battle, that when they came to the sword, fearing to be encompassed, he commanded that no soldier should stir above ten feet from his colours: and then most valiantly charging the enemy in form of a wedge, put them to the rout, in which he slew many, and thereby became one of the chiefest instruments in obtaining the happy victory that day, August 22, 1458 (110).

[GG] *He was the first Knight of the Garter, &c.* He also stood in such high favour with the King, that he obtained a grant to himself, and Margaret his wife, and to the heirs of Margaret, of the lordship of *De la Mere*, in com. Hertford and Middlesex, late belonging to *George Nevil*, Archbishop of York; also of the manors of *Frankingbam*, *Kelvall*, *Harestone*, *Pesenball*, *Walton*, with *Tremley*, and the hundred of *Loese* in Suffolk, and of the manor of *Willington* in com. Bedford, which were part of the possessions of John, late Duke of Norfolk, attainted: Likewise of the manors of *Berham*, *Walkesfart*, and *Powers*, in *Waltham-parva* in Essex, late the lands of *Francis Viscount Lovell*, attainted; and of the manor of *Botesworth* in com. Northampton, late *William Catesby's*, Esq; attainted: Also of the house called the *Herber*, in the parish of *S. Mary Botolph* in the ward of Dowgate,

(104) Speed, p. 694.

(105) Hall, fol. 215.

(106) Speed, p. 694, 695.

(107) Collect. Vol. 1. p. 728.

(108) Ibid. Stowe, Chron. p. 426. says he had only 77 men.

(109) Stowe, as before.

(110) Pol. Virg. p. 563. n. 18, 20, 30.

first year of his reign, he was made Constable of the Tower of London for life (7p), and likewise Lord High Admiral of *England, Ireland, and the Dutchy of Aquitain* (7q). In the 3d of Henry VII. he was constituted one of the commissioners to exercise the office of High Steward of England at the coronation of the Queen (7r). And, upon the infurrection made by John Earl of Lincoln on the behalf of *Lambert Simnel*, this Earl, with Jasper Duke of Bedford, was chief commander of the King's forces against those rebels, and vanquished them, June 16, in a pitched battle at Stoke, near Newark upon Trent (7s). In 4 Hen. VII. he was empowered to examine what number of archers, armed at the King's expence, the counties of *Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertford*, could provide for the relief of *Britany*; and to article with them, and review them, and to certify their names before the Quindenes of Easter (7t). And the same year, with the Duke of Bedford, had the command of those forces sent by King Henry into Flanders, in aid of Maximilian the Emperor against the French (7u). In the 8th of Henry VII. this Earl had the chief command of the army sent against the French, and the King, in October, met him, then come from beating down the town of ARDE, at *Mergifon* (7w), in his way to Bulloign. Two days after which they came before that town, and besieged it till the 8th of November, when a peace being concluded with the French at *Staples* upon the sea near that town, the Earl of Oxford assented, and signed the same (7x). In 9 Hen. VII. he was constituted Constable of the castle of *Clare* in Suffolk (7y), and, in 11 Hen. VII. he was one of the Guarantees on the part of England for keeping the peace then concluded with the Archduke of Austria (7z). In 12 Hen. VII. he was the chief commander against the Lord *Audley* and the Cornish rebels at the battle of *Black-beath*, and environing the hill with his archers and horsemen, set on them with great valour, killing 300, and taking 1500 prisoners (8a). In 23 Hen. VII. he, with other great Lords, entered into a recognizance of 50000 crowns each, for performance of the articles of marriage between *Charles*, Prince of *Spain*, and *Mary*, the King's third daughter; and was present at that marriage, solemnized in the palace at *Richmond*, December 7, 1508, 24 Hen. VII. (8b). On the accession of Hen. VIII. the Earl's patents were renewed for the office of Lord High Admiral of *England, Ireland, and the dutchy of Aquitain*, and of the constablership of the castle of *Clare*, and both were made to him for life (8c). He had also, May 16, 1 Hen. VIII, a grant and confirmation, to him and his heirs, of the castle and tower of *Colchester* (8d); and likewise a confirmation of the office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England (8e). After this there does not appear any mention of him, but that he made his will [HH] near five years before his death, which happened on Thursday, March 10, in 4 Hen. VIII, having been Earl of Oxford full fifty years, and was buried in the priory of *Colne*, according to his desire (8f). He largely contributed to the finishing St Mary's church in Cambridge (8g), and, in the estimation of all that knew him (8b), was a very wise, learned, religious, and magnificent man [II].

(7s) Pol. Virg. p. 573. n. 10. and Stow, p. 473.

(7t) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 356.

(7u) Pol. Virg. p. 584. n. 40.

(7x) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 710.

(7y) Pat. 9 H. VII. p. 1. m. 25.

(7z) Rymer, Vol. XI. p. 588.

(8c) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 26.

(8d) Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 251.

(8e) Pat. 3 Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 26.

(8f) MS. I. 7. in Offic. Armor.

(8g) Weever, p. 617.

(8b) Hist. of Eng. Vol. I. p. 560.

(7p) Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 276.

(7q) Pat. 1 Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 13.

(7r) Ibid. 3 Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 17.

(7w) Stow's Annals, p. 477, who says the King landed at Calais on Oct. 15, and departed thence towards Bulloign, lying the first night at *Sandingfield*, and the next at *Mergifon*.

(8a) Stow, p. 480, and Hall, f. 42, 43.

(8b) Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 176, 177, 237, 238, where we find the King and Prince of Wales bound themselves in 25000 crowns; and that John de Berghis, Chamberlain to the Emperor, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, stood as proxy to the Prince of Spain.

(111) Pat. 2 Hen. VII. p. 2.

Dowgate, London, part of the possessions of *George*, late Duke of *Clarence*; to hold to him and to the heirs male of his body (111).

[HH] He made his will.] It was dated April 10, 1508, being (as his words are) *in good health and perfect mind, not grieved, vexed, troubled, nor diseased with any bodily sickness*. He bequeathed to the figure of the blessed Lady at *Walsingham*, his eagle of gold, displayed and garnished. He also bequeathed, in honour of the holy and blessed King, Maiden, and Martyr, *St Edmund*, to his monastery at *Bury*, his best whole suit of vestments of cloth of gold of tissue, viz. for Priest, Deacon, and Subdeacon. And he wills and requires his Executors, as hastily as they can after his departure, to cause 2000 masses of *requiem* to be said and sung for his soul by every Fryar, being a Priest, in any of the houses of the black Fryars in Cambridge and Oxford, and the white Fryars of *Lynn*, which houses were of the foundation of his ancestors. And also to the brethren of the *Charterhouse*, London, *Shene* and *Sion*; and every Monk, Chanon, or every other religious person, being a Priest, or abiding within any house of religion of the foundation of any of his ancestors, shall sing and say *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and commendations, and have 3 s. 4 d. for their labour. And every other Fryar, Monk, Chanon, or Priest, within any house of religion in the shires of *Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex*, shall have, for their labour, 1 s. 6 d. His other bequests to Priests are very numerous. He wills that, if he has issue male of his body, lawfully begotten, they shall have his image of the Trinity, silver and gilt, and his cross of gold, wherein lie two pieces of the holy cross, with the garnishing of the same; his bed of *Roote*, which he had by reason of his office of Great Chamberlain of England at the King's coronation; also his hangings of *Tulins*, a *Celonanda* Tessel of rich *Arras*, with a *Torney* thereon, which he had at the coronation of the Queen that is dead, by reason of his said office, with several other particulars recited, which were to go to his heirs male, and in default to his nephew *John Veer*, son of his brother *Sir George Veer*, when he comes to the age of twenty-one years; and in default to his cousin *John*

Veer, son and heir to *Sir Robert Veer*, Knt. his uncle, and in default to his right heirs. To the same heirs he also bequeathed the castle and honour of *Hedingham* and *Gelham*, with his manors of *Bumsted*, *Canfield*, *Praisers*, *Bowre-hall*, *Greys* in *Hedingham-Sibille*, *Earls-Colne*, *Bentley*, *Crepinghall*, *Downham*, *Lavenham*, *Overhall*, *Nether-hall*, *Cokefield*, *Walsham-hall*, *Campes*, *Abingdon*, *Saxton*, *Swaffham-Bulbeck*, *Kensyngton*, and his place near *Bishops-gate* in *London*. All which were of the old inheritance of the Earldom of *Oxford*, as by old gifts thereof made to his ancestors manifestly did appear. He farther bequeathed to his nieces, *Dorothy* and *Ursula*, 600 marks, and constitutes executors, *Elizabeth* his dear wife, *Sir Thomas Lovel*, *Sir James Hobant*, *Sir Robert Drury*, *Sir William Waldegrave*, *Sir Robert Lovel*, Knts. *Dr William Cook*, *John Veer* the elder, *Humphry Wingfield*, *John Daniel*, *John Josselyn*, Esqs; and *William Okeley*, Gent. each of which, being of the degree of a Knight, he bequeaths 10 l. and to every other, ten marks (112).

[II] He was a magnificent man.] Of his hospitality, and the great post he lived in, we have the following instance by Lord Bacon: The King, says that learned Author, was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal servant both for war and peace) nobly and sumptuously at his castle at *Heningham*: And, at the King's going away, the Earl's servants stood in a seemly manner in their livery coats, with cognizances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the Earl unto him, and said, *My Lord, I have heard much of your hospitality; but it is greater than the speech: These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants.* The Earl smiled, and said, *That were not for mine ease: They are most of them my Retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace.* The King startled a little, and said, *By my faith, my Lord, I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight: My Attorney must speak with you.* And it is part of the report, that the Earl compounded for no less than 15000 marks (113).

(112) By a codicil, dated Sept. 7. 1512, 4 H. VIII, he confirms this will, of which the probate is dated May 10, 1514, and administration granted to *Sir R. Drury*, *Sir W. Waldegrave*, Knts. *J. Veer*, *J. Josselin*, and *J. Daniel*, Esqs; and *W. Okeley*, Gent. See the probate of his will in cur. prærog. Cant.

(113) Bacon's life of Hen. VII. in Hist. of Eng. Vol. 1. p. 630.

He first married *Margaret*, daughter to *Richard Nevile* Earl of *Salisbury*, and sister to *Richard* the great Earl of *Warwick*, surnamed the *King-maker* (8i), by whom he had issue one son, *John* [KK], who died young in the Tower of London during his father's exile (8k). Margaret dying, he married *Elizabeth* Countess, daughter of Sir *Richard Scrope*, Knt. and widow of *William* Lord Viscount *Beaumont* (8l); but, having no issue by her [LL], the earldom devolved on his nephew,

John [MM], the *fourteenth Earl of Oxford*, who had also the titles of Lord *Bolebec*, *Samford*, and *Scales*. On the death of his uncle he was in his minority, and being small of stature, and residing at *Castle-Camps* in *Cambridgeshire*, a seat that had been in his family from the Conquest, he was by the common people called *Little John of Campes* (8m). In 12 Hen. VIII, being of full age, he had a special livery of his lands (8n); and the same year attended the King at *Canterbury*, in order to that grand interview appointed by King *Henry VIII.* and *Francis* the French King between *Guines* and *Ardres*; and had in his retinue three chaplains, six gentlemen, thirty-three servants, and twenty horses (8o) [NN]. This Earl *John* took to wife *Anne*, daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* (8p), and dying July 14, 1526, 18 Hen. VIII, without issue, was buried with his ancestors at *Colne* (8q). Whereupon the inheritance, by his will, devolved, together with the Earldom, upon his next heir

Sir *John Vere* (8r), who was the fifth of that name, and the *fifteenth Earl of Oxford*; and, on the 15th of October following, he was, with *Francis* the French King, elected Knight at the battle of the *Spurs*. Cat. of Knights, MS. col. per Nich. Jekyll, Armiger.

[KK] One son, *John*, by *Margaret* his wife.] This Lady, while her husband was prisoner in the castle of *Hanis*, was not suffered to have access to him, and was forced to live upon the charity of others and by her needle-work, both very short to supply her great wants. This unmerciful and most inhumane usage was the more extremely followed, for that *Oxford* himself, his father, and brother, had ever sided with the *Lancastrians*. And she, being sister to *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, the capital enemy of King *Edward*, was held either dangerous, if her wealth balanced her birth and estate, or else unworthy of his favour, whose good fortunes, as was suggested, she ever maligned (114). However King *Edward*, toward the latter end of his reign, granted her, being in great want, and her husband standing attainted as the patent sets forth, an annuity of 100l. per annum during her life, to be paid out of the imposts upon wines in the port of London (115).

[LL] He had no issue by his second wife *Elizabeth*, &c.] This Countess, by her last will, dated May 30, 1537, 29 Hen. VIII, ordered her body to be buried in the parish-church of *Wywenho* (116). And soasmuch as she had found from experience, that the rich, as well as the poor and needy, resort to common doles, she therefore would have no such; but that her executors deliver to the curates, churchwardens, &c. of every parish near adjoining to the place of her burial, such sums of money as shall be thought convenient for the relief of poor and impotent persons of the said parishes; as also to the poor of every parish where she was patroness, and had lands, to pray for her soul, &c. To the same end she likewise bequeaths 12d. a mass for 200 masses, viz. of the *Trinity*, the *Holy Ghost*, and requies; and the five wounds 50 each: Also to the picture of the *Lady of Walsingham* her wedding-ring: Likewise to the parish-church of *Wywenho* her best vestment, her best cope of crimson velvet, her best chalices, and her two altar-cloths of crimson velvet, and a frunulet of the same suit; being a benefactor besides to many other churches and religious houses. And after bequeathing much rich furniture (117), &c. to *John*, then Earl of *Oxford*, and her brothers and sisters, and other near relations, she leaves the overplus among the poorest of her servants, and in other deeds of charity, at the discretion of her executors, who were, her brother Sir *William Kingeston*, her sister *Jane Kingeston*, *Philip Parrys*, Esq; *John* and *Margaret Rider*. And she appoints overseer of her will, *Thomas Cromwell* Lord *Cromwell*, and Lord *Privy Seal*, to whom she bequeaths, for a poor remembrance, 10l. The probate bears date November 6, 1537, which shews she died that year.

[MM] The earldom devolved on his nephew *John*.] This *John* was son and heir of Sir *George Vere*, brother to the late Earl of *Oxford*. Which Sir *George Vere* was also steady in the *Lancastrian* interest, and was a commander in those forces his brother *John* brought against King *Edward*, which obliged him to leave the kingdom. And when that monarch, in order to regain his crown, attempted to land in *Essex*, this Sir *George*, by his power and interest in that country (his brother being with King *Henry*) appeared so strong, that *Edward* was

obliged to land, fore weather-beaten, at *Ravenspur* in *Holderness* (118). Sir *George* and his brother *Thomas* were with the Earl in the bloody battle of *Barnet*, and thence followed him, first into *Wales*, and after into *France*, and thence embarked with him, and were with him at the surrender of *St Michael's mount* in *Cornwall*: whereupon all three were attainted (119), but pardoned for their lives: and the attainder of Sir *Thomas Vere*, Knt. was afterwards revoked (120). This Sir *Thomas*, being one of the commanders under Sir *Edward Poynings* at the siege of *Sluys*, 5 Hen. VII, 1489, lost his life in the assault thereof, without leaving issue (121). Sir *George Vere* made his will August 21, 1500, wherein, bequeathing his body to be buried in the conventual church of the priory of *Earls-Colne*, he appoints, among other masses, twelve poor men to say to the twelve Apostles, at his funeral, before the high altar, the Lord's prayer; also in English, *The Lord have mercy upon the soul of George Vere, and on the souls of all the faithful deceased* (*). He bequeaths to the high altar at *Heningham-castle*, 10s. to the nuns at *Heningham*, 100 ewes; to the *Franciscans* at *Colchester*, to the *Carmelites* at *Malden*, to the *Friars* preachers at *Chelmsford*, and to the *Augustine* *Friars* at *Clare*, 13s. 4d. each; to his Executors 40l. to be laid out on his funeral; to *Margaret* his wife 40l. and all the silver plate and utensils of his house; to his three daughters, *Elizabeth*, *Mary*, and *Dorothy*, a gold chain, weight twenty-six ounces; a paper missale and a silver chalice to the high altar before which he was buried, and 3l. for gilding the said chalice; to the *Friars* preachers at *Cambridge*, 40s. to *St Osieth's* convent, 5l. to the high altar of that convent, a covering and case for the same of purple velvet with his arms upon it: That all his tenements in *Colchester* be sold, and the monies arising by such sale be applied to the use of his will; the remainder to be divided between his wife and his boys at the discretion of *John* Earl of *Oxford*, his brother, whom he appoints supervisor of his will (122), which being proved April 3, 1503, shews he lived almost three years after the making of it. Administration was granted to *Margaret* his widow, who was daughter and heir of *William Stafford* of *Litchfield* and *Frome* in com. *Dorset*, and had issue by her Sir *George Vere*, and *John*, the fourteenth Earl of *Oxford* (123); *George* was buried at *Hallstead* in *Essex*, where a monument was erected to his memory, much defaced in *Weever's* time (124): Their daughters were, *Elizabeth*, wife of Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Knight of the *Garter*; *Dorothy*, wife of *John Nevile*, Lord *Latimer*; and *Ursula*, first married to *George Windsor*, Esq; and secondly to Sir *Edmund* Knightly, of *Faverley* in *Northamptonshire*.

[NN] He attended the King at *Canterbury*, &c.] Whilst they were at *Canterbury*, *Charles* the Emperor landed at *Dover*, where the King met him, and from thence they rode to *Canterbury*, where the Emperor was magnificently entertained for three days, and took leave of the King on the last of May. The same day the King, Queen, and his train, sailed from *Dover*, and landed at *Calais*, and in the Queen's train were the Countess of *Oxford*, consort to this Earl, as also the Countess dowager of *Oxford* (125).

(8i) Pat. 21 Edward IV. p. 1. m. 10.

(8j) Miller's Cat. of Nob. p. 695.

(8m) Pat. 12 H. VIII. p. 2.

(8o) MS. penes John Austis, Armiger. nuper Cart. Reg. Arm.

(8r) He was knighted, 5 Henry VIII. for his valiant behaviour

(114) Speed's Chron. p. 698.

(115) Pat. 21 Edward IV. p. 1. m. 10.

(116) By that of her former husband, Lord Beaumont.

(117) Consisting of Arras hangings, several diamond rings, a little cross of gold, with a piece of the holy cross inclosed, which she daily wore about her neck, a great silver shaving basin, weight 24 oz. a basin and ewer of silver, chased and gilt, &c.

(8k) Vincent's Discourse of Brooke's Barons, p. 403.

(8m) lb. p. 696. and Vincent's Baronetage MS. in Offic. Armor.

(8p) Miller's Cat. of Hon. p. 636.

(8q) Weever, p. 617.

(118) Stowe's Annals, p. 423.

(119) And he restored to the manor of Dillingham in com. Cantabr. and all other his hereditaments. Cotton's Records, p. 699, 700.

(120) Ann. 13 Ed. IV. Tit. 35, Ibid. p. 700.

(121) Hall's Chron. fol. 23. a. b.

(*) Also that a poor man say every day, for one year, the mass of the Virgin Mary, and that a poor woman, every Saturday, in honour of the Virgin Mary, do the office of the Priest.

(122) With a codicil, dated Dec. 2, 1502, wherein he bequeaths to *John Vere*, his son and heir, his gold seal, called *Le Signet*, and a gold ring with a ruby in it, besides his black velvet gown, with faines, to *Ric. Fitz-Lewis*, Kt. his kinsman, and a gown to each of his six servants.

(123) Vincent's Baronetage in Offic. Armor.

(124) Fun. Mon. p. 619. there was only remaining *Georgio Vere* filio *Georgii Vere* - - Miles - - 1498.

(125) Rymer. Vol. XIII. p. 721.

(8s) Ashmole, p. 322, 323. On their installation, 19 H. VIII, he was placed in the 11th stall on the Sovereign's side; but on the election of the King of Scots, in 27 Hen VIII, he was honoured with a higher stall. Ibid. p. 324.

(8z) Herbert, p. 207, 208.

(9b) Fun. Certif. i. 11. in Offic. Armor. 686.

(9c) Vincent's Baron. MS. in Offic. Armor.

(9d) Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. p. 1.

(9e) Herbert, as before, p. 244, et seq.

(9f) Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 71, 72.

(9i) Ex Regist. Chayre, qu. 22, in cur. Prærog. Cant.

(9k) This appears from the administration, which was granted May 29, 1563.

(126) Descent of Nob. by Henry Chiting, MS. Lanc. Feical.

(127) Pat. 19 Jac. p. 2.

(128) Pat. 2 C. I. p. 5.

of the Garter (8s). In 21 Hen. VIII. he received his writ to take his place in parliament (8t), and, October 1st following, sat among other nobles in the Star-chamber on the accusation of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and subscribed the articles against him, which were preferred to parliament (8u). July 13, 22 Hen. VIII, he subscribed that memorable letter, sent by the nobility of England, &c. to *Pope Clement VII*, intimating to his Holiness, that, unless he complied with King Henry in his divorce from Queen Catharine, his supremacy in this realm was not like to be long acknowledged (8w). In 24 Hen. VIII. the clergy, and other of the religious, to ingratiate themselves with the King, presented him with new-year's gifts very liberally, considering those of the nobility, of which notice was taken that the rich Earl of Oxford presented but nine *sovereigns*, valued at 10l. 2s. 6d. (8x); the Earl of Rutland 6l. 13s. 4d. &c. In 25 Hen. VIII. he was commissioned, with the Duke of Norfolk, to settle the household of the Lady (afterwards Queen) Mary (8y). In 28 Hen. VIII, on the rebellion of *Aske* and the northern rebels, the King, in justification of himself against their complaint of grievances, sets forth, that he had chosen of his Council *Nobles of birth and condition, wherewith his subjects seemed to be content*, and among them he mentions the Earl of Oxford (8z). In 29 Hen. VIII. he attended at the Christening of *Prince Edward* at Hampton-court, October 12 (9a.) And departed this life at his seat at *Colne* in Essex on Saturday, March 21, 31 Hen. VIII, and was buried at *Castle-Henningham* on Monday, April 12, following (9b). He married *Elizabeth*, daughter and heir of Sir *Edward Truffel*, Knight Banneret (son and heir of Sir William Truffel, Knt.) (9c), by whom he had issue three sons [OO], of whom

John de Veer, the sixth of that name, became the *sixteenth Earl of Oxford*, and, in 32 Hen. VIII, had livery of all the lands which descended to him by Elizabeth his mother, sister and heir to *John Truffel*, Esq; (9d). In 36 Hen. VIII. he was at the siege and taking of *Bulloigne*, having command in the rear of the King's army, under the conduct of John Lord Ruffel, Lord Privy Seal (9e). In 37 Hen. VIII. he received a commission of array to raise as well archers as horse and foot, to be in readiness to suppress the enemy as occasion required (9f). At the funeral of Henry VIII. at *Windsor*, *Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset*, attending as chief mourner, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Arundel* were the two next (9g). At the coronation of Edward VI. he was made Knight of the Bath, and, being created with great royalty, was commanded to pay to the Heralds double fees (9h). July 28, 1562, 4 Eliz. he made his will, ordering his body to be buried in the body of the church of *Earl's Colne* (9i). He died in less than a year after this (9k). He married first *Dorothy*, daughter to *Ralph Nevile*, Esq; of Westmorland, who died, leaving him only a daughter *Catharine* [PP], whereupon he married secondly Margaret, daughter of *John Golding*, and sister of Sir *Thomas Golding*, Knt. by whom he had issue

[OO] He had issue three sons.] His second son, *Aubrey de Vere*, married Margaret, daughter of *John Spring*, of *Lanham* in Suffolk, and had issue *Hugh de Vere*, who, by Eleanor his wife, daughter of --- *Walsh*, Esq; was father of *Robert Earl of Oxford*, as will be shewn hereafter. The third son, *Geffery Vere*, was father of Sir *Francis* and Sir *Horace Vere Lord Vere* of *Tilbury*, of both whom we have before treated. The said *John Earl of Oxford* had also three daughters; *Elizabeth*, married to *Thomas Lord Darcy* of *Chich* in Essex, who had issue by her *John Lord Darcy*, father of *Thomas Lord Darcy* of *Chich*; and *Elizabeth*, the second wife of *John Lord Lumley* (126). The said *Thomas Lord Darcy* married *Mary*, daughter and heir of Sir *Thomas Kitson* of *Hengrave* in Suffolk, and, July 5, 1621, (19 Jac.) was created Viscount *Colchester* for life, with remainder to Sir *Thomas Savage*, Knt. and Bart. (who had married *Elizabeth* his eldest daughter) and to their heirs male (127). Also, Nov. 4, 2 Car. was created Earl *Rivers*, with like remainder to Sir *Thomas Savage* (128), from whom the *Earls of Rivers* descended. He had also three other daughters, who were, with the said *Elizabeth*, coheirs to the said Earl *Rivers*, who died Feb. 21, 1639, 15 Car. and was buried in the church of *St Osth* at *Chich*, whereby the Earldom devolved as beforementioned. His three daughters were, *Mary*, wedded to *Roger Manwood*, Esq; *Penelope*, to Sir *G. Trenchard*, of *Wolveton* in Dorsetshire, Knt. who died in a week after her marriage, and she was secondly the wife of Sir *John Gage*, of *Firle* in com. *Suffex*, Bart. ancestor by her to the present Viscount *Gage*; *Susan*, the youngest daughter, died unmarried; so that, by the family of *Savage*, *Earls of Rivers*, being extinct, the barony of *Darcy* is in abeyance, having its rise in the said *Thomas Lord Darcy*, who married the *Earl of Oxford's* daughter as abovementioned, and had summons to parliament 5 Edward VI.

Anne, the second daughter of the Earl of Oxford, was married to *Edmund Lord Sheffield*, from whom proceeded the *Earl of Mulgrave*, and *John Sheffield*, and his son *Edmund*, the last Duke of Buckinghamshire.

Frances, third daughter, was espoused to *Henry Howard*, Earl of *Surrey* (grandson and heir to *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*); *Jane*, married to *Charles Earl of Westmoreland*; *Margaret*, to *Henry Lord Scrope of Boston*; and *Catharine*, to *Henry Lord Berkley*; and Descendants are remaining from all of them (129).

[PP] He left only a daughter *Catharine*.] A marriage was agreed on, and indentures signed between her and Henry, son to the Duke of *Somerset*; but after the Duke's attainder and execution, a bill was brought into parliament, and enacted, 6 Edw. VI, 1551, that the indentures should be void and of none effect (130); and the Lady *Catharine* was afterwards married to *Edward Lord Windsor*, who died at Venice, Jan. 24, 17 Eliz. and had issue by her four sons and four daughters; *Frederic Lord Windsor* (from whom the present Lord Windsor is descended); *Edward* and *Andrew*, that were married; *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, who died in their infancies; *Margaret*, wife of *John Talbot*, of *Grafton* in com. *Wigorn*, Esq; (ancestor to the present Earl of *Sbrevsbury*); and *Catharine*, wife of *Robert Audley*, of *Berechurch* in *Essex* (131), Esq; who are all recited in an inscription on a noble monument erected to her memory in the chancel of *Tarbick* in *Warwickshire*, wherein is this further mention of her Ladyship and her Lord:

‘ D. O. M.

‘ Katharinæ Oxoniæ filix, Westmerlandiæ neptis, Staffordiæ, Buckinghamiensis abneptis, Windsorix conjugis, hic jacent cineres. Quæ ortu Vero, partu clara, clarior virtute, Edwardo chariff. marito Venetiis defuncto, ætate, forma florens 33 vitæ anno, viduam castitatem more prisco inceptit, usque ad sexagesimum vitæ ultimum sancte tenuit; novo tunc flagrans amore, novum quæsit et sponsum in cælis Christum: Terrestrem hæc terra tenet partem; ætheriam æther. Obiit 17 Jan. 1599.

‘ Sed ne exemplar castitatis & pudicitix, honore merito, posteri exemplo, hic careret, aviæ suæ digniss. Thomas, et Henrico filio nepos, hoc monumentum poni curavit.’

(8t) Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 302, 303.

(8u) Herbert's Life of H. VIII. in Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 125, 129.

(8w) Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 405, 406.

(8x) Strype's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 137.

(8y) Ibid. p. 153.

(9a) Strype, Vol. II. p. 4, who tells us, p. 7, that his Countess attended at the funeral of Queen Jane at Windsor, November 12 following.

(9b) Appendix in Strype's Mem. p. 15, who observes, that they, receiving from Garter the King's embroidered coat of arms, were conducted by him to the Offering, which being delivered again to Garter, he laid it reverently upon the altar.

(9c) As were also the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and other nobles, who were created at the same time. Strype's Mem. Vol. II. p. 23.

(129) Descent of Nobility.

(130) Strype's Mem. Vol. II. p. 309.

(131) Chitting's Descents of the Nobility, MS. p. 63.

Edward, his son and successor, the *seventeenth Earl of Oxford* [22]. This Earl travelled in his youth to Italy, and, on his return, was the first that brought embroidered gloves and perfumes into England; and presenting the Queen [Eliz.] with a pair of perfumed gloves, she was pictured with them on her hands (91). He distinguished himself in two juits and tournaments before the Queen; the first in 1571, and the second in 1580 [RR]: And he was the chief of those nobles that embarked with *Robert Earl of Leicester* for the relief of Holland and Zealand in 1585, 28 Eliz. (9m). The next year he was one of the commissioners on the trial of *Mary Queen of Scots* (9n). In the memorable year 1588, 31 Eliz. the Earl, at his own charge, hired ships, and joined the grand fleet employed against the Spanish *Armada* (9o). In 32 Eliz. he sat on the trial of *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arunel*, who was unanimously found guilty of high-treason (9p): Yet he was such an intire friend to *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, that, when he discerned the Duke's life in danger by the charge against him touching the Queen of Scots, he earnestly interceded with *Burleigh* (his wife's father) for saving him, which being declined by the Treasurer, the Earl, in great indignation, said he would do all he could to ruin his daughter (9q) [SS]. The Earl died June 24, 1604 (9r), and was succeeded in honour and estate by his only son and heir,

Henry Vere, the *eighteenth Earl of Oxford*. In 1605, the King being at Oxford, he was created A. M. with other nobles then attending (9s). In 1610 he was the first chosen to be of the order of the Bath at the creation of *Henry Prince of Wales* (9t) [TT]. He afterwards travelled into Italy (9u), and returned home in 1618 (9w) [UU]. His exploits in 1620,

[22] He had issue *Edward* his son.] He had also a daughter *Mary*, married to *Peregrine Bertie*, Lord *Willoughby of Eresby*, who in right of his mother, in 2 Car. I, had the office of Lord Great Chamberlain adjudged to him by the House of Peers, which office is still in his descendants (132).

The said John Earl of Oxford, in his will, bequeaths to his loving son-in-law the *Lord Windsor*, and to his daughter the Lady *Catharine* his wife, 300 marks; to the Lady *Mary* his daughter, 200 marks at the day of her marriage; to *Hugh* and *John*, sons of his brother *Aubrey de Vere*, 20l. each, to be paid when they come to the age of twenty-one; to *Ann Vere*, eldest daughter of his said brother *Aubrey*, 100 marks; and to his other daughters, *Bridget* and *Jane*, 40l. each on the day of their marriage; to his brother *Robert Vere's* daughter, 40l. and 20l. to each of the two sons of his brother *Jeffery* at their age of twenty-one; to his three loving sisters, the Ladies *Darey*, *Surrey*, and *Sheffield*, each of them one of his cups of silver and gilt; to the Lord Keeper, 10l. and one of his great horses; to *Sir William Cecil*, 10l. and another of his great horses. He makes his Executors, his well-beloved wife *Margery Countess of Oxford*, his son *Edward Lord Bulbeck*, his loving friend *Sir John Wentworth*, Knt. his trusty servants, *Henry Golding*, *Robert Christmas*, and *John Turner*; and supervisors of his will, his singular good Lord the Duke's Grace of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and bequeaths to each of them 20l. and one of his best horses or geldings. In a schedule annexed he gives legacies to his servants, *Henry Golding*, Esq; 20l. to *Robert Christmas*, 20l. and to twenty other gentlemen, who were his servants, the most of them 20l. He also bequeaths legacies to forty-four yeomen his servants, and to twenty-two grooms that were his servants (133): Whence he appears to have lived in great grandeur.

[RR] He distinguished himself in two tournaments.] In the first, this Earl of Oxford, *Charles Lord Howard*, *Sir Henry Lea*, and *Sir Christopher Hatton*, afterwards Knights of the Garter, were challengers; and the Lord *Stafford*, Lord *Henry Seymour*, *Thomas Cecil*, and others, were defendants; and on each of the challengers her Majesty bestowed a prize, for the receiving whereof they were led armed by two ladies into her presence-chamber. This triumph continued three days; the first at *Tilt*, the second at *Tourney*, and the third at *Barrier*. In the second, in 1580, the Earl of *Arunel*, and his assistant *Sir William Drury*, challenged all comers: The Defendants were the Earl of Oxford, the Lord *Windsor*, the famous *Sir Philip Sidney*, and others; and the prize was given by her Majesty to the Earl of Oxford (134).

[SS] He would do his best to ruin his daughter.] *Sir William Dugdale*, who relates this, says further, that, in the same resolution, the Earl not only forsook his wife's bed, but sold and consumed that great inheritance descended to him from his ancestors. But for that part relating to his inheritance, *Sir William* cites *Camden*, who only says *he was in a fair way to find his estate* (135): and it is certain the greatest part descended to his son and heir, and, on his decease without issue, devolved on his kinsman *Robert Earl of Oxford*, who died seized thereof, as will appear presently. By this wife *Anne* the Earl had three daughters: *Elizabeth*, born July 2,

1575, married at Greenwich, Jan. 26, 1594, to *William Stanley*, Earl of *Derby* (136); 2. *Bridget*, born April 6, 1584, married to *Francis Lord Norris of Ricot*, after created Earl of *Beckshire*; and 3. *Susan*, born May 26, 1587, married to *Philip Herbert*, Earl of *Montgomery*, and, on the decease of his elder brother *William*, was also Earl of *Pembroke* (137). Their mother *Anne* died at Queen Elizabeth's court at Greenwich, June 6, 1588 (138), and was interred in Westminster-abbey on the 25th, attended by many persons of great quality and honour: The chief mourner was the Countess of *Lincoln*, supported by the Lords *Windsor* and *Darey*, and her train borne by the Lady *Stafford*; and among other mourners at her funeral were the Ladies *Ruffel*, *Elizabeth Vere*, *Willoughby* sister to the Earl of Oxford, *Cobham*, *Lumley*, *Hunsdon*, *Cecil* wife to *Sir Thomas Cecil*. Six bannerets were borne by *Michael Stanhope*, *Edward Wotton*, *Anthony Cook*, *William Cecil*, *John Vere*, and *Richard Cecil* (139). We have an account of this Earl from the Oxford Antiquarian, who, having acquainted us, that in his younger days the Earl was a pensioner of St John's college in Cambridge, proceeds in the following terms: 'This most noble Earl of Oxford, Sept. 6, 1566, waiting on Queen Elizabeth at Oxford, had the degree of A. M. conferred upon him by the University. He was in his younger days an excellent poet and comedian, as several of his compositions that were made public shewed, which I presume are now lost and worn out. All that I have yet seen are certain poems on several subjects thus: 1st, *His good name being blenished, he bewaileth*. 2d, *The complaint of a Lover wearing black and tarvie*. 3d, *Being in love he complaineth*. 4th, *A Lover rejected complaineth*. 5th, *Not attaining his desire, he complaineth*. 6th, *His mind not quietly settled, he complaineth*. With many such like things that were highly valued in their times (140).'

[TT] He was the first chosen of the order of the Bath.] The bill was signed by the King June 2, and he repaired to Durham house in the afternoon. The next day the Knights rode to the court, their pages riding before them, carrying a sword in a white scabbard with a belt, with gilt hilts, and a pair of gilt spurs hanging thereon. Being alighted at the court-gate, the Earl of Oxford proceeded with his page before him, between his two governors; and the others followed according to their priority into the hall, where the King came, accompanied with the nobility. The Earl of Oxford was first presented by the Governors to him sitting under his State, the Page delivering the sword to the Lord Chamberlain, and he to the King, who girt it about the Earl's neck, and the Earl of Northampton put on his spurs; the rest were received accordingly (141).

[UU] He travelled into Italy.] *Sir Henry Wotton*, in a letter from Venice, Feb. 3, 1617, to Mr Secretary *Lake*, acquaints him, That my Lord of Oxford, having at Florence heard of the imprisonment of Mr *Henry Bertie*, his near kinsman, by the inquisition at *Ancona*, went the next day post to Rome, after he had first procured the Great Duke's palace there for his own security, and letters of favour, which were to follow him. Since which time Mr *Bertie* was removed, perchance upon his intercession, as safe for himself as it is nobly done. Now having never yet, by any intelligence,

(94) Camden's Eliz. ubi supra, p. 519.
(95) Ibid. p. 547.

(97) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 199.

(98) Vincent on Brooke, p. 410. and Milles, p. 701.

(99) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. p. 172.

(99) Anstis's Observations on the Knighthood of the Bath, p. 61, & seq.

(132) See rem. [P] in the article of HOLLIES [JOHN], first Earl of Clare. Vol. IV. p. 264a.

(133) Ex Regist. Chayre, qu. 22 in Cur. Præteg. Cant.

(134) Seager's Hon. Milit. and Civil, p. 194, 195.

(135) Camden's Life of Q. Elizabeth in Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 391.

(91) Stowe's Annals, p. 686.

(9m) Ibid. p. 711.

(9p) Ibid. p. 552, who informs us also that he sat on the trials of Essex and Southampton, in 44 Eliz. Ibid. p. 563.

(9u) Sir Henry Wotton's letters MS. in the paper office.

(9w) Camden's Annals under that year.

(136) Milles's Cat. of Hon. p. 701.

(137) MS. de Fam. de Nobil. collected by T. Miller.

(138) Milles, p. 701.

(139) MS. by Sir W. Delbick, Garter. Not. A. 31. in Bibl. Joh. Anstis, Arm.

(140) Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 99.

(141) Anstis's Observat. on the Knighthood of the Bath, p. 61, et seq.

1620, for the recovery of the Palatinate, have been already recited (9x); to which we must not omit to add, that, in 1622, being one of those Peers that aimed at public liberty more than their own interest, and speaking freely, he was taken into custody, being accused by one *White*, a Papist, (called after in derision *Oxford White*) of speaking some words to the disparagement of the King and dishonour of his government; whereupon he was committed to the Tower. The Earl continued in the Tower a great while; and being an active man, the King sent him at last to sea, to be one of *Buckingham's* Vice-Admirals for the English coast (9y). He was so desirous of a martial employ, that he proposed to purchase of Robert Lord *Vicount Lisle* his regiment encamped in *Cleveland* in 1624 (9z). However, that not taking effect, he went into the sea-service as beforementioned. But, in the spring of that year, 1624, four regiments being raised to assist Prince *Maurice* against *Spinola* the Spanish general, after the defeat at *Breda*, the Earl went to the Hague, and staid there the whole winter. But Henry Prince of Orange succeeding his brother (who died at the Hague, April 23, 1625.) and attempting one of the enemy's strong works at *Terbeiden*, either to relieve the town or drive the enemy from their trenches, failed in both, and lost many gallant men, especially English, in the enterprize. The Earl of Oxford led the van, and being a man corpulent and heavy, got such a heat in the service, that though he came off without hurt from the enemy, yet he brought death along with him; for falling sick presently after, he went to the Hague, and there died in the middle of summer, 1625 (10a). His body was brought to England, and interred in *St John Baptist's* chapel in Westminster-abbey. On the 15th of July that year he had married Lady *Diana*, second daughter to *William Cecil*, Earl of *Exeter*, one of the most eminent beauties and fortunes of the times (10b); but by her leaving no issue (10c), the honour devolved upon his kinsman,

(9y) Camden's Annals, p. 657. and Wilson's Life of K. James, p. 736, 748.

(10c) Seagar's Baronage MS.

(10d) He was only son and heir of Hugh Vere, only son of Aubrey Vere (by his wife Margaret) second son of John, 5th Earl of Oxford, whereupon he was restored to the title in the parliament held at Westminster, 2 Car. I, after a contest with Rob. Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who obtained the office

Robert Vere, who was the *nineteenth Earl of Oxford* (10d). The Earl of Clarendon hath given some account of his Lordship's temper, which will be hereafter mentioned (10e). This Earl took to a military life [WW], had the command of a regiment in the service of the States, and was slain at the siege of *Maestricht*, August 7, 1632. He died rich, having married *Beatrice*, daughter of *Van Hemima* of *Friezland*, by whom he had issue three sons (10f), of whom

Aubrey, the eldest, succeeding to the honour and estate, became the *twentieth Earl of Oxford*. Being not five years and a half old at his father's decease, he was in ward to King *Charles I*; but the civil wars breaking out, being then with his mother and her friends in *Zealand*, he entered early on a military life in the service of the States, in which he had the command of a regiment of English foot about the year 1648 [XX]. June 20, 1654, he, with

of Great Chamberlain. Journal of Parl, 2 Car. I. See the article of Holles, first Earl of Clare.

gence, understood the particular cause of his restraint, I will set down what I conjecture upon certain circumstances. Mr *Porie*, Secretary to the Ambassador at Constantinople, took pains to translate the King's book against Cardinal *Perron* out of French into Italian, upon request of the Venetian ambassador; whereupon I am fallen into a conceit, that Mr *Porie* did send the said book by an Italian, and that Mr *Bertie's* man, who was a Papist, did bewray it in *Ancona*. To this conjecture I am led by finding, in all Mr *Porie's* letters, a very eager desire to know whether Mr *Bertie* were safely arrived at *Venice*. If my fancy should be true, his case is the very same as Mr *Mole's* (*), and then I fear it will go hard with him.

In another letter from Sir *Henry Wotton* from Venice to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, dated June, 1617, is this account: 'Now because it is likely that his Majesty will be pressed to the assistance of this Republic, my Lord of Oxford intendeth to employ the intercession of his friends at home, that he may have leave to contract with them here, and to transport unto them some volunteer troops; wherein, as I conceive it, the King shall but leave his subjects in their natural liberty, and yet much oblige this state unto him, without any charge of his own, or so much as any direct engagement of himself in the cause. My Lord himself is grown a goodly gentleman, of great ability, for his years, both of body and judgment, and has already taken a way to make both his affection and resolution well known to them here, by going in a very noble manner, both himself and his followers, to the siege of *Gradisca*, as the public voice leadeth him. And of this I shall need say no more, because he proposeth to write himself to you, upon whose friendship he maketh much foundation, as he telleth me, &c. (142).'

[WW] He died rich.] The inquisition taken after his death at *Stratford* in *Essex*, Jan. 30, 8 Car. I, sets forth, that he died seized of a Knight's fee in *Heningham-Sible*, a Knight's fee in *Willingale*, a Knight's fee in *Bumsted*, a Knight's fee in *Ramsay*, two Knights fees and a half in *Finchingfield*, one Knight's fee in *Aldham* and *Feering*, one Knight's fee in *Zerdale*, half a Knight's fee in *Gosfield*, and twelve Knights fees in *Yardley*, *Little Canfield*, *Willingale-Spaine*, *Wendon*, *Weddington*,

Salcot, *Verley*, *Margaret-Rothing*, *Wytham*, *Wormensford*, *Asben*, *Toleshunt magna*, *Little Bentley*, *Burch*, *Ravenhall*, and *Maplested magna*, late appertaining to the honour of *Stansted-Montfichet*, with divers lands, woods, &c. all in the county of *Essex*. And in *Hertfordshire*, of the scite of the manor and park of *Northwood*, and all messuages, lands, and tenements, &c. there and in *Thornbury*, with the advowson of the church of *Thornbury*.

And by another inquisition, taken at the castle of Oxford, May 30, 10 Car. I, it was found that he was seized, at the time of his death, of the Earldom of Oxford, and honour of Earl of Oxford, &c. held of the King *in capite* by the service of two Knights fees and a half. And in *Oxfordshire* of two Knights fees in *Lachbroke*, one Knight's fee in *Little Rycote*, one Knight's fee and a half in *Ewelme*, one Knight's fee and a half in *Stoke-Lisle*, and one Knight's fee in *Bodicote*. And in *Cambridgeshire*, of one Knight's fee in *Balsam*, half a Knight's fee in *Missenden parva*, half a Knight's fee in *Wayyndon*, half a Knight's fee in *Burton*, half in *Leckhamsted*, and half in *Welton*. In *Hertfordshire*, one Knight's fee in *Bayninge*, one in *Damflete*, one in *Alfodwyke*, one in *Meesden*, one in *Beugh*, half a Knight's fee in *Thele*, and half a Knight's fee in *Cokenhacht*. In *Essex*, of a Knight's fee in *Hengham* and the castle. A third of two Knights fees in *Tilberry* near *Gelham*, one Knight's fee in *Stemington* and *Ashden*, one in *Bertilsdon*, one in *Bromley parva*, one in *Tollehunt-Boyes*, two in *Beaumont*, two in *Davercourt* and *Colne*, and divers other parcels of fees in *Hengham*, *Gellam-magna*, *Langdon*, *Donton*, *Leyndon*, *Finchingfield*, *Raye*, *Ashe*; with divers woods, &c. (143).

[XX] He had a regiment of foot in 1648.] The famous *Algernoon Sidney*, in a letter to Robert Earl of Leicester, dated January 10, 1648, informs him, that, old *Berington* being dead, his brother Robert Sidney was made Lieutenant colonel to the Earl of Oxford, then abroad (144). This regiment, on the breaking out of the war with the Dutch, was sent for to England, and the said Robert Sidney was made colonel thereof by King *Charles II*, May 31, 1665 (145); and it is yet subsisting by the name of the *Holland regiment*. The Earl had afterwards a quarrel with his Lieutenant-colonel

(9x) In the preceding article of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury.

(9z) Sidney's State-Papers, Vol. I. p. 351.

(10a) Wilson's Life of K. James, p. 793.

(10b) Ibid. p. 736

(10e) In the article of the first Duke of Buckingham.

(10f) The two younger sons, Horace and Francis, died young, as did also his three daughters, Mary, Magdalen, and Susan.

(*) See an account of Mr Mole's case in remark [B] of Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham.

(142) Sir H. Wotton's letters, MS. in the Paper-office, as in the text.

(143) Cole's Esc. Lib. 3. p. 147, note 61. A. 14 in bibl. Harl. now in the Brit. Museum.

(144) Vide his letter in the memoirs of the Sidneys, before the letters and memoirs of State, p. 131.

(145) Sidney's letters, p. 161.

with Wentworth, of the Bed-chamber to the King, was committed to the Tower for high-treason, with others, as conspirators against the Lord Protector (10g) [YY]. But the Earl was never brought to a trial, and obtained his liberty soon after; though he was ever constant to the Royal cause [ZZ]. And upon Sir George Booth's rising in 1659, he, with others, was apprehended, August 13, on suspicion of being in the present plot [AAA]; but was discharged, on the 2d of November following, by the Committee of Safety (10b), on security to live peaceably. As he had been a great sufferer in the Royal cause, he was the first of the six Lords deputed by the House of Peers, with twelve of the Commons, to present to the King, at the Hague, the Parliament's supplication for the King's return (10i). His Lordship returned to England with the King, who, on the day of his arrival at Whitehall, designing to confer the Garter upon him, signed the letter for that purpose the last of May; and the next day, Friday, June 1, 1660, the Earl received the order in the Council-chamber (10k). His Lordship, August 20 this year, was Lord Lieutenant of the county of Essex (10l); and was also the same year appointed Lord Chief Justice in Eyre of all the King's forests, parks, and chases, on this side the river Trent. At the King's coronation, which was performed with great splendor on the 23d of April, 1661, the Earl of Oxford bore the sword called the *Curtana* (10m). In 1665, on the war with the Dutch, a regiment of horse being raised, the command of it was conferred on this Earl, and retained the name of Oxford's horse to his death, and is now the royal regiment of horse-guards blue. On Jan. 5, 1669, his Lordship was sworn of the Privy Council (10n). In 1679, on the establishment of a new Privy-Council, which met at Whitehall, April 21, his Lordship was left out of it; though he had ever behaved with great moderation, not being violent in any measures (10o); and on Jan. 6, 1680, he was again sworn into it (10p). On King James's accession to the throne, the Earl carried the sword of state at his coronation, April 23, 1685 (10q), but was left out of the commission of Lord Lieutenant of the county of Essex, the Lord *Petre* having that trust till Oct. 25, 1688, when his Majesty conferred it again upon the Earl as a person more acceptable to the people (10r). On the landing of the Prince of Orange, he joined the Protestant Lords in the petition to King James for a free parliament (10s), which being delivered Nov. 17, and rejected, his

(10g) Diurnal Occurrences, p. 58. and Whitlock's Memoirs, p. 574.

(10b) Ibid. p. 683, 691, who says it was done to ingratiate with the Cavaliers.

(10f) Bill signat. 12 Car. II.

(10m) Cook's Life of King Charles II, p. 247.

(10n) Pointer's Chron. Hist. p. 230.

(10o) Comp. H. B. of England, Vol. III. p. 362.

(10p) Ibid. p. 381. and Gazette, No. 1585.

(10q) Ibid. p. 424.

(10r) Ibid. p. 523.

(151) Whitlock, p. 674.

(152) Thurloe, Vol. 1. p. 713.

(153) Whitlock, p. 683, who says the D. of Buckingham was also taken up and discharged. Vide also his article.

(154) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 670, 671, 2vo edition.

(155) Ibid. p. 601. and Whitlock, p. 683, 684.

(10i) Clarendon, Vol. VI. p. 763, 769.

(10k) Sir Edw. Walker's Hist. Account of Elections, Installations, &c. of the Garter, MS. p. 32, et seq.

(10l) The Earl, among others, desired a clause to be inserted, that the Peers who had joined the Prince should sit in that free parliament; but the rest thought it needless. Ibid. p. 529.

(146) P. 749. This was a weekly paper published in these times.

(147) lb. p. 793. and Whitlock, p. 467.

(148) Whitlock, p. 575.

(149) Thurloe, Vol. II. p. 253, 395, 481, 482.

(150) Idem. Vol. VII. p. 83, 84, and 247.

Sidney, as appears from the following account in the *Mercurius Politicus* (146) from the Hague, April 19, 1651: 'On Saturday last the Lord of Oxford, and Lieutenant-colonel *Sidney*, Lord Leicester's son, fell out at play here, and are gone into Flanders to fight, with their seconds, Colonel *Gerard* and Captain *Clerk*.' After which is this relation from the Hague, of the 13th of May: 'The two duellists, *Oxford* and *Sidney*, have had their quarrel taken up by some friends, who prevented them in the way to Flanders (147).'

[YY] *A conspiracy against the Protector.* Colonel *John Gerard*, brother to Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, with others, were tried by the High Court of Justice, and charged with a conspiracy to murder the Protector as he should go to Hampton-court, to seize the guards, and make themselves masters of the Tower, &c. and proclaim the King, for which he was sentenced to be hanged; but, upon petitioning the Protector, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, with another of his brothers, Colonel *Alburnham*, Mr *Joseph Alburnham*, and several others, were under custody for it (148). How long the Earl of Oxford continued in confinement does not appear. In *Thurloe's* State-papers he is mentioned as follows, in a letter from Paris, May 8, 1654, N. S. to Mr *Thomas Scot*, at his house at Lambeth, London, intercepted: There is gone from hence lately, Colonel *John Gerard*, and with him Major *Hallsley*, who killed Mr *Ascham*, with intent to kill the Protector. They have another design in the city; the Earl of Oxford is to be the Chief. *Beverning*, *Newport*, and *Jongestall*, the Dutch Ambassadors in England, in their letter, dated from Westminster, July 3, 1654, to the States-General, write thus, 'Since our last, some more prisoners are sent to the Tower, who are said to have a hand in the conspiracy; and, among the rest, the Earl of Oxford is said to be in no danger; and though there are still above 300 prisoners, many are of opinion they will put to death no more (149).'

[ZZ] *He was ever constant to the Royal cause.* Secretary *Thurloe*, in a Letter to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, from Whitehall, April 20, 1658, informs him of the designs of the Royalists (Cavaliers he calls them) and that they were sure of the Earl of Oxford. And, in a letter of intelligence from beyond the seas, July 18, 1658, this further account is given: 'There are none at present going for England, who are suspicious persons; but the Lord *Gerard* is very busy in engaging for another trouble in England. It is thought, when any thing comes to the birth, the Lord of *Oxford* and the Lord *Camden* will be deeply engaged (150).'

that year, and condemned (151). And in letters of information relating thereto is this mention of the Earl: 'I hear they still go on with their preparations in the city, and that many are engaged therein. It is thought they aim at the Earl of Oxford for their General (152).'

However, his Lordship was not then taken into custody. [AAA] *He was taken up on Sir George Booth's rising.*

The Earl was apprehended with the Lord *de la Ware* and Lord *Falkland*, on the 13th of August, and they were all sent to prison (153). The Earl of Clarendon gives the following account of this attempt of the Royalists: 'There was, says he, to be a general rising of all who would declare for the King, on a day named about the middle of July, there being commissions in every county, directed to six or seven known men, with authority to chuse one to command in chief in that county, till they made a conjunction with other forces under the command of one who had a superior commission from the King, who was to be on the day appointed at *Calais*. But, by the treachery of Sir *Richard Willis*, who continually gave *Thurloe* intelligence of all that he knew, the design had no prosperous effect, and every post brought news to the King of persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons throughout the kingdom (154). And of all the enterprizes for seizing on strong places, only that succeeded which was undertaken by Sir *George Booth*, who, having seized *Chester*, was joined by the principal gentlemen in the parts adjacent, and the Earl of Derby appeared in Lancashire. *Lambert* marched immediately against them, and, August 19, defeated Sir *George Booth*, who, escaping from the battle, was taken in disguise at *Newport Pagnel* in Bucks, and the Earl of Derby was also taken prisoner; whereby all the hopes of the Royalists were at that time totally destroyed, and the Rump parliament thought of transporting the loyal families into Barbadoes, and other plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in England children of their fathers affections. This spirit had not however any long continuance; for the army assuming supreme power, there were again several sudden changes in England. The Committee of Safety, appointed by the army on the 2d of November, 1659, discharged from imprisonment the Earls of *Oxford* and *Northampton*, the Lord *Falkland*, and other Lords, on security to live peaceably; and this, says *Whitlock*, was to ingratiate with the Cavaliers. Also Sir *George Booth* was released soon after upon security (155); and, on the arrival of *Ment* with his army, the face of affairs soon changed, and a new parliament being summoned to meet, April 25, 1660, restored the ancient constitution of monarchy and episcopacy.

Majesty the same day began his journey towards *Salisbury*, and the Earl of Oxford immediately after went over to the Prince; and on King James's return from *Salisbury*, and appointing the *Marquis of Halifax*, the *Earl of Nottingham*, and the *Lord Godolphin*, to treat with his Highness, who were to meet the Prince of Orange at *Amesbury*, December 6, they were informed by the Earls of *Oxford* and *Clarendon* from his Highness, to make their proposals in writing, which message induced the King to send away his Queen, with her son, into France; and on the 10th of December he himself privately withdrew (107). The Earl marched with the Prince into London, heartily concurred in the Revolution, and was among those Peers who voted for the vacancy of the Throne (108). Upon their Majesties accession, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and made a Lord of the Bedchamber to the King (109). He likewise continued in the command of his regiment, and was constituted Lieutenant-general of horse and foot, Feb. 13, 1688-9, having precedency of the *Earl of Marlborough*, whose commission for that post was dated the next day. His Lordship carried the sword of state at the coronation, April 11, 1689 (10x), and, on the 14th of June following, his patent was renewed for Lord Lieutenant of the county of Essex, and for Custos Rotulorum, August 29 (10y). In 1690 his Lordship embarked with the King for Ireland, and was present at the battle of the *Boyne*, and the reduction of that kingdom; but, on his return to England, being in an advanced age, he never after engaged in the military service abroad; though he kept the command of his regiment (10z). On the accession of Queen Anne, his patent was renewed for Lord Lieutenant of the county of Essex, July 25, 1701 (11a). And he departed this life at his house in *Downing-street*, Westminster, in the 78th year of his age, on March 12, 1702-3; at which time he was Colonel of her Majesty's royal regiment of horse-guards, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Essex, one of the Lords of the Privy Council, senior Knight of the most noble order of the Garter; and the twentieth Earl of this noble and ancient family, by whose death, without issue male, the Earldom became extinct therein (11b). His Lordship was buried, March 22, 1702-3, in St John Baptist's chapel, Westminster-abbey, by the remains of *Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford*, buried 1625 (11c). He was of a humane and generous disposition, steady in asserting the liberty of the subject, and the prerogative of the crown, and so tender of scrupulous consciences, that he was the first of the Lords who entered their dissents, 1 Will. and Mary, on rejecting the clause, allowing every one to be sufficiently qualified for any employment or trust, who, within a year before or after his admission, did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other protestant congregation (11d). To his first wife he had *Anne*, daughter and coheir of *Paul*, Lord Viscount *Banning*, by whom he had no issue (11e). He married secondly *Diana*, daughter of *G. Kirk, Esq*; Groom of the Bedchamber to King Charles II, by whom he had issue one son and three daughters (11f), besides *Diana*, who, Tuesday April 13, 1694, was married to *Charles Beauclerk*, Duke of *St Albans* (11g).

(107) Ibid.
P. 537.

(10x) Gazette,
No. 2444.

(10y) Bill signat.
1 W. and M.

(10z) Hist. Eng.
Vol. III. p. 598.

(11c) Ex Regist.
Eccles. istius.

(11d) Hist. Eng.
Vol. III. p. 554.

(11f) The son,
Charles, died in
his infancy, as
did Charlotte;
but Mary and
Henrietta lived
to be aged, and
died unmarried.

(107) Compleat
Hist. of England,
Vol. III. p. 532.

(108) Ibid.
P. 550.

(11a) Bill signat.
1 An. Reg.

(11b) Contin.
Heylin, p. 441.
Pointer's Chron.
Hist. p. 484. and
Le Neve's Mon.
Anglic. Vol. I.
p. 50.

(11e) She died
soon after her
marriage, and
was buried in St
John Baptist's
chapel, Sept. 27,
1659.

(11g) Peerage
of Engl. Vol. I.
edit. 1756.

VERSTEGAN [RICHARD] well deserves a place in these memoirs as a great reviver of the English antiquities, and an admirable critic in the Saxon and Gothic languages. He was descended from an ancient and worthy family in the Dutchy of Guelderland in the Low-countries, where his grandfather, *Theodore Rowland Verstegan*, was born (a); but, being deprived of his friends by the intestine wars which depopulated and ruined that dutchy [A], he looked out for some other and better residence, and casting eyes upon the then flourishing state of England, he resolved to cross the sea, and accordingly arrived here about the latter end of King Henry VIIIth's reign. He was a young man, in the prime vigour of his age, and, falling into acquaintance with the female sex, he entered into matrimony, and probably would in some measure have repaired his broken fortune, had not he

(a) Verstegan's
Epistle, prefixed
to his book, in-
titled, *A Resti-
tution of decayed
intelligence, &c.*

[A] *The civil wars had depopulated that dutchy.* This dutchy, which is one of the seventeen United Provinces, is bounded to the North by Overysstel and the gulf of the German ocean called *Zuiderzee*; to the South, the *Meuse*, the dutchy of Cleves, the country of Liege, and the dutchy of Juliers; to the East, by the bishoprick of Munster, the dutchy of Cleves, and the territory of Cologne; and to the West, the *Zuiderzee*, the province of Utrecht, Holland, Dutch Brabant, and the country of Liege. It lies in a plain, containing twenty-two towns, the chief of which are Nimeguen, Ruremonde, Arnheim, and Zutphen. The province is divided into four quarters, all very fertile, abounding with wood and pasture. Formerly it had its proper Lords, who made themselves masters of it under the Kings of France of the second race. The first of these Lords flourished ann. 878, from whom, after six generations, descended Wichard III, who succeeded to it ann. 1061; but having issue only a daughter, named Alix or Adelaide, she by marriage brought Guelderland into the possession of Otho of Nassau, whom the Emperor Henry IV. created a count; and to him, after eight descents, succeeded Renaud II, ann. 1326, who was created a Duke by the Emperor Lewis IV, ann. 1339, with the privilege of investing and crowning the Emperor, and of coining money. This Duke Renaud, after five generations, was succeeded

by Arnoul Count of Egmont, whose son Adolus, turning rebel, rose up in arms against him, and taking him prisoner, kept him confined a long time; whereupon Arnoul sold the dutchy to Charles, surnamed the *Rash*, Duke of Burgundy; but upon his death, in 1372, his daughter, *Mary of Burgundy*, surrendered it to Adolus, who married, in 1463, Catharine of Bourbon, daughter of Charles I, and was killed in 1477, leaving his son and successor Charles, who was disturbed in his possession by the Emperor Charles V, grandson of the forementioned *Mary of Burgundy*. This war ended in a peace, whereby Duke Charles, in case of his leaving no issue, yielded up the Dutchy to the Emperor. And it was in the times of the Emperor Charles V, and his son Philip II, that the States General got possession of almost all the Dutchy of Guelderland, the upper quarter of which was granted to Spain by the treaty of Munster; whence it has the name of the Spanish Guelderland, comprehending the towns of *Venloo*, *Ruremonde*, and *Gueldres*. By the peace of Utrecht in 1713, and the barrier treaty in 1715, the dutchy was divided into three parts, of which *Ruremonde* and its dependencies were assigned to the Emperor; *Gueldres*, or *Gelre* (1) as it is called by the people of the country, was ceded to the King of Prussia; and the Dutch had, for their share; *Venloo* and *Stevensweert* (2).

(1) The allies
had taken it in
1703. The
town is but
small, though it
gives name to
the province. It
lies upon the
river Niers,
which serves it
for a fosse. The
castle is very
strong, and passed
for impregnable.
It is distant
four good leagues
from the *Wezer*,
west-south-west.
Cluver, Ortelius
Guicciard.

(2) *Strada de
bello Belgico, &
Grotius Belgico
Hist.*

been

been cut short by death soon after his marriage, leaving behind him a son not more than nine months old. The mother however took care of the child, and, having brought him up to the age of sixteen years, put him apprentice to a cooper [B], which trade he afterwards followed, and, settling in the parish of St Katharine near the Tower of London, he had by his wife this *Richard Verstegan* our Author, who was born in that parish. The boy soon discovered a pregnant genius, and an inclination to letters, and his father, by diligence and frugality improving his circumstances, resolved, though a mechanic, to be at the expence of a liberal education for him; in which spirit, having given him a proper foundation of classical learning at school, he sent him to Oxford (b). The Student happily answered his father's hopes, and applying himself particularly to some branches of literature not much known then in the University, he made a distinguished figure therein, and became much esteemed. But, not being satisfied with the oaths required on taking a degree, he left this nursery of learning without receiving that test of his literary merit; and, being by this time confirmed a zealous Roman catholic, he quitted his native country, went into the Spanish Netherlands (c), and fixing himself at Antwerp, he wrote and published a piece there against Queen Elizabeth [C], upon whom, according to the virulent spirit of that religion, he scattered the usual flowers of heresy and cruelty with an unsparing hand. Upon the breaking out of the rebellious league in the Netherlands [D], he removed with his

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 3ca.

(c) Idem. Ibid.

[B] Put him apprentice to a cooper.] This having been thrown out in disparagement of our Author by some of his adversaries, on an occasion which will be mentioned presently; by way of answer thereto the Oxford antiquary very justly observes, that there is not any discredit in it; to confirm which he takes notice, that the father of *Wolfgangus Musculus* was of that trade; and it may be added in our Author's behalf, that Cooper *Musculus* was not so well to pass in the world as Cooper *Verstegan*: And therefore, though the former saw his son's inclination to letters, and designed him for a scholar, yet he left him to his own shifts for a subsistence, which he procured by begging and singing from door to door till he came to a town called *Rapsonswil*, where he was taken into the house of a poor widow who gave him lodging; and being assisted by the Lord of the manor, he went to school: And afterwards proceeding to *Seblestadt*, he sung there so happily one day, at the vespers of a convent of Benedictines, that the society presented him with the habit of their order gratis. He was then fifteen years of age (3), and applying closely to his studies, he became at length a distinguished preacher, and was chosen Prior of the house. But soon after, being observed to speak in favour of Lutheranism, he was obliged to fly to *Straßburg*, where, throwing off his frock, he publicly married one *Margaret Barth*, to whom he had been betrothed before he left the monastery. As he had now no subsistence, he put his wife to service with a clergyman, and bound himself apprentice to a weaver, an Anabaptist; but entering warmly into disputes against the doctrines of that sect with their Minister, who lodged in the house, the Weaver dismissed him. Thus again reduced, he resolved to earn his bread by working as a common labourer in the fortifications of the town. But the famous *Martin Bucer*, having been informed of his merit, procured him the evening before to be appointed Catechist in the village of *Derlisheim* near *Straßburg*. Here he preached every Sunday, and lodging the rest of the week with *Bucer*, supplied the place of his Ammanensis. *Bucer*, it seems, wrote so ill a hand, that the Printers could not read it (4). *Musculus* therefore, being a great master of his pen, was very serviceable to his Patron in transcribing the work he was then busied upon for the press. But this employ was put an end to in some months. Our Catechist was called by his parishioners to reside among them; so that, receiving no part of his stipend (5), he set up a petty school for a support. Thus he passed a year in very hard circumstances (6), till the Magistrates of *Straßburg*, who had assisted him before with a purse out of the public Treasury, made him Minister-Deacon of their principal church. About two years after he went, on an invitation, to *Augsburg*, where he began to preach in January, 1631. He continued eighteen years at *Augsburg*, and procured the abolition of Popery there; but, upon the Magistrates receiving the *Interim* in 1548, he left that city, and, passing into Switzerland, was made next year Professor of Divinity at *Bern*. This office he discharged with great reputation till his death, which happened there August 29, 1563, aged 66 years. He published several works, an account of which may be seen under his article in *Moreri* and *Bayle*; from the latter of whom we learn, that he left a son, *Abraham Musculus*, who wrote his father's life, which was prefixed to the *Synopsis concionum festalium, Wolfgangi Musculi*, printed at *Basil* in 1595, 8vo.

[C] He published a piece against Queen Elizabeth.] It bears this title: *Theatrum credulitatum Hereticorum nostri temporis*. The book is full of cuts, which represent the hanging, quartering, and beheading, or butchering of Popish Martyrs, engraven from the drawings of *Verstegan*, who was observed, while in England, to be much delighted in drawing and painting (7). There are verses put under each cut, to explain the meaning of it, which were made by *John Boeb*, or *Bochius*, or *Boqui*, a famous Latin poet, who was born at *Brussels* in 1555, and having travelled for his improvement into Italy, Germany, Poland, and Muscovy, was made, at his return, Secretary to the *Maison de Ville*, or Register, of *Antwerp*, by the Duke of *Parma*, which place he was possessed of at the time of reprinting *Verstegan's* book in 1602. He died there January 13, 1609. His poesies are much cried up by the critics of the Netherlands, who even give him the title of the *Belgick Virgil* (8).

(7) Ath. Oxoni ubi supra.

(8) Dictionaire Portatif, under his article, Tome I. Paris, 1755, in two Tomes, 8vo.

[D] Upon the breaking out of the rebellious league, &c.] The Oxford Antiquary, though in general a careful Timist, has suffered himself, in our Author's memoir, to wander in great confusion for want of his usual and commendable accuracy in dates. In order therefore to fix the time of *Verstegan's* journey to Paris, it will be necessary to give some account of this rebellious league, as follows. The project was first designed by the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who observed at the Council of *Trent*, that the surest method of maintaining their religion against the Heretics [viz. the Protestants] was to form a league, to which proper means should be used to bring in all Catholic sovereign Princes and great Lords, especially the King of *Spain*, to be under the direction of a Leader or Chief, appointed by the Pope, who was to be declared Protector of the League. The motion was approved, and the Cardinal's brother, the Duke of *Guise*, was about to be elected Chief, when the news arrived of his death. The Cardinal however did not drop his enterprize; but waiting ten or eleven years, till the young Duke of *Guise*, *Henry of Lorraine*, his nephew, came of age to execute it, he then proposed the same thing to the Pope and the King of *Spain*, who came into his sentiments, though upon different motives; the Pope in the desire of seeing heresy extirpated; the Spaniard in the view of making advantage of the disturbances which the League would evidently occasion in France. After the Cardinal's death in 1574 (9), the Duke of *Guise*, pursuing the same design, caused a form to be drawn up in 1576 consisting of twelve articles, in the view of getting it privately signed by such Catholics as were most attached to his family; but, communicating it in confidence to the Governor of *Peronne* in *Picardy*, was betrayed by that Lord (10), who drew up another form in eighteen articles, in favour of the King. This act was signed at *Peronne*, Feb. 12, 1577, by near two hundred gentlemen and officers of the province, whose example was soon followed by all the provinces of the kingdom; and in November following all exercise of the reformed religion was prohibited by the estates of *Blois*. The King also, seeing the Leaguers aim more to lessen his authority than to crush the Huguenots, put himself at the head of the League, in the design of making himself master of it; but not caring to enter into a war, he granted the Huguenots a toleration by the *Edict of Poitiers* in 1578. The Leaguers did not stir for some years after the King had declared himself their Chief; but in 1581 they

(9) He died Dec. 12 that year. Bayle, under his article.

(10) He was Count of Humieres.

(3) This must be therefore in 1572. *Musculus* being born September 8, 1497, at *Dreuzé* in *Lorraine*. *Moreri's* Dictionary, under his article, Vol. VI. Edit. 1740, in 8 Vols. folio.

(4) Mr *Jortin*, in the life of *Erasmus*, Vol. I. Edit. 1758, has given a specimen of *Bucer's* handwriting, with that of several other eminent scholars, which confirms Mr *Bayle's* remark, that there were very few men of learning who possessed at that time the contrary accomplishment, as *Musculus* did. *Bayle's* Critical Dictionary, under the article of *Musculus*.

(5) The Abbe of the convent of *Hohenfort*, who gathered the tithes and revenues of the church, refused to pay him. *Bayle*.

(6) He lay on the ground, covered with a little straw, quitting the bed which he had brought from the Convent to his wife, who was ready to lye on. *Baillet*, cited by *Bayle*.

(d) This must be the first impression of it, as appears from remarks [D] and [E] below.

(b) His antagonists spared not to return him filth for filth, as may in part be seen in his character drawn by Will. Watfon in his Quodlibets, And Mr Wood observes, in his course language, that the Author of the pamphlet against the Jesuits, intituled, *Another letter*, &c. has thrown out stuff enough, against the rules of charity, to run down a dog. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 504.

(11) This particular league was begun by a citizen of Paris, by name La Roche Blond. They had forty Chiefs, among whom the government was distributed according to the sixteen wards or quarters of Paris, whence they were called the Seize or Sixteen.

(12) His Holiness fulminated a bull against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, depriving them of their estates, and declaring them incapable of succeeding to any principality whatsoever; and the King of Navarre caused a protest against it to be fixed up at Rome.

(13) Barclay, de regno et regali potestate, adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Bourchierum, et reliquos monarchomacos, &c. Parag. 1600. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 438, 439.

(14) So his name is written by his own countrymen; though Mr Wood writes it Bouchier, and William Barclay, Bourchier.

(15) Wood from Boucher's book *De Justa Henrici III. abdicatione*, &c. Lugd. 1591, 8vo. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 123.

his books (d) to Paris. Here the English Ambassador complaining of him to Henry III, then King of France, and urging, that, as he was born a subject to Queen Elizabeth, and a fugitive, who, in despite of his natural allegiance, had abused his Sovereign by a malicious representation of cruelties, he might be delivered into his hands to be sent to England, there to receive the proper reward of his demerits (e). The French monarch, though far from being displeased with the book, thought proper so far to yield to the Ambassador's suit, as to order Veritegan into confinement [E]. How long he lay in prison does not appear: But upon his release he quitted France, apparently to escape a further prosecution, and, returning to *Antwerp*, republished his book (f), and taking up the business and trade of a Printer, he acquired thereby a handsome subsistence, maintaining the port and figure of a gentleman [F]. It was during this interval that he was drawn into the quarrel which had been carried on several years with great animosity between the regular and secular Priests of the Romish Church in England (g); and we are told, that on this occasion, he mingled as much gall with his ink as the bitterest of the Jesuits, though he was no member of that fiery spirited society, being rather a secular Clerk. Whether he ever published any of these railings separately, or whether they were only inserted as fit supports and decorations in other pieces, is no easy matter to find out at this distance of time: In whose iron arms, under this inscription, that *the best tempers have been unbinged by the heat of controversy* (b), let the filth lie fast buried in oblivion, while the more worthy productions of his genius still survive to embalm his memory. It is certain, that, about the time of Queen Elizabeth's death, he turned his studies on a more noble subject, which, being finished, he published under the title of *A Restitution of decayed intelligence in Antiquities con-*

they put themselves openly in defiance, under the conduct of the *Duke of Guise*, upon his Majesty's entering into an alliance with the King of *Navarre*, a heretic. The *Duke of Guise* drew the *Cardinal of Bourbon* into his party, which was further strengthened by the junction of the particular league of the Parisians under the name of the *Seize* [sixteen] (11). And, in 1584, the Duke withdrew from Court, and going to his government of *Champagne*, went thence to meet the agents of the *Cardinal of Bourbon* and the King of Spain at *Joinville*, where a compact was made, that the *Cardinal of Bourbon* should succeed to the crown, exclusive of all heretical Princes, in case the King died without issue; that the King of Spain should furnish fifty thousand pistoles a month for the support of the League; and that, reciprocally, the Princes of the League should assist his Catholic Majesty in reducing to obedience his rebellious subjects of the Netherlands. This war commenced in 1585; but, some months after, the French monarch granting the League an edict, by which he revoked all those that had been made in favour of the Huguenots, and took away the toleration, the war was thereupon rekindled through all the provinces of France, by the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* on the side of the Huguenots, and by the *Duke of Guise* and the *Leaguers* on the other side, assisted by the Pope [Sixtus V.] (12). The French King, siding with the League, published an edict in their favour, called the *Edict of Reunion*, in 1588, declaring his resolution to exterminate heresy, and exclude every heretical Prince from the succession to his crown, if he should himself die without male issue. But soon after, suspecting the *Duke of Guise* to harbour some ill designs against him, he caused him to be put to death, together with the *Cardinal* his brother. The King himself, Henry III, was assassinated the next year, 1589, and was succeeded by the King of *Navarre*, Henry IV, who, after several struggles with the League, at length professed himself a Roman Catholic in 1593, upon which the *Leaguers* laid down their arms. From this narrative it appears to our present purpose, what breaking out of the rebellious League it was that drove *Verstegan* out of the Netherlands, mentioned above, viz. undoubtedly that which commenced in 1585, a point which is left unsettled by the *Oxford Antiquary*. And a further use of this narrative will be seen in the next remark.

[E] *Verstegan* was imprisoned by Henry III.] We are told, that Henry III. was so much pleased with the pictures, and gave so much credit to them, that he did not spare to accuse Queen Elizabeth of great cruelty, calling her a *wicked and cruel woman* (13). But her Majesty was revenged, though undesignedly, by John Boucher (14), who presently kindled into a flame on *Verstegan's* imprisonment, charging it on Henry as an heretical fault (15). This Boucher, who was a native of Paris, is called by Mr Wood an active firebrand of the League, and the character is confirmed by their own writers, who give the following account of him: That he was Rector of the University of Paris, and Prior of

the Sorbonne in 1580, and afterwards became a Doctor of Divinity and Curate or Parson of St Bennet's parish in Paris: that he was not wanting for parts; but that a false zeal rendered him one of the most seditious preachers of the League: That it was in a chamber, which he had in the college of Fortet, that the Leaguers held their first assembly in 1585. He declaimed publicly in the pulpit against Henry III, and also his successor Henry IV; but, upon the conversion (16) of this last monarch, Boucher retired into Flanders in 1594, being then Canon and Dean of *Tournay*, where he died in 1644, having changed his sentiments (17). Besides the piece cited by Mr Wood, there are several sermons of his in print (18). And the Apology, or defence of *John Chatel*, who was executed for rebellion, is also attributed to him, though published under the feigned name of *Francis of Verona Constantin*. To which must be added, that he published some things against Richer, as we are told by Mr Bayle, who observes, that he was not only the most seditious, but the most stubborn and unruly person among the rebels; that it was he who, giving order to sound the alarm bell in his church, contributed more than all the rest to the insurrection; that on that success he became more insolent, and preached insolently next day against the person of the King and his Counsellors; that his piece of the just deposition of Henry III. was the most infamous satire that could be written; that it is very probable he was an accomplice with James Clement, who assassinated that King; that he was still bolder against Henry IV. as an heretic; that after Henry professing himself a Roman Catholic, Boucher still retained his former sentiments; and that he went into the Netherlands with the Spanish garrison, which was at Paris during the league: That *he died well changed in temper, and as zealous a Frenchman against strangers, as he had been a furious Spaniard in France*. To conclude with a remark on our present subject: These transactions, passing between Henry III. and *Verstegan*, shew, that his book against Queen Elizabeth was printed before the death of the French monarch, which happening in 1589, is an undeniable proof that the book had been printed before the edition of 1592, as Mr Wood was informed. The narrative in the preceding remark makes it more than probable, that the first edition went through the press at Antwerp not later than 1585, which year our Author went to Paris.

[F] *He maintained the port and figure of a gentleman.*] Prosperity is the genuine prey of Envy. No wonder then that *Verstegan's* good fortune and success fell under the ridicule of his adversaries. The Author of a pamphlet against the Jesuits, intituled, *Another letter of Mr A. C. to his disjuncted kinsman, concerning the Appeal, State, Jesuits, &c.* thus gibes upon him: 'By his rising up only by Brocade, says he, and Spierie for the Hispanified Jesuits, he lived then and there [at Antwerp] as if he were an HIDALGO; as who may not be a gentleman, who lives so far from home, where he is not known (19).'

(e) Gul. Barclay de regno & regali potestate, &c. Parag. 1600. lib. 6. cap. 7. p. 438, 439.

(f) Viz. in 1592, which was the Edition cited by Mr Wood, who never saw the first.

(g) See Carte's History of England, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

(16) It is a Papist that writes this.

(17) Dictionnaire Portatif, and Moreri under his article.

(18) Particularly nine, wherein he maintained, that the conversion of Henry IV. was a piece of dissimulation, and his absolution null. Printed in 1594, but they were burnt at the cross next day after the reduction of Paris.

(19) Another letter of Mr A. C. &c. p. 24, edit. 1602. 4to. p. 24.

cerning the most noble and renowned English nation [G]. He prosecuted the same subject many years, and continued to employ the press by printing some other works, which shew him to be skilled both in painting and poetry [H]. Several years before his death he had the good fortune to marry a thrifty and prudent woman, who was a great help in supporting his credit; so that he lived, under the notion of a Spanish stipendiary, in good condition at Antwerp, among the English who had fled thither for the sake of religion. It appears, by some letters written by him to the great Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton (b), that he was living in the end of King James, and the beginning of King Charles I's reign; but, dying abroad, the exact date of his death has not been preserved amongst us.

(b) Mr Wood says he saw two of these letters in the Cotton library; but I do not find them in Dr Smith's catalogue, and no other has been yet made of that library for the use of the British Museum.

[G] He published *A Restitution of decayed Intelligence*, &c. This curious piece was first published at Antwerp in 1605, 4to. The subject is well handled, contains many things which were little known before his time, and was well received by the public, especially on account of several prints engraven from his own drawings, among which are figures of those Saxon and Danish deities from whom our days of the week take their names; yet Mr Wood observes, that the fame and sale of it was hurt by the first edition of Camden's Remains, which unluckily came out the preceding year, 1604. However the book kept up a good share of esteem among the curious and learned in antiquities, as is evident from the several editions it has gone through, being reprinted in 4to at London, 1634, after which a second impression was made there in 1653, in a large 8vo, and a third in 1674, 8vo (20). *The Restitution*, &c. being our Author's master-piece, and that by which he is especially known, and his memory and reputation still preserved in England, it will be proper to take notice of the two copies of recommendatory verses prefixed to his book, chiefly because we thereby come to know two of his friends and patrons, which is a part of his history: These are *Richard Whyte* (21) of *Basingstoke*, and *Richard Stanyhurst*; both men of distinction in the literary republic. The latter will fall under our notice hereafter (22). We shall therefore give here the following account of Dr Whyte from the Oxford Antiquary, who informs us (23), that the Doctor was the son of *Henry Whyte* of *Basingstoke* in Hampshire, Gent. in which town his mother, the daughter of *Richard Caplin* of Hampshire, brought him into the world in 1536. After going through Winchester-school he was sent to Gloucester-hall (now Worcester-college) in Oxford, whence he removed to New-college, being chosen a fellow there, and admitted perpetual in 1557. He proceeded A. B. May 30, 1559 (24); but before commencing Master, he withdrew from the college, and, continuing absent till the time limited for absence by the statutes was spent, his fellowship was declared void in 1564. He had, it seems, crossed the sea to *Louvain*; whence going to *Padua*, he applied himself to the study of Civil and Canon Law, and was created Doctor in that faculty. At length, removing to *Dorway*, he was there made *Regius Professor* of Law; in which place he continued about twenty years, married two rich wives (one being an heiress), grew wealthy, was made, by order of the Pope, *Magnificus Rector*, though out of his ordinary turn; and about the same time was created *Comes Palatinus* (25). At length, having buried two wives, he was, by the dispensation of Pope Clement VIII, ordained Priest, and about the same time obtained a canonry at St Peter's church at *Dorway*. The first thing that made him known to the curious in literature was his exposition of that ancient enigmatical epitaph, which in his time was remaining near *Bononia*, the title

of which is, *Ælia Lelia Crispis—Epitaphium antiquum in agro Bononiensi adhuc videtur: novissime autem a Ric. Villo (26) Basingstoclio amicorum precibus explicatum. Patav. 1568, in 4to, with a dedication to Christopher Johnson, head-master of Winchester-school. Afterwards he wrote and published, 1st, Orationes quinque de circulo artium & philosophiæ—Pro divitiis Regum—Pro doctoratu—De studiorum finibus cum notis. Atrebat. 1596, 8vo. The two first, which were spoken at Louvain, were published by Christopher Johnson beforementioned, about 1564, and ordered by him to be read publicly by the scholars in Winchester-school. 2d, Notæ ad leges Decemvirorum in XII tabulis. Atreb. 1597, 8vo. 3d, Historiarum Britannicæ Insulæ ab origine mundi ad annum Domini octingentesimum, libri novem. Duaci 1602, in a thick 8vo (27), with a preface, to which is prefixed a print of the Author, with his arms, viz. Parted per Chevron, embattled Argent and Gules, three roses leaved vert, countercharged of the field, on a chief of the second a Lyon passant, Or; all within a bordure Ermine. Crest a Stork or Crane standing, resting its right foot on the top of an hour-glass, with this Motto under all, *Plus vigila*. Allowed to our Author, *Count Richard Whyte*, with two Dragons for the supporters, by Sir *William Dethicke*, Garter Principal King of arms, in allusion to the arms of his kinsman Dr *John Whyte*, Bishop of Winton (28). Dr Whyte also published, 4th, *Explicatio brevis privilegiorum juris et consuetudinis circa ven. Sacramentum Eucharistiæ*. Duaci. 1609, 8vo. 5th, *De reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum*. Ibid. 1602. And some other things, which may be seen in *John Pius* (29). At length this learned person, dying at *Dorway* about the year 1612, was buried in the parish-church of St James there.*

(26) So our Author usually wrote his name.

(27) The first, second, third, fourth, and fifth, were printed in 1597, the sixth in 1598, the seventh and eighth in 1600, and the ninth in 1602, separately.

(28) Whose arms are quite different from those of his brother, Sir John Whyte, who was Lord-Mayor of London, ann. 1563.

(29) De Illustrib. Antiq. Script. æt. 17. an. 1-57.

[H] He published some other pieces, &c. The titles of some of these are, 1st, *Odes in imitation of the seven penitential psalms, with sundry other poems and ditties, tending to devotion and piety*, printed abroad in 1601, with the Jesuits mark in the title. In these poems many matters of antiquity and ancient Saints of England are touched upon by the Author, who, subscribing himself R. V. is claimed by Mr Wood for *Richard Verstegan*, who, as he had been informed, had some skill in poetry as well as in painting. 2d, *The sundry successive regal governments of the realm of England*. Antwerp, 1620, printed in one large sheet, wherein are copper-plate prints of a Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman. Mr Wood also ascribes the following English translation, which is subscribed R. V. to our Author, intitled, *A Dialogue of dying well*. Antwerp, 1603, 8vo. written in Italian by *Don Peter of Luca*, a Canon regular and D. D. and by the Translator dedicated to the Lady *Joan Berkley*, Abbess of the English Benedictine Nuns at Brussels. Moreover *Verstegan*, says Mr Wood, hath written and translated other things; but, few of them coming into England, we seldom or never see them.

VILLIERS [GEORGE], the first Duke of Buckingham of this family, and the greatest favourite of two succeeding Monarchs, that was ever known in this, or any other Kingdom. He was the third son of Sir George Villiers, Knight, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Cole-Orton, Esq; names on each side of ancient extraction (a). He was born August 28, 1592, at Brooksby in Leicestershire, where his Ancestors had chiefly continued about four hundred years [A], though rather without obscurity, than with any great lustre.

(a) They had been seated long before at Kinalton in Nottinghamshire. Life and Death of the Duke of Buckingham, by Sir Henry Watson. Edit. 1642. 4to.

[A] Of ancient extraction.] The family of Villiers was descended from the ancient and noble house of Villiers, Seigneurs of Lisle Adam in Normandy (1), and came into England at the time of the conquest. But the first that was written of Brooksby was *Alexander de*

Vylers (2), who flourished in the reign of Edward I, and was father to Sir Nicolas de Villiers, who, following that King into the holy Land, took on him the Cross, chusing that of St George, the Patron of his country, and five escallop shells on it to shew the cause of his expedition,

(2) The name is variously written, as Villiers, Villiers, Vylers, &c. Peerage of England, Vol. III. edition 1766, Earl of Jersey,

(20) Since which time, being garbled by other writers, and the subject much improved by later inquiries, it has suffered the fate of many other valuable pieces, by having served the turn, to be neglected as useless.

(21) His father, Thomas Whyte, was the son of Jenkyn Whyte, who was possessed of almost half the town of Basingstoke, being son of Thomas Whyte of Purville in Hampshire, grandfather to John Whyte, some time Bishop of Winchester.

(22) In the article of Archbishop Usher.

(23) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 381, 382.

(24) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 83.

(25) This title is commonly conferred by the Imperialists on their Professors. Vide Shadwell's article, rem. [A].

(1) Philippe Villiers Lisle Adam was the last great master of Rhodes, and defended it six months against the Turkish Emperor Solyman. Memoirs of the Life of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, &c. p. 24. by Bryan Fairfax, Esq; Edit. 1753, 4to.

where the pedigree is drawn at length under the article of the a descendant of this family.

lustre. Being carefully bred under his mother till ten years of age, he was then sent to school at *Billifden* in the same County, where he was taught music, and other slight literature, till thirteen, when his father dying, he was taken home to her house at Godby by his mother, to whom both the elegant beauty of his person, and the gay sprightliness of his temper rendered him a particular favourite. Under her tuition little regard, it seems, was had to grammar, or classical learning. He was instructed in dancing, fencing, and other ornamental accomplishments, in which lessons he had such a natural and prompt dexterity, as obliged his masters to restrain his forwardness for the sake of his brothers, who being under the same training, might otherwise have been too much discouraged by his prodigious outstripping them. At the age of eighteen, he travelled into France for a further improvement in the exercises of that nobility, and having spent three years in those academies, he came home perfectly possessed of every qualification they could give him, without affecting any of the airs peculiar to that people. Upon his return, he passed a whole year, as before, under the wing and counsels of his mother. At the end of which, being now arrived to the age of manhood, he began to think of marriage, and in that view, fixed his eye upon a daughter of Sir Roger Ashton, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King James I, and Master of the Robes. But he was diverted from all pursuits of that kind by Sir *John Graham*, into whose acquaintance he fell about this time, who being one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber, encouraged him greatly to push his fortune at Court (b). This advice exactly concurring with his own taste and humour, made a deep impression upon his mind: he pursued it with ardour and address, and the result answered the most sanguine of his wishes. For not long afterward, the King (as his manner was) from some accidental glances (the first of which was at Abthorp, in a progress) took such a liking to his person, that he resolved to make him his *mignon* (c): and not content with barely being the architect of his fortune, he put his hand also to some part of the work; giving Sir John Graham secret directions how, and by what degrees, he should bring him into favour. To this purpose, first an intimation of the King's pleasure was conveyed to him to wait in order to be sworn his Majesty's servant, and shortly after his Cup-Bearer at large, ann. 1613, to which he was admitted in ordinary the summer following. An entrance being thus opened, favours came thick upon him, liker main-showers, than sprinkling drops, or dews. For the next St George's Day, 1615, he was knighted, and made Gentleman of the King's Bed-Chamber, and the same day had an annual pension settled upon him of a thousand pounds out of the Court of Wards. At New-Year's-Tide following, the King appointed him Master of the Horse, and in July, 1616, he was installed Knight of the Garter. On the 22d of August, he was created Baron of Whaddon, in the County of Bucks, and Viscount Villiers; and January the 5th, the same year, was advanced to be Earl of Buckingham, and sworn of the Privy-Council. In March, 1617, he attended the King into Scotland, where he was likewise sworn a Privy-Counsellor of that Kingdom; and on the succeeding New Year's-Day, he was created Marquis of Buckingham, and made Lord High-Admiral of England, Chief Justice in Eyre of the Parks and Forests on the south side of Trent, Master of the King's-Bench Office, Steward of Westminster, and Constable of Windsor-Castle (d). With these great honours, and as great employments, he was likewise the sole dispenser of the King's favours, so that he exalted all his own numerous family, and dependents. In February, 1623, he embarked for Spain [B], with Prince

(b) Life and death of the Duke of Buckingham, page 1. to page 4.

(c) The merit of recommending him first of any one to the Queen, was claimed afterwards by Archbishop Abbot, who tells us also, that he was knighted with the Prince's sword, and that *Somerfet*, the preceding mignon, opposed his being sworn of the bed-chamber, and importuned his Majesty, that he might be only sworn a Groom. See Archbishop Abbot's article, remark [M].

(d) Gen. Hist. of England.

being ancient badges of those Croisades. From this Sir Nicholas descended, after eleven generations, Sir George Villiers, who became Father to the subject of the present article by his second wife, daughter to Anthony Beaumont, of Glenfield in com. Leicester, Esq; which Lady, surviving him, became secondly wife to Sir William Rayner, and lastly to Sir Thomas Compton, Knight of the Bath (3), brother to William Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton, who, it is said, had a great hand in the rise of the Duke of Buckingham at Court. *Weldon*, in his *Court and Character of King James I*, having thrown some indecent reflections upon the Duke (4), there was published, in 1650, An Answer thereto, wrote by a person of figure in the same court, in which the Author relates, that the Duke's 'mother, a widow, being lately married to Sir *Thomas Compton*, brother to the Lord *Compton*, who by chance falling on a wonderful match for matchless wealth with Alderman Sir *John Spencer's* daughter (5) and heir, and his father then lately dead, this Lord was master of all, which was of more than credible; and so might be enabled bountifully to set up a kinsman without help or alms of the parish; and that, on Villiers's succeeding the old Earl of Nottingham in the Admiralty, who requested of the King that he might have his place, he went in person to acknowledge the kindness, and presented his young Lady with a very noble and valuable reward, which my Lord Compton paid for (6).' It is somewhat remarkable, that this noble friend and promoter of the Duke's rise was taken out of the world by a sudden act. 'Yesterday sevensnight, says my Author, the Earl of Northampton, Lord President of Wales, after he had waited on the King

at supper (and had also supped himself) went in a boat, with others, to wash himself in the Thames, and so soon as his legs were in the water but to the knees, he was seized with the colic, and cried out, *Have me into the boat again, for I am a dead man.* Accordingly he died a few hours after at his lodgings in the Savoy, June 24, 1630 (7). His son and successor, Spencer Compton, married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, brother to the Countess of Buckingham, by whom he had six sons, the youngest of which, Henry, became Bishop of London (*), and his eldest son James was father to the right honourable Sir *Spencer Compton*, being his third son, who was Speaker of the House of Commons in that parliament, which passed an act to continue themselves for seven years, tempore Georg. I, and was afterwards created Earl of *Wilmington*. The eldest brother *George* succeeded to the earldom of Northampton, as did also his eldest son *James*, and after his death the second son *George*; but this last dying without issue in 1758 (8), the title became extinct in this family.

[B] *He embarked for Spain.*] Some time before this extraordinary frolic, the Duke's high favour with the King had transported him into a forgetfulness of his duty to the Prince, whom he was very near striking. For that affront his Highness having conceived very great indignation against him, to remove it he projected this frolic, which succeeded to his wish, and fixed him in the Prince's favour (9). They set out on Tuesday, February 18, from a house lately purchased by the Marquis at *Newhall* in Essex (10), with disguised beards, and the feigned names of Thomas and John Smith, attended only by Sir Richard Graham, Master of horse to the Marquis. On passing the Thames against Gravesend,

(7) Peck's *Defiderata Curiosæ*, Vol. 11. l. 2. p. 36.

(*) See his article.

(8) There being no male issue left. Peerage of Engl. Vol. 11f.

(9) Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, &c. Vol. I. Fol. Edit.

(10) Now in the possession of Mr *Olmus*, member of the present parliament, 1762, for Weymouth.

(3) She brought him two daughters; *Anne*, married to Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, of *Whitby* in com. Ebor. Bart. and *Penelope* to Sir *John Nicholas*, Knight of the Bath, one of the principal Secretaries of State to K. Ch. I. and II. Ibid. Vol. 11. p. 218.

(4) P. 89, et seq.

(5) He was usually called the rich *Spencer*: He was Lord-Mayor of London in 36 Queen Elizabeth.

(6) *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, p. 165, and 168.

(2) Sir Simonds d'Ewes calls this journey, *an accident*, though at the same time he observes, that the King was privy to it. See his article, in remark [B].

Prince Charles (e), (afterwards King Charles I.) to make up the long agitated match with the Infanta of that Kingdom; and, in his absence, he was created Earl of Coventry, and Duke of Buckingham, the 18th of May following. After his return from Spain, in September, he was made Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Steward of the Manor of Hampton-Court. The death of King James, which happened March 27, 1625, brought no diminution to the power of the Duke; he continued in the same degree of favour with the son, which he enjoyed so many years under the father. The new King sent him to conduct into England, his lately espoused consort (f), the Princess *Henrietta Maria* of France [C]. On which Embassy, he arrived at Paris, May the 24th, 1625 (g); and

(f) By his proxy, the Duke of Chevreux, Salmon's Chron. Historian, who says the marriage was solemnized at Paris on the 11th of May, 1625.

(g) Petition of England, Vol. III. p. 207. Edit. 1750.

end, having no silver, they gave the Ferryman a gold piece of twenty-eight Shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness, that such good gentlemen should be going, as he suspected, upon some quarrel beyond sea, that he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the town with what had befallen him. The officers thereupon sent presently post to stop them at Rochester, but they were passed through it before. On the brow of Chatham-hill they were somewhat perplexed by spying the French Ambassador, with the King's coach and others attending him, which made them baulk the road, and teach Post-hacknies to leap hedges. At Canterbury, whither some bruit was run before, the Mayor of the town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh horses, alledging, in his blunt manner, a warrant to stop them, first from the Council, next from Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Master of the ceremonies, and lastly from Sir *Henry Mainwaring*, then Lieutenant of Dover-castle; at all which confused fiction the Marquis had no leisure to laugh, but thought it best to dismask his beard, and so told the Mayor that he was going covertly with such a slender attendance to take a secret view (being Admiral) of the forwardness of his Majesty's fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow seas. On the way afterwards a Post-boy, who had been at Court, got somehow a glimmering who they were, but his mouth was easily shut. To Dover, by reason of bad horses and these petty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir *Francis Cottington*, then Secretary to the Prince, and Mr *Endynion Porter* (t t), who had been sent before to provide a vessel for their transportation. The next morning (for the night was tempestuous) taking ship at Dover about six, they landed the same day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon, reaching Montreuil that night, and Paris the next day (t 2), viz. Friday the 21st. Here the Prince spent one whole day to view the city and the court; and, for a better disguise, his Highness and the Marquis bought each a periwig, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. They got sight of the King and Queen, without being discovered, no not by Monsieur *Cadinet*, who had been lately Ambassador to England, and saw them both. Towards evening, by meer chance, they had a sight of the Infanta and of the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, with other great Ladies, at the practice of a masking dance which was then in preparation; having overheard two gentlemen who were going to that sight, they pressed after them, and were let in by the Duke de *Mont-Bajon*, the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, out of civility to strangers, when diverse of the French were put by. Leaving Paris next day at three in the morning, they spent six days at Bayonne, the last town of France, having before at *Bordeaux* bought them five riding-coats, all of one colour and fashion; and Sir *Francis Cottington* was employed to prevent their being entertained by the Duke of *Espernon*, telling him they were gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little courtship or politeness (t 3). It being now Lent season, they could get no flesh in their inns, which occasioned the following incident. Near Bayonne was a herd of goats with their young ones, upon which sight Sir *Richard Graham* tells the Marquis he would snap a kid, and make some shift to convey it unseen to their lodgings; the Prince overhearing it, *Why Richard*, says he pleasantly, *do you think you may practise here again your old tricks upon the borders?* In this humour having satisfied the goat-herd, while the Marquis and his servant on foot chafed the kid about the stack, the Prince killed him by a shot in the head with a Scotch pistol (t 4). At Bayonne both their persons and behaviour were eyed narrowly by the Count de *Grammont*, Governor of that jealous frontier, who told some of his train, that he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth than their habits bespoke them; yet he let them courtously pass (t 5); and four days after they arrived at Madrid (16), where alighting at the Earl of Bristol's house, the Marquis [Mr *Thomas Smith*] came in first,

with a portmanteau under his arm; then [Mr *John Smith*] the Prince was sent for, who staid a while on the other side of the street in the dark. They were received with all possible politeness at this court. But the Duke soon began to be displeas'd for his behaviour to the Prince, which, together with his personal animosity against the Duke of *Olivarez*, the sole favourite at that court, was one reason that this journey intirely dissolved the Spanish match, so many years in agitation (t 7).

[C] To conduct *Henrietta* from France.] Sir *Henry Wotton* takes notice (18), that in this embassy, which consisted all of meer shew, there wanted no ornaments or bravery to set it off; and he thinks it worthy some little remembrance, that the Duke on a solemn day gorgeously clad in a suit all overspread with diamonds, and having lost one of good value, perchance he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty mien, it was strangely recovered next morning in a court full of pages; such a diligent attendant, says he, was fortune upon him every where, both at home and abroad. However, it seems, he experienced at this time one of her cross purposes, if we may believe the Lord *Clarendon*, who, having observed, that in this embassy his person and prudence was wonderfully admired and esteemed, and that he appeared in it with all the lustre the wealth of England could adorn him, and outshined all the bravery that court could dress itself in, and over-acted the whole nation in their own most peculiar vanities, proceeds thus: 'He had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a Lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses, infomuch as when the King had brought the Queen his sister as far as she meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the Duke, to be by him conducted into England, the Duke, in his journey, after the departure of that court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great Lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy: But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception; and if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated; of which he had only so much notice, as served him to decline the danger: But he swore in the instant, that he would see and speak with that Lady in spite of the strength and power of France. And from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that court and nation, by causing all those that fled into England, from the justice and displeasure of that King, to be received and entertained here, not only with ceremony and security, but, with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the persons were, and the more notorious their King's displeasure was towards them (as in that time there were many Lords and Ladies in those circumstances) the more respectfully they were received and esteemed. He omitted no opportunity to incense the King against France, and to dispose him to assist the Huguenots, whom he likewise encouraged to give their King some trouble. He also took great pains to lessen the King's affection towards his Queen, being exceeding jealous lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs, and had even brought himself (against his nature) to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards the Queen. One day, when he unjustly apprehended, that she had shewed some disrespect to his mother, in not going to her lodging at an hour she intended to go, and was hindered by meer accident, he came into her chamber in much passion, and after some expostulations, rude enough, he told her she should repent it. Her Majesty answering with some quickness; he thereupon replied insolently to her, that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads. And it was universally known, that, during his life, the Queen never had any credit with the King, in reference to any public affair (t 7).'

(17) Howel's Letters, as before, No. XV.

(18) In his life of the Duke, p. 15.—Cardinal Barberini, it is said, came with great pomp from Italy to hinder this match. Vide Letter LXXXIX in Parr's Collection of Letters, annexed to Archbishop Usher's Life.

(11) He was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confidence, but, as useful for his skill in the Spanish tongue, and his singular credit in Spain, which we are told by Sir *Henry Wotton*; and these two qualities are intimated in several addresses to him by Mr *Howel*, in Epistol. *Howellianæ* &c.

(12) About two posts before, they had met with two German gentlemen, come newly from England, where they had seen the Prince and the Marquis taking coach together with the King, and retained such a strong impression of them, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons, but were outwitted by Sir *Richard Graham*.

(13) The Earl of Carlisle was sent into France soon after, to excuse the Prince's sudden and secret passing through his kingdom, without giving him a visit. Sir *Simonds d'Ewes*, as above in note (e).

(14) It is part of K. Charles's character, that he was a good marksman. Gen. Hist. of England. Particularly by Mr *Hume*.

(15) In this, says Mr *Howel*, they had very good luck; for the Count was informed who they were the next day, and would certainly have stop't them. *Howel's Letters*, Vol. I. Sect. 3. No. XVI. Edit. 1650.

(16) Sir *Henry Wotton*, as before,

when

(14) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. fol. 102.

(i) Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, two of the Members of the Commons, who carried up the impeachment, were committed to the Tower for some obnoxious expressions on that occasion, though upon explaining themselves, released soon after.

(20) History of the Rebellion, as before.

(21) Strafford's Letters and State Papers, &c. Vol. I. p. 27, Edit. 1737, in 2 Vols. Folio.

(*) From Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVIII. p. 236, et seqq.

when he was arraigned in the Parliament, which met at Oxford in August, the King dissolved that Parliament, At his Majesty's Coronation, February the 2d, the same year, the Duke was Lord High-Constable for that day; and in the new Parliament, which met four days after, being impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours by the Commons (b), the Duke put in his answer, which not giving content, the King, impatient of all proceedings (i) against him, chose to dissolve this Parliament also, rather than part with the Duke, and that too at a time when he was actually engaged in a war with Spain [D]. In the prosecution whereof, the Duke went not long after with the Earl of Holland to the Hague, in order to negotiate a treaty with the States about a common diversion for the recovery of the Palatinate [E]. Within a month after the dissolution of the parliament,

[D] *Notwithstanding he was then engaged in a war with Spain.* Lord Clarendon (20) having observed, that the Duke's answer to the impeachment was civilly couched; and, though his heart was big favoured of an humble servant, proceeds to inform us, 'that they who flattered him most before, mentioned him now with the greatest bitterness and acrimony; and the same men who had called him *Our Saviour*, for bringing the Prince safe out of Spain, called him now the *corrupter of the King, and betrayer of the liberties of the people*, without the least crime imputed to him, to have been committed since the time of that exalted adulation; or that was not then as much known to them as it could be now: *so fluctuating and unsteady a testimony is the applause of popular councils.* This transported him with indignation, and created in him a greater contempt of parliaments than he had before shewn, and which he did not forbear to publish in the most open manner. Such as had given any offence were imprisoned and disgraced, and new projects were set on foot for money, which served only to offend and incense the people, and brought little supplies; yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint; many persons of the best quality (excepting Peers) being committed to several prisons with unheard of circumstances, only for refusing to pay money required of them by those extraordinary ways. And the Duke himself would passionately say, and frequently do, many things, which only grieved his friends, and incensed his enemies, and gave them ability to do him harm.'

[E] *He went to the Hague.* He set out in the beginning of November, as appears from a letter, dated November 7, from Sir Arthur Ingram to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart. in which is the following passage: 'The Duke [of Buckingham] is now gone over to the Hague, and from thence cometh to France, and, it is thought, will be here again before Christmas. He hath carried all the great jewels of any value, of the King's, and all the gilt plate, it is said, to borrow money upon them, to supply the King of Denmark withal (21).' These jewels being crown jewels, and of very great value, it was necessary to have a warrant from the King himself, both for the delivering them to and receiving of them by the Embassadors, with a particular description and weight of each jewel, which being very curious both in the form and richness of them, we shall lay before our readers (*). The warrant is directed to the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Holland, Lord Conway, Lord Compton, Sir Henry Mildmay, Master of the Jewel-Office, and *Endymion Porter*, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber, in these terms: 'Whereas we have lately employed the said Duke and Earl as Embassadors to the States of the United Provinces, and for our especial service have commanded the said Lord Compton to deliver into the hands of the said Lord Conway the several jewels hereafter particularly mentioned, being at that time in his custody, that is to say,

Imprimis, A great rich jewel of gold, called *the Mirror of Great Britain*, having two fair table diamonds, and two other large diamonds cut lozenge-wise, garnished with small diamonds, and a pendant of a fair diamond cut in fancetts without foyle.

Item, A fair jewel, in fashion like a feather of gold, having in the midst one great diamond, and thirty other diamonds of different bigness, and five small diamonds in form of a cross.

Item, A flower of gold, with three great ballaces, in the midst a great pointed diamond, and three great pearls fixt, with a fair pearl pendant, called *the Bretbren*.

Item, A great pointed diamond, with a collet taken from a collar of gold, wherein yet remains eight great rock rubies, and twenty great pearls, set in twoes, and a long pearl pendant.

Item, A broken collar of gold of thirty pieces, whereof fifteen are roses, and fifteen crowned cyphers of the King

and Queen's names, wherein are eleven pointed diamonds, and eight table diamonds.

Item, A jewel of gold of the letter I, having one long fair table diamond, and two lesser square table triangled diamonds, and a rose-diamond, and a great oval pearl pendant.

Item, The great collar (*) of ballast rubies, containing twenty pieces of gold, whereof ten are set with great ballast rubies, and ten with sixteen great round pearls in each piece.

Item, One great sapphire cut in fossets, one pendant sapphire cut in fossets, one ballast ruby with a long pearl pendant, one ballast ruby without foyle in a collet of gold enamelled.

Item, A great amethyst in a collet of gold.

All which jewels the said Lord Compton, according to our command, did deliver to the said Lord Conway, and the said Lord Conway, by our command, did deliver them upon or near the 8th of November last past, to the said *Endymion Porter*, to be carried beyond the seas into Holland, and there to be delivered to the said Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Holland, by them two to be disposed of as we have especially directed them for our service.

And whereas the said Sir Henry Mildmay, Master of our Jewel-office, by our special commandment, upon or about the 26th of October last past, did deliver out of his custody and charge, unto the said Duke and Earl, or their servants for them, these several parcels of rich plate and jewels hereafter particularly mentioned in these presents, that is to say,

Imprimis, One bason of gold, in the bottom whereof are set two fair diamonds, two fair rubies, and two emeralds, and seventeen fair pearls, and the brim of the same garnished with four fair diamonds, four fair rubies, four fair emeralds, and forty-eight clusters of pearls, there being four fair pearls in every cluster. Of the weight of 113 ounces.

Item, One very fair layer of mother of pearl, being a shell crazed in sundry places, and limited again, garnished with gold, the foot thereof cut eight square, in the lower part whereof is one diamond without a foyle, four rock rubies, two fair emeralds, and one sapphire, and upon the upper part of the same square is one very great diamond without foyle, one fair rock ruby, two fair emeralds, the shank thereof garnished with two very fair rubies, two very fair emeralds, and three very fair pearls pendant, the body thereof garnished with five fair rubies, two fair diamonds, and six pearls, the handle being an antique man of gold, garnished with six rubies, one emerald, one sapphire, and one pearl, and laying his one hand upon a goodly ballace, and his other hand upon a goodly ruby, and, from the body to the same shell, garnished with two diamonds, four rubies, and two very fair rubies, with two pearls in two womens hands, holding between the other two hands a goodly ballace like a heart, the garniture of the same shell above the brim, and spout downward, the body with five diamonds, two of them being great, seven rubies, four emeralds, one emerald pendant, one blue sapphire, and three pearls pendant, with two several pearls set, and a long pearl set in the top, over the said heart of ballace. Weighing 160 ounces.

Item, One bason and layer of gold, the bason enamelled about the bushel and brim, and the layer suitable, having forty-eight small diamonds in the bason, and thirty-five small diamonds, thirty rubies, and twelve great sapphires in the layer. Weighing 202 ounces.

Item, A bason and ewer of gold, set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, and one great ballast ruby in the midst of the ewer, the arms of Denmark in the bason, with *Anna Regina*. Weighing 165½ ounces.

Item, A fair boll of gold, and a cover garnished with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, on the top a wild man, with a ruby pendent in his hand, and *Anna Regina* on the cover. Weight 51¼ ounces.

Item,

(b) In this Parliament the Earl of Bristol having exhibited articles against the Duke, May 1, 1626, charging him with endeavouring to pervert the Prince (now King) to the Romish Religion in Spain, the King sent a message to the Lords, asserting the Duke's innocence of his own certain knowledge.

(*) This was called the inestimable collar of rubies: it was made by the order of Hen. VIII. and is introduced in the portraits of that King.

the kingdom found itself engaged in another war with France, at the instance of this imignion, who thereupon, in 1627, went in person Admiral and General in an expedition
to

Item, A standing cup of gold, with a cover, garnished with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, perfect, having the arms of Denmark graven within the cover. Weight fifty ounces scant.

Item, One cup of gold, with the cover, graven on the body with an altar, and an inscription over it, *nil nisi vota*; and the similitude of a temple graven, with a pyramid on the top of the cover; and a harnessed man in the top thereof, holding an antique shield in his left hand. Weight 200½ ounces.

Item, One basin and layer of gold, plain. Weight 196 ounces.

Item, A pair of fair bolls, and covers of gold, raised with talbots on the sides. Weight 120 ounces.

Item, A fair standing cup, garnished about the cover with eleven diamonds, and two pointed diamonds about the cup, seventeen table diamonds, and one pearl pendant upon the cup, with these words, *bound to obey and serve*, and H and I knit together. In the top of the cover the King's arms, and Queen Jane's arms, holden by two boys under a crown imperial. Weight 65½ ounces.

Item, A cup of gold, with a cover, garnished with red roses, and full set and garnished with coarse ballaces of rubies and sapphires, and one and twenty troches of pearls, three pearls in every troche. Weight 56 ounces scant.

Item, A high salt of gold in the form of a ship, with a striking clock in the cover, garnished with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, jacinths, amethysts, ballaces, and pearls. Weight 162½ ounces.

Item, One salt of gold, called the *Morris dance*, having the foot garnished with six great sapphires and sixteen coarse diamonds, thirty seven coarse rubies, forty two small garnishing pearls, having upon the shank three great coarse sapphires and three great coarse pearls, and upon the border about the shank twelve coarse diamonds, eighteen coarse rubies, and fifty-two garnishing pearls, and standing about that five morris-dancers and tabourer, having among the morris-dancers and tabourer thirteen small garnishing pearls and one ruby; the lady holding the salt having upon her garment, from her foot to her face, fifty garnishing pearls and eighteen coarse rubies; the foot of the same having four coarse rubies and four coarse diamonds. The border about the middle of the same salt having four coarse diamonds, seven rubies, and eight pearls; and upon the top of the said salt four diamonds, four rubies, and three great pearls. The lady having upon the tyre of her head ten small rubies, twelve coarse diamonds, and twenty-nine coarse garnishing pearls. Weight 151½ ounces.

Item, One cup of gold, called *the dream of Paris*, having upon the cover thereof the images of *Paris*, *Jupiter*, *Venus*, *Pallas*, and *Juno*. *Paris*'s horse upon the cover, garnished with eighteen diamonds, great and small, and in the five borders of the same cover thirty-two great rubies. *Jupiter* garnished with ten small rubies; and *Paris*'s helmet with two small rubies, *Venus* and *Pallas* having each one small ruby upon their breast, *Juno* wanting her chaplet. The horse of *Paris* having eight small rubies, also upon the five borders of the same forty-one great pearls; *Jupiter* having his garment garnished with thirty-two small pearls; *Paris* having one small pearl upon the top of his cap; *Venus* having two small pearls hanging down from her chaplet; *Juno* having upon her chaplet two small pearls hanging down, and upon her buttocks two small pearls. The horse garnished with twenty-seven pearls, great and small. The cup having, upon the foot and shank, twenty-five rubies, great and small, ten diamonds of diverse sorts, four sapphires, and thirty-eight pearls, great and small. Weight 121 ounces.

Item, A trencher-salt of gold, in form of a castle, garnished with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls. Weight 21½ ounces.

Item, A cup and cover of gold, weighing 30 ounces.

Item, One cup of gold, the cover enamelled with eight coarse diamonds, four on the cover, and four lesser on the foot, and on the top of the cover a fair pointed emerald, and another knob of gold, enamelled like the emerald. Weight 28½ ounces.

Item, One high salt of gold, with a cover of gold, in the cover twelve ballace rubies, nine sapphires, and three diamonds; and on the top a woman, having a

rose-diamond in one hand, and in the other an arrow, with a diamond at the end, garnished with pearls, fixt and pendant, wanting five pearls. Nineteen small diamonds in the coronet of the cover: weight 60 ounces. The salt set with forty-five ballast rubies, thirty-five sapphires, seven small diamonds, and garnished with pearls, fixt and pendant; weighing 234 ounces. Weight, *in toto*, 286½ ounces.

Item, One cup of gold, the cover and foot enamelled, with eight coarse diamonds, four on the cover, and four lesser on the foot, and on the top of the cover a fair pointed emerald, and another knob of gold, enamelled like an emerald. Weight 28½ ounces.

Item, One cup, the boll thereof agate, oval fashion, called the *constable's cup*, with an agate in the foot, all garnished with gold, enamelled, set with rubies and diamonds, with a cover likewise of gold, and garnished with rubies and diamonds, set about with four antique heads of agates; in the inside one agate, cut with two faces. Weight 57½ ounces.

Item, One cup, and cover of gold, with dops, and a branch of flowers, the top enamelled like daisies. Weight 36 ounces.

Item, One layer of gold, chased in the top with long dops, the spout being a serpent, garnished with rubies, pearls, and flowers, enamelled with white and red, wanting a ruby in the top of the cover. Weight 40 ounces scant.

Item, Eight great dishes of gold. Weight 184½ ounces.

Item, Six trencher-plates. Weight 74½ ounces.

Item, Seven fruit dishes of gold, with the arms of Denmark. Weight 185½ ounces.

Item, A posnet of gold, and cover. Weight 20½ ounces scant.

Item, A boll, and cover of gold, with roses and crowns, and a crown with a cross on the top of the cover. Weight 69½ ounces.

Item, One pair of gold cups, with covers, having blue snake-rings on the top of the covers. Weight 30½ ounces.

Item, Two trencher-plates of gold, standing upon pillars. Weight 110½ ounces.

Item, One porringer of gold. Weight 27¾ ounces.

Item, One cup and cover of gold. Weight 31½ ounces.

Item, A cup and cover of gold. Weight 25½ ounces.

Item, A cup and cover of gold. Weight 23½ ounces.

Item, A collar of gold, with seventeen roses and seventeen knots. Weight 29¾ ounces.

Item, A basin and ewer of gold. Weight 71½ ounces.

Item, A cup of agate, with a cover, garnished with gold, and full of emeralds, turquoises, diamonds, roses of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, with a sapphire on the top, with a boy holding a spear. Weight 53½ ounces.

Item, A looking-glass set in gold, garnished on the one side with two sapphires, four rubies, and one emerald; and on the other side with four sapphires and four rubies. The stale of agate, two little boys, one of them holding a pearl, and five pearls hanging. On the other part of the body is a man on horseback; the body being a clock within a chrystal, garnished with four diamonds and fifty-five rubies, with four antique boys, enamelled with white, two of them bearing in each hand a pearl; and the other two, the one having two pearls and the other one pearl in their hands, wanting four pearls in the said antique boys. The base or foot standing upon four round chrystals, garnished with ten rubies, and four naked women of gold, standing at every corner one, and a man on the top being naked. Weight 97¾ ounces.

Item, One plate of gold, graven on one side with astronomy, and on the other with a ship called *the Triumphe*, with a case of murrey velvet. Weight 73 ounces.

Item, One layer, the foot, body, and handle, of agate; the body crafed, garnished with gold, and set with diamonds, rubies, and amethysts, one emerald, and one sapphire. The foot having a border of small rubies round about it. Weight 28½ ounces.

Item, A cup of agate, with a cover of gold, like a tent, having a morris dance in the cover, set with twenty sapphires, nine small diamonds, and seventeen ballace rubies, garnished with pearls fixed, and pearls and beads of gold pendant. Weight 68 ounces.

(k) The mariners to *Rochelle* [F], which proving unsuccessfull, the cry of the people was so great (k), and the King's came in flocks to Whitehall, in great disorder and confusion, crying out for pay, and hardly to be appeas'd. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. Fol. Edit.

' All which jewels and plate have been received by the said Duke and Earl, to be disposed of by them for our especial service, according as we have given unto them private directions.

' Now forasmuch as the said jewels and plate are of great value, and have long continued, as it were by dissent for many years together, with the crown of England, and therefore it may not be safe for the said Lord Compton, Lord Conway, Sir Henry Mildmay, Endymion Porter, or any of them, to deliver them out of their several charges, nor for the said Duke and Earl to receive the same, and transport them beyond the seas, and there to dispose of them, without especial warrant from us for the doing thereof, which in time to come might be perilous unto them, unless we did declare by some public instrument, that all this was done by our especial warrant; and for our especial service, we have &c. (22).

' Witness ourself at Hampton-court, the 7th day of December.

' *Per Ipsum Regem.*'

While he was in the Netherlands, some curious Arab MSS. collected by *Erpenius*, and by him left to his widow, were upon sale to the Jesuits at Antwerp. But the Duke, being informed of it by his Secretary Dr Mason, stept between and purchased them for 500l. more than their weight in silver; 'a mixed act,' says Sir Henry Wotton, 'both of bounty and charity, and the more laudable, being much out of his natural element.' After the Duke's death they were presented to the University of Cambridge by the Dutchess Dowager, as soon as she knew from Dr Mason that this was the intention of her husband, who had a purpose likewise, as I am well informed, continues Sir Henry Wotton, to raise, in that University where he was Chancellor, a fair case for them, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts at his own charge (23). It is well known that he spared no cost in procuring scarce and curious coins (24), as well as pictures, of which last his collection at York-house was the admiration of the age (25). Here, to use Sir H. Wotton's phrase, he was in his natural element; and the same is elegantly expressed in a picture, hanging in the Queen's stair-case at Hampton-court, where he appears in the figure of Mercury, presenting the Arts and Sciences to their Majesties sitting in a cloud, while some boys are driving away Envy and Malice. The piece was drawn by *Huntorst*, who, among several others, tasted largely of the Duke's liberality; particularly, it is said that his Grace once gave *Nicholas Lanier* 500l. in gold, and at another time 300l. because he could not get of King James what that painter deserved (26).

[F] *His expedition to Rochelle.*] The Duke's conduct in this expedition was generally much censured, and no where more severely than in a letter of *Denzil* (afterwards Lord) *Holles* to his brother-in-law Sir *Thomas Wentworth* (afterwards Earl of *Strafford*) which, containing some particulars about it not taken notice of by any of our historians, we shall lay before the Reader: 'God, says his Lordship, hath blessed us better than we deserve, or by our preparations than we could expect, or else we had been in a far worse condition than now we are, though we be sufficiently bad: for it was a thousand to one we had lost all our ships to close up this unfortunate action, if a fair wind had not so opportunely come to have brought them off; for they had but ten days victuals left, which failing, they must have submitted themselves to the enemy's mercy; who besides were preparing with long boats to have come and fired them, which was marvellous feasible, if they had staid never so little longer. For the particulars of their most shameful deroute upon their retreat, which is or will be in every body's mouth, I doubt not but you know as well or better than myself. For the action in general, one of themselves, who, for his sincerity and understanding I may term also a prophet of their own, has given me this censure of it, *That it was ill begun, worse ordered in every particular, and the success accordingly most lamentable:* Nothing but discontents betwixt the General and the most understanding of his soldiers, as *Burroughs*, *Courtney*, *Spy*; every thing done against the hair, and attempted without probability of success, and there was no hopes of mastering the place from the very begin-

ning, especially since Michaelmas; that a very great supply came at one time into the fort, and that since they relieved it at their pleasure. Yet for all this the Duke would stay, and would not stay, doing things by halves: For had he done either, and gone through with it, possibly it could not have been so ill as it is; for he removed his ordinance, and shipped it a month almost, before he raised the siege, yet still kept his army there, fit neither for offence nor defence; and at the last, the Saturday before the unfortunate Monday he came away, would needs give a general assault, where many good men were lost, when there was no ordinance to protect them going on or coming off. *Et qualis vita, finis ita*, as they behaved themselves while they were there, so did they at their coming away: for though they knew two thousand French landed that morning in the island, and there was at least three thousand in the two forts, the great one and the little one (of which by the way we never heard; but they thought it not fit we should know all perhaps, because they knew secrecy an essential part of war policy) so as they could not but expect to be a little troubled with them in their marching, yet made they no provision to secure themselves: For being to pass by a narrow causey (where more than six or eight could not go in front, and which a very small number might have made good against a million) and so by a bridge over a little passage into an island as it were, where once being they would be safe, there was no order taken for viewing and preparing the way, that when they came to it there was no passage over; so that their stay gave a great deal of time and opportunity to the enemy, who all the while followed them at the heels so close, that my Lord Duke himself, who, I know not by what misfortune, was in the rear, had like to have been snapped, if he had not presently made way through the troops upon the narrow causey: and had he, the General, miscarried, what might have become, think you, of the whole army, like a body without a head, or a flock without a shepherd? But he carefully got himself on ship-board that night, to prevent the worst, and to order boats for the shipping of the army; but the French, falling upon the rear, killed and took prisoners as they would themselves, helped by our own horse, who, to save themselves (which yet they could not do) broke in, rode over our men, and put all into disorder, which made way for the slaughter; but it seems no resistance at all was made, but they even disbanded, and shifted every one for himself, there being no word of command given for the making them face about for repulsing of the enemy; for then it must needs have gone from hand to hand through the whole troops; and a *serjeant major* that was in the rear has protested to me, *They did not so much as know, that any thing had been done till after-ward a pretty while; and it had been the easiest thing in the world, in that narrow place, to have beaten back the enemy, had they been never so many, or at least to have defended themselves.* But the disorder and confusion was so great, the truth is, no man can tell what was done, nor no account can be given how any man was lost, not the Lieutenant-Colonel how his Colonel, or Lieutenant how his Captain, or any one knows how another was lost; which is a sign that things were ill carried. This only every man knows, that since England was England it received not so dishonourable a blow: Four Colonels lost; thirty-two colours in the enemy's possession. (but more lost); God knows how many men slain; they say not above two thousand of our side, and I think not one of the enemies.

' But I little thought to have said so much when I began, *l'appetit m'est venu en mangeant*, one thing having drawn in another. I will here end with a prayer, that God, who only can draw light out of darkness, will be pleased to give us a better issue out of our present miserable condition than any of us can expect, though we may hope and pray for it. To his holy protection I commend you and yours, and so I rest

' Your most affectionate

Dorchester,
Nov. 19,
1627.

' Brother and Servant,

' D. Holles (27).'

(27) *Strafford's Letters, &c.*
Vol. I. p. 47.

Sir

(22) These Jewels, with some of the Duke's, were pawned for 53400l. Vide The book of his Grace's accounts from 1622 to 1628 inclusive, by Sir Sackville Crow, a MS. in Museo Thoresbeiano, communicated by the present worthy Possessor thereof. N. B. As these Crown Jewels are not now in the possession of the Crown, and were apparently never redeemed, this account therefore is all that remains authentic of them.

(23) Life &c. of the Duke, p. 18.

(24) See a letter of Dr Laud to Archbp Usher, in Parr's collection, No. CLXVI.

(25) A particular account of it is inserted in the next article.

(26) R. Simonds, as quoted in the anecdotes of painting, Vol. II. p. 125, Edit. 1762, by Mr Horace Walpole, who observes, that Lanier was an excellent musician; and in that character was retained by his Majesty, with a salary of 100l. per annum.

(1) The act for granting the famous petition of right was signed by his Majesty the same day. The King having sent the grant, *font fait comme il est désiré*, in answer to the Commons address on the 7th of June preceding. Upon which, says Mr Howell, the Duke made a notable speech at the Council-table in joy thereof. Among other passages one was, *That hereafter his Majesty would please to make the parliament his favourite, and he to have the honour to remain still his servant.* Epist. Ho-Eliazar, Vol. I. § 5. No. VI. to the Lord Scroop, &c. dated London, Sept. 25, 1621. Salmon's Chron. Hill. under this year.

(28) In his Grace's life, p. 20.

Sir Henry Wotton, on the other hand, having assured us (28), 'that the Duke undertook this service to recover the public good-will; which he saw by his own example might quickly be won and lost, observes as to the action, that it had been much less censured by some of the French writers than generally among ourselves at home. That the Duke's carriage was noble throughout; respectful to the gentlemen, bountiful to the soldiers, as he found any distinguished worth in them; tender and careful of the wounded; his personal courage unquestionable, and rather fearful of fame than danger. That he shewed no visible alteration in his countenance after the succours, which he expected, failed him, though it lay heavy at his heart; which to Dr Mason, his Secretary, whom he laid on a pallet near him, broke out into bitter and passionate expressions, protesting, that neither his dispatches to diverse princes, nor the great business of a fleet, of an army, of a siege, of a treaty of war and peace, both of them on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did not so much break his repose, as a conceit, that some at home, under his Majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him (29). But whom he meant, says Sir Henry, I know not, and am loath to roam at conjecture. Of the two forts, proceeds this Author, he could not take the one, and he would not take the other: But in the general town, he maintained a seizure and possession of the whole three full months and eighteen days, and that, at his first descent on shore, he was not immured within a wooden vessel, but countenanced the landing in his long boat, where succeeded such a defeat of 200 horse, (and these not, by his guests, mounted in haste, but, for the most part, gentlemen of family and great relations) seconded with 2000 foot, as, all circumstances well ballanced on either side, may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest impressions in ancient time. In the issue of the whole business he seems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident confidence, having brought of that with him to the camp perhaps too much of a court, where fortune had never deceived him. Besides, we must consider him but rude in the profession of arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cause.' Some part of these remarks, by the Duke's friend, with regard to his courage, and conduct to the soldiers, is confirmed by a passage in a letter to one of his foes, to whom it was proposed as an example for him to copy. The passage is as follows: 'Upon this occasion I will relate to your Lordship what happened lately in the isle of Rhee, when the Duke of Buckingham was the King's general there: I heard one relate it who was present upon the place. It was told the Duke by a colonel there, that two other colonels said these words to him, which he would maintain with his life: *That they observed the Duke often to go in his barge to the fleet, and that one time or other he would steal away into England, which if he did, they would hang out the white flag, and deliver up the town and island to Toras, Governor of the castle.* The Duke called next day a council of war, the accuser absent, and charged these two gentlemen with the words, who flatly denied them upon their honours, offering to make it good with their swords. This the Duke took for satisfaction; and, giving a general admonition, he dismissed the court. Nay he [the Relater of this story] said further, that, during the Duke's abode in that island, there were soldiers and captains who would say ill things; and that they spoke as boldly of the Duke their Gene-

ral, as the Commons house of parliament did in the session before he went thither; and that the Duke was told of these speeches every day, but passed them over without so much as questioning any one (30). After reading this, no doubt can be made how he treated the letter which was wrote by James Howell before this session of parliament. That forward penman, it seems, had been, in some shape or other, a Retainer (31) to the Duke, and, upon the confidence of that connexion, and the Duke's well known affability, presumed to advise him to part with some of his places, to take away the mutterings that run of the multiplicity of offices; and continues he, (according to his wonted strain of affected witticisms) 'in my shallow apprehension your Grace might stand more firm without an anchor.' In proceeding, he ventures upon some further advice in regard to the better regulation of his Grace's private family, and then concludes with gilding such unpalatable pills in the following courtly address: 'I know your Grace does not nor needs not affect popularity. It is true, that the people's love is the strongest citadel of a sovereign Prince; but to a great subject it hath often proved fatal; for he who pulleth off his hat to the people, giveth his head to the Prince; and it is remarkable what was said of a late unfortunate Earl, who, a little before Queen Elizabeth's death, had drawn the axe upon his own neck, *That he was grown so popular, that he was grown too dangerous for the times, and the times for him* [32].' These last words evidently point at the Earl of Essex: And it is not improbable, that the story of this illustrious statesman was often mentioned by way of contrast to that of the Duke, especially after his unfortunate end. Among others, Mr Hyde (afterwards Lord Chancellor Clarendon) employed some thoughts and time upon the subject, in a piece, entitled, *The difference and disparity between the estates and conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex*; which appears to be written presently after the Duke's assassination.

[G] He received a mortal stab.] The very surprizing manner in which the Duke's assassination was perpetrated, furnished the dealers in omens and prodigies with choice matter to feed their fancies. Every tale that brought any tidings of the least circumstance relating to it was sure to be eagerly listened to, and religiously preserved as a sacred treasure. Hence we find the famous story of the apparition or ghost of Sir George Villiers, the Duke's father, predicting his son's untimely end, if he did not change some part of his ministerial conduct, equally related by the loyal and serious Earl of Clarendon (33), and William Lilly, juggler and mountebank to the rebels (34), whose misrepresentations were also thought worth while to be corrected in a more authentic account by that curious natural historian Dr Robert Plot (35), who ushers in his narrative with the following introduction: 'Since William Lilly, the rebels juggler and mountebank, bath, in his malicious and blasphemous discourse concerning our late martyred Sovereigne, of blessed memory, imprinted (among other his lies and falsehoods) a relation concerning an apparition, which foretold several events which should happen to the late Duke of Buckingham, wherein he falsifies both the person to whom it appeared, and the circumstances; I thought it not amiss to enter here (that it may be preserved) the true account of the apparition, as I received it from and under the hand of Mr Edmund Windham of Kottisford in the county of Somerset. I shall set it downe (ipsisimis verbis), as he delivered it to me at my request, written with his owne hand.'

(30) Mr Garrard's letter of Jan. 25, 1635, to the Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, in Strafford's letters and State-papers, Vol. I. p. 510.

(31) See his article. To which we shall take this opportunity of adding, that he probably got into the Duke's retinue by the interest of Lady Scrope, who was sister to the Earl of Rutland, and aunt to the Dukes of Buckingham. Howell's Letters, Vol. I. § 5. Edit. 1650, where he gives an account of the Duke's murder from a letter to the Earl of Rutland, whom he met on the road, posting up to London on that sad occasion.

(32) Idem, § 4. No. XVIII.

(33) In his Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. Fol. Edit.

(34) In his Observations on the Life and Death of K. Charles.

(35) See Historia et vita & regni Rich. II. p. 405. Edit. Oxford. 1729, by T. Hearne, a genius particularly turned for picking up and hoarding such trash.

• Sir,

universally detested. His bowels were interred at Portsmouth, and a handsome memorial of

‘ Sir,
 ‘ According to your desire, and my promise, I have written downe what I remember (divers things being slipt out of my memory) of the relation made me by Mr *Nicholas Towse* concerning the apparition which visited him about 1627.
 ‘ I and my wife, upon occasion being in London, lay at my brother *Pyne*’s house without Bishopsgate, which was next house unto Mr *Nicholas Towse*’s, who was his kinsman and familiar acquaintance, in consideration of whose society and friendship he took a house in that place; the said *Towse* being a very fine musician, and very good company, for ought I ever saw or heard, a virtuous, religious, and well disposed gentleman. About that time the said Mr *Towse* told me, that, one night being in bed, and perfectly waking, and a candle burning by him (as he usually had), there came into his chamber, and stood by his bed-side, an old gentleman, in such a habit as was in use in Queen Elizabeth’s time; at whose first appearance Mr *Towse* was very much troubled; but after a little while, recollecting himself, he demanded of him in the name of God, *what he was? whether he were a man?* And the Apparition replied *noe*: Then he asked him *if he were a devil?* And the Apparition answered *noe*. Then said Mr *Towse*, *In the name of God what art thou then?* And as I remember Mr *Towse* told me, that the Apparition answered him that *he was the ghost of Sir George Villiers, father to the then Duke of Buckingham, whom he might very well remember, since he went to schole at such a place in Leicestershire, naming the place, which I have forgotten.* And Mr *Towse* told me, that the Apparition had perfectly the resemblance of the said Sir George Villiers in all respects, and in the same habit that he had often seen him wear in his life-time. The said Apparition also told him, that he could not but remember the much kindness, that he the said Sir George Villiers had expressed to him, whilst he was a scholar in Leicestershire, as aforesaid; and that, out of that consideration, he believed that he loved him, and that therefore he made choice of him the said Mr *Towse* to deliver a message to his son the Duke of Buckingham, thereby to prevent such mischief as would otherwise befall the said Duke, whereby he would be inevitably ruined. And then, as I remember, Mr *Towse* told me, that the Apparition instructed him what message he should deliver to the Duke; unto which Mr *Towse* replied, that he should be very unwilling to go to the Duke of Bucks upon such an errand, whereby he should gaine nothing but reproach and contempt, and be esteemed a madman, and therefore desired to be excused from the employment. But the Apparition prest him with much earnestness to undertake it, telling him, that the circumstances and secret discoveries (which he should be able to make to the Duke of such passages in the course of his life which were known to none but himselfe) would make it appeare, that his message was not the fancy of a distempered braine, but a reality. And so the Apparition tooke his leave of him for that night, telling him, that he would give him leave to consider until the next night, and then he would come to receive his answer, whether he would undertake to deliver his message to the Duke of Buckingham or noe. Mr *Towse* passed the next day with much trouble and perplexity, debateing and reasoning with himselfe whether he should deliver this message to the Duke of Buckingham or not; but in the conclusion he resolved to doe it. And the next night, when the Apparition came, he gave his answer accordingly, and then received full instructions. After which Mr *Towse* went and found out Sir *Thomas Bludder* and Sir *Ralph Freeman*, by whom he was brought to the Duke of Buckingham, and had several private and long audiences of him. I myselfe, by the favour of a friend, was once admitted to see him in private conference with the Duke, where (although I heard not their discourse) I observed much earnestness in their actions and gestures. After which conference Mr *Towse* told me, that the Duke would not follow the advice that was given him, which was (as I remember) that he intimated the casting off and rejecting of some men, who had great interest in him, and, as I take it, he named Bishop *Laud*; and that he the Duke was to do some popular acts in the ensuing parliament, of which the Duke would have had Mr *Towse* to have been a Burgess; but he refused it,

alleging, that, unless the Duke had followed his directions, he must doe him hurt if he were of the parliament. Mr *Towse* also then told me, that the Duke confessed, that he had told him those things that no creature knew but himselfe, and that none but God or the Divell could reveale to him. The Duke offered Mr *Towse* to have the King knight him, and to have given him preferment (as he told me) but that he refused it, saying, that, unless he would follow his advice, he would receive nothing from him. Mr *Towse*, when he made me this relation, told me the Duke would inevitably be destroyed before such a time (which he then named) and accordingly the Duke’s death happened before that time. He likewise told me, that he had written downe all the discourses that he had had with the Apparition; and that *at last his coming to him was so familiar, that he was as little troubled with it as if it had been a friend or acquaintance that had come to visit him.* Mr *Towse* told me further, that the Archbishop (then Bishop of London) Dr *Laud*, should by his counsels be the Author of very great trouble to the kingdome, by which it should be reduced to that extremity of disorder and confusion, that it should seem to be past all hope of recovery without a miracle; but yet, when all people were in despaire of happy days againe, the kingdome should suddenly be reduced and resettled againe in a most happy condition. At this time my father *Pyne* was in trouble, and committed to the Gatehouse by the Lords of the Council, about a quarrel between him and the Lord *Parwlett*; upon which, one night, I sayd unto my cousin *Towse* by way of jest, *I pray you ask your Apparition what shall become of my father Pyne’s business?* which he promised to doe, and the next day told me, that my father *Pyne*’s enemies were ashamed of their malicious prosecution, and that he would be at liberty within a weeke, or some few days, which happened accordingly. Mr *Towse*’s wife (since his death) told me, that her husband and she living in Windfor-castle, where he had an office, that summer the Duke of Buckingham was killed, told her the very day that the Duke was sett upon by the mutinous mariners at Portsmouth, saying, that the would be his death, which accordingly fell out, and that at the very instant the Duke was killed (as upon strict enquiry they found afterwards) Mr *Towse*, sitting amongst some company, suddenly started up, and said, *The Duke of Buckingham is slain.* Mr *Towse* lived not long after; but told his wife the time of his own death beforehand: which is as much as I can remember of this Apparition, which, according to your desire, is written by,

‘ Sir,

Boulogne,
 Aug. 5,
 1652.

‘ Your &c.

‘ Edmund Windham.’

The incident of the Duke’s death is perhaps not more astonishing than it is, that this idle tale (for so I do not scruple to call it) should be credited by the forementioned writers, notwithstanding the evident marks which it bears of being nothing more than a mere phantom of Mr *Towse* the relator’s enthusiastic brain, to which, it seems, at last the coming of the *Apparition was so familiar, that he was as little troubled with it as if it had been a friend or acquaintance that had come to visit him* (36). However, that the Enthusiast believed it, got himself introduced to the Duke, and told him the whole story, is probable enough (37): one circumstance especially will never be questioned, that after the conference he told Mr *Wyndham*, that his Grace shewed no manner of regard to the advice of his Father’s Ghost. Such a treatment of it was perfectly agreeable to the Duke’s manner in general. And to the same purpose Sir Henry *Wotton* (who, by the bye, if he had heard of the Apparition, thought proper to say nothing of it) relates the following passage, which happened on the Duke’s return to Plymouth, after the expedition to the isle of Rhee: When Lord *Goring* dispatched an expresse messenger in all haste, with advice to him to assure his person by declining the ordinary road, for that he had credible intelligence of a plot against his life, to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the Court. The Duke, continues Sir Henry, meeting the messenger on the way, read the letter, and smothered it in

(36) A circumstance which, added to the extravagance of the rest, is sufficient to blast the credit of the whole.

(37) Sir *Simons d’Ewes*, who has related the account of his assassination at full length, concludes thus: It was reported the Duke had some prediction or forewarning given him to beware of this month of August as fatal to him. *D’Ewes’s Life of himself*, MS. in the British Museum,

of him erected there by his sister, the Countess of Denbigh [H]. His body was brought to York-house, whence, after lying some time in an illustrious manner on a hearse, it was conveyed to Westminster-abbey (m), and sumptuously entombed on the North side of Henry VIII's chapel, where a most noble monument is erected to his memory. The Earl of Clarendon, who had considered him thoroughly, having mentioned his faults with a candid impartiality, observes, that ' he was of a noble nature and generous disposition, and of such other endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great King, and understood the arts of a court, and all the learning that is professed there, exactly well. That he was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige, from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted, both in civil and military life, which was manifested in all his actions, and in his contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation [I], especially

(m) Sir Henry Wotton, ubi supra.

his pocket without the least imaginable apprehension, rides forward, having not above seven or eight persons in his retinue, and those with no other weapons than ordinary swords. After this he had not advanced three miles before he met with an old woman, near a town in the road, who demanded whether the Duke was in the company; and signifying some special occasion to be brought to him, she was led to his horse's side, where she told him, that, in the very next town through which he was to pass, she had heard some desperate men vow his death, and so offered to direct him about by a safer way. This old woman's casual access, joined to that deliberate advertisement which he had from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the said letter, and all the circumstances, with his company, who all agreed, that the woman had advised him well: notwithstanding all which importunity he resolved not to wave his road, upon this reason, perhaps more generous than provident, that, as he said, *if he should but once by such a diversion make his enemies believe he was afraid of danger, he should never live without it.* Hereupon his nephew, Lord Viscount Fielding, being then in his company, out of a noble spirit besought him, that he might wear his coat and blue ribbon through the town, pleading that his uncle's life, whereon lay the property of his whole family, was of all things under heaven the most precious unto him, and undertaking so to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the Duke's manner was to ride in cold weather, that none should discern the difference, and so the Duke should be the more at liberty for his own defence; at which sweet proposition the Duke caught him in his arms and kissed him, yet would not, as he said, in that case, accept of such an offer from a nephew, whose life he tendered as much as himself; and so, liberally rewarding the poor old creature for her good-will, after some short directions to his company how they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of mind. He was no sooner entered into the town, but a scrambling soldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging or a drunken fashion; but a gentleman of his train, that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving by the premises, that it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his horse, and with a violent rush severed him from the Duke, who with the rest went on quietly through the town; nor was there any further enquiry into this conspiracy, the Duke peradventure thinking it wisdom not to reserve discontentments too deep (38). This writer, Sir Henry Wotton, relates also another passage concerning the Duke, which happened just before his departure on this expedition to Rochelle, when it seems he took an opportunity, in a parting visit to Dr Laud, then Bishop of London, to tell him, that he well knew his Majesty's unalterable affection for his Lordship, and therefore desired him to recommend his poor wife and children to his favour. The Bishop, prompted either by the words or the manner of his delivery, or both, asked him *if he had never any forebodings*; to which the Duke replied, *No; but I think I may chance to be killed as well as another man.* We have chosen to mention this passage, because it sets before us a lively picture of this great Duke's courage. We see him here perfectly sensible, and considerate of the danger he was running into, yet far from being touched with any unmanly or unsoldierly fears or apprehensions about it.

[H] *His sister, the Countess of Denbigh.* Sir Henry Wotton informs us, that she received a letter from the Duke on the day of his death, whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears, and after a most bitter passion, (whereof she

could yield no reason but that her dearest brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoon. Her letter ended thus: *I will pray for your happy return, which I look to with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment. But I hope the great God of heaven will bless you.* The next day the Bishop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her: But hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should wake of herself, which she did with the affrightment of a dream, her brother seeming to pass through a field with her in his company, where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to be for joy that the Duke of Buckingham was sick, which she had scarce related to her gentlewoman before the Bishop was entered into her bed-chamber for a chosen messenger of the Duke's death. The dreaming of his sickness was the natural consequence of that indisposition of body that he felt the day before, as is related by the same writer, who further informs us, that the King, hearing it, was pleased to give him the honour of a visit (39), and found him in his bed, where, after much serious and private discourse, the Duke, at his Majesty's departure, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and did in like sort to his friend the Earl of Holland, as if his soul had divined he should see them no more. Such was the comment made upon it by the generality of people (40), always fond nurses of omens and presages; though it was evidently nothing more than the natural effect of the sense he had of the danger he was about to run, as well from his enemies at home, who might more easily compass his ruin while absent, as also from that of losing his life in the expedition abroad: Nor was it difficult to foresee the no less danger if he should happen to escape at Rochelle with his life, but return home a second time unsuccessful, which was most likely to be the event, as had been not only the fate of a fleet commanded by the Earl of Denbigh (41), his brother-in-law, which set sail from Plymouth to relieve the same city on the 17th of April preceding, but also of this very fleet intended for the Duke, which set sail afterwards on the same design, under the command of the Earl of Lindsey, on the 18th of September following. In short, the game was become desperate: He knew it, and expressed his full sensibility of it in the abovementioned apartment with the King, who, when the messenger arrived at Tichfield with the news of his murder, was in his closet at prayers, in which the Duke no doubt had a share, as is intimated in those excellent lines of Mr Waller on the occasion, which begin, *So earnest with thy God &c.* (42).

[I] *His civil courage was manifest in his contests with persons of the greatest reputation.* To confirm this, the noble historian produces the following remarkable instance: Having observed, that the Duke never endeavoured to do any man an ill office before he first told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries he had done, he goes on thus: ' In this manner he proceeded with the Earl of Oxford, a man of great name in that time, and whom he had endeavoured by many civil offices to make his friend, and who seemed equally to incline to the friendship. But when he discovered (or, as many thought, only suspected) that the Earl was entered into some cabal in parliament against him, he could not be dissuaded by any of his friends, to whom he imparted his resolution, but meeting the Earl the next day, he took him aside, and told him, *he would rely no longer on his friendship, nor should he [the Earl] expect any further friendship from him; but, on the contrary, he would be for ever his enemy, and do him all the mischief he could.* The Earl, who, as many thought, had not been faulty

(39) His Majesty was then at Tichfield, the seat of six miles from Portsmouth.

(40) Life of the Duke, as before.

(41) William Viscount Fielding, Lord St. Lis, and Baron of Newnham Padox, was created Earl of Denbigh, Jan. 20, 1622-3, by the interest of the Duke of Buckingham. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

(42) Waller's Poems.

(38) Life and Death of the Duke, p. 19, 20, 21.

cially in his whole demeanor in the isle of Rhee, both at the landing and on the retreat; in both which no man was more fearless, or more ready to expose himself to the highest dangers.' The Duke's memory has been severely handled by many writers. Among others, Sir Simonds d'Ewes (*n*) represents him as a man of extreme lust with regard to women. But this is unsupported by any facts, and rests solely upon the authority of that writer, whose general character, both for mistake and malice, are too well known to gain much credit (*o*). However we are far from thinking him obstinate against all the temptations this way, to which his high station and personal accomplishments laid him open. No doubt he had his juvenilities with the sex, though they were managed with decorum: In which respect he was a proper confidant of those of his master when Prince of Wales [*K*]. Whatever his amours were, it is evident he preserved his heart entire to his Lady, whom, Sir Henry Wotton assures us, he loved dearly, and expressed his love in an act and time of no dissimulation, towards his end bequeathing her all his mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal estate, together with a fourth part of his lands, in jointure. The regard he shewed to his relations was such, that it was charged, though surely without reason, among his crimes. The last mentioned writer has indeed observed, that he left his elder brother John, of the same womb, a Viscount (*p*), and Christopher, his younger, an Earl (*q*): Sir Edward Villiers, his half brother (*r*) on the father's side, he either preferred, or removed, call it how you will, from his step-mother's eye to the presidentship of Munster in Ireland, where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality, and died, with as much grief of the whole province as ever any Governor did [*L*], before his religious Lady, of sweet and noble discretion, adding much to his honour. The eldest of the brethren, William, and heir of the name, was made a Baronet, but abstained from Court, enjoying perhaps the greater greatness of self-fruition (*s*). He left his mother a Countess by patent (*t*) in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare since the days of Queen Mary. His sister of Denbigh, that right character of a good Lady, he most recommended to the Queen, who, after a discharge of some French in her court, that were to return home, took her into three several places of honour and trust. In short, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, descending of the name of *Villiers* or *Beaumont*, within any near degree, either matched with Peers of the realm actually, or hopefully with Earls sons and heirs, or at least with Knights, or Doctors of Divinity, of plentiful condition. He did not much strengthen his own substance in Court, but stood there on his own feet. For the truth is, the most of his allies rather leaned upon

to him, was as great-hearted as he (and thought the very suspecting him to be an injury unpardonable) without any reply to the particulars, declared, *that he neither cared for his friendship, nor feared his hatred; and from thence avowedly entered into the conversation and confidence of those who were solicitous to pursue any thing that might prove to his disadvantage, which was of evil consequence to the Duke; the Earl being of the most ancient of the nobility, and a man of great courage, and of a family which had in no time swerved from its fidelity to the crown* (43).

[*K*] *He was a confidant in the intrigues of his master.* We have a letter of this Prince, afterwards King Charles I, to the Duke, by which it appears he was privy to an amour of his Highness. It runs thus:

Steanie,
I have nothing now to wryte to you, but to give you thanks bothe for the good counsell ye gave me, and for the event of it. The King gave mee a good sharp potion, but you took away the working of it by the well relished comfites ye sent after it. I have met with the partie that must not be named, once alreddie, and the cullor of wryting this letter shall make me meete with her on Saturday, although it is written the day being Thursday. So assuring you, that the busines goes safelie onn, I rest

Your constant loving friend,

I hope ye will not shew the King this letter, but put it in the safe custody of Mister Vulcan.

[*L*] *His death was much lamented by the province.* In the Earl of Cork's chapel at Youghall, where he was buried, there still remains the following hexastic to his memory:

Munster may curse the time that Villiers came
To make us worse, by leaving such a name
Of noble parts as none can imitate,
But those whose hearts are married to the state:
But if they press to imitate his fame,
Munster may bless the time that Villiers came.

His Lady abovementioned was *Barbara*, eldest daughter

of *Sir John St. John of Lidiard Tregose in Wiltshire*, and niece to *Sir Oliver St John*, created Viscount *Grandison* in Ireland, Jan. 3, 1620, with limitation of that honour to her posterity. She brought *Sir Edward*, besides three daughters, four sons; 1st, *William*, who succeeded his father in estate, and his uncle in the title of *Viscount Grandison* in 1630. On the breaking out of the rebellion he adhered to King Charles I, and signalized himself on several occasions; but being wounded at the siege of Bristol, July 26, 1643, he was carried to Oxford, where he died in August following in the thirtieth year of his age, and has a noble monument erected to his memory in the cathedral of Christ-church (where he was buried) by *Barbara Dutchess of Cleveland*, his only daughter and heir. His character is drawn by Lord Clarendon (45) so very amiable, that the reader cannot but be pleased with it. 'He was a young man, says the noble historian, of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court or camp could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour and courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour as to venture himself in duels) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection, zeal, and obedience to the King was such as became a branch of that family. And he was wont to say, that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightnes of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet the very obligations of gratitude to the King on behalf of his house were such as his life was but a due sacrifice for; and therefore he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren as well as himself in the service, and there were then three more of them in command in the army where he was so unfortunately cut off. These brothers were *Sir John*, who succeeded his brother *William* as Viscount *Grandison*, but dying without issue male, the title came to *George*, whose grandson and heir was created Earl *Grandison*, of *Limerick* in Ireland, Sept. 11, 1721. *Edward*, the third brother, and fourth son of the President of Munster, was ancestor to the present Earl of *Jersey* (46), him

(*n*) In the account of himself, MS. in the British Museum.

(*q*) Created Earl of Anglesey, Sept. 24, 1623. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year. His son Charles, Earl of Anglesey, died without issue in 1654, leaving Susan his sister and heir, who was married to Thomas Savile, Earl of Suffolk. Peerage, as before.

(*t*) She was created Countess of Buckingham, 16 Jac. I. Peerage, p. 203.

(43) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, &c. 8vo. Vol. I. p. 32.

(44) *Historia et vita & regni Ricardi II.* p. 404, by Mr T. Hearne, who tells us the letter is said to have once belonged to Archbishop Sancroft, and observes it is the only intrigue he had ever heard this Prince was concerned in.

(*o*) Sir Simonds is also very justly taxed with vanity; the same foible which too evidently prompted his Vindicator to shew his talents in defending a bad cause. See d'Ewes's article.

(*p*) Created Baron Villiers of Stoke, and Viscount Perbeck. Peerage, Vol. III. p. 203. Edit. 1756.

(*r*) He was knighted at Windsor on the 7th of September, 1616, and in 1620 was sent Ambassador into Bohemia, both by the Duke's interest. Idem, p. 216.

(*s*) He was created a Baronet on the 19th of July, 1619; but the title became extinct in his grandson and heir, *Sir William Villiers, Bart.* who dying Feb. 27, 1711, aged 67 years, no issue male is now remaining of that line. Peerage, as before, p. 203, and Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1619.

(45) In his Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. Fol. Edit.

(46) Peerage, Vol. III. p. 216, 217. Edit. 1756.

him than shored him up. His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of state as his Secretaries, of office and his Steward, or of law, as that worthy Knight whom he long used to solicit his causes, he left all both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame; things very seldom consociated in the instruments of great personages. This great Duke took to wife, eight years and two months before his death, the Lady *Catbarine Mannors*, daughter and sole heir of *Francis Earl of Rutland (u)* [M], by whom he had issue three sons and a daughter. *Mary*, his first-born child, who, by patent, bearing date Aug. 31, 3 Car. I, had the title of Dutchess of Buckingham limited to her in default of issue male of her Father. She was first married to Charles Lord Herbert, son and heir to Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery [N]; secondly to James Duke of Richmond and Lenox; and thirdly to Thomas Howard, brother to Charles Earl of Carlisle; but left no issue by any of them (w). Of the sons, Charles the eldest died an infant, and was buried in Westminster-abbey, March 17, 1626. The second son *George* is the subject of the ensuing article; wherein will be given an account also of his third son *Francis*. After the Duke's death, the Dutchess entered into a second marriage with *Randulph Macdonald*, first *Earl* and then *Marquis of Antrim* in Ireland (x). The King was much displeas'd with this match, and for some time refused to see her; yet afterwards, in 1635, he became so far reconciled as to treat her with the same respect he had ever done: but her children were taken from her [O]; the sons to be brought up with the

(a) The match was probably much to the satisfaction of the King, who, when Prince, in 1623, was brought safely out of Spain by the Earl, having the command of his Majesty's great ships and pinnaces given him for that purpose. Peerage of England, Vol. I. p. 468. Edit. 1756.

(w) Ibid.

(x) She had no issue by him, Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 69. Edit. 1756, though she had a miscarriage at *Newhall* in 1635. Garrard's letter to Deputy Wentworth, dated Oct. 3, 1635, in Strafford's letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 467, et seqq.

(47) Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 469. Edit. 1756.

(48) Letter of Mr Garrard, dated June 3, 1634, to Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, in Strafford's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 261.

(49) He was the second son, and succeeded his father in the estate and titles, his elder brother Charles dying in his father's lifetime at Florence, ann. 1635, before cohabitation. Peerage of England by Collins, Vol. II. p. 122. Edit. 1756.

(50) Letter of Mr Garrard, dated Jan. 15, 1634, to the Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, in Strafford's Letters and State Papers, &c. Vol. II.

(51) Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 524.

(52) Viz. April 5, 1636. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 2.

(53) Ibid. p. 125, and 128.

[M] *Francis Earl of Rutland.*] This Earl Francis by a second match had two sons, Henry and Francis, who both dying in their infancy, the title came to Sir George Mannors, Knt. his brother and heir male (47), with whom, as to the estate, the Dutchess of Buckingham, after some disputes, made the following agreement: That he was to have for his life 7000l. per annum; that legacies and annuities should be parted betwixt them; that Belvoir and 2000l. a year should go to his heir; and all the rest to be settled on her and her children after her (48).

[N] *She was married to Charles Lord Herbert, &c.*] They were married about Christmas, in the year 1634, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the closet at Whitehall. It was done privately, and a few only invited, and sooner than was intended, by reason the young Lady began to affect the younger brother, Philip Herbert (49), and of herself had moved the Lord Chamberlain his father that she might marry him, saying he did apply himself to her more than Lord Herbert did; but the Dutchess chid her out of that humour; and now she is married, the affection, says my Author (50), will vanish.

[O] *Her children were taken from her.*] In a letter, dated March 15, 1635, to Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland, a very sensible correspondent of his Lordship's, Mr Garrard, sends him the following piece of news: 'The Dutchess [of Buckingham] hath been to see her daughter at *Ramsbury*, where she yet is, and would fain have her home to her at *Newhall*; but the King will not suffer her to be bred a Papist. It is said she will come to my Lady *Roxborough*, and be bred up with the Princess until his Majesty shall dispose of her in marriage (51).' Accordingly the next year the same correspondent writes as follows: 'Lady *Mary Herbert* is brought and placed with the Lady *Roxborough* in the Prince's court. It is said the Duke of *Lenox* shall marry her (52)' The Dutchess, it seems, upon her marriage with the *Marquis of Antrim*, had not only changed her religion, but, in the usual forward zeal of a new proselyte, was busy in proselyting others. Among the collection of letters, &c. last quoted, there is one to the Deputy from Lord *Conway*, wherein, speaking of the Countess of *Newburgh's* then late conversion to Popery, which had been imputed to *Walter Montague*, Esq; and Sir *Toby Matberus*, Knt. his Lordship makes this remark: 'The King did use such words to *Wat Montague* and Sir *Toby Matberus*, that the fright made *Wat* keep his chamber much longer than his sickness would have detained him; and *Don Tobias* was in such a panick, as shews he would make a very ill martyr. But now the *Dog dare again wag his tail*.—They were, it seems, unjustly accused in this business, the conversion had been made by the Dutchess of *Buckingham* and Signor *Con* the Spanish Ambassador (53).' As Mr *Montague* made a remarkable figure in his time, and was the subject of much talk in the court of King Charles I, it will not be amiss to take this occasion of giving some account of him, as follows: He was a younger son to Henry Montague, first Earl of Manchester of this name, and was born in London, bred at Sidney college in Cambridge, and afterwards travelled beyond-sea. Thus educated in a proper manner for a Cadet, whose fortune was to be made by the court, he became, like *Jaine Hovel*, an occasional

agent of the ministry, and was sent several times upon public business into France (54). But in 1635, renouncing the Protestant religion in which he had been bred, he turned Papist, quitted the court and his relations in England, and, crossing the sea, went to Paris, and put on the appearance of one of the warmest zealots of the Romish church. Soon after this change he wrote in vindication of it a letter, upon which the aforementioned Mr Garrard makes the following remarks: '*Wat Montague*, says he, wrote and sent over to his father a letter (55), where he gave his Lordship the reasons why, at his last being in England, he was reconciled to the church of Rome. He sent another to father Philips, one of the Queen's Priests, to publish, in case his father should have concealed that sent to him. They have passed up and down. There is nothing of value in his reasons. If it had been but a good letter, I would have sent it to your Lordship (56).' Mr Garrard's letter bears date Jan. 8, 1635. He had, on the 7th of December preceding, descanted upon our profelyte's zeal in the following spirit: '*Wat Montague*, says he to his noble friend, triumphs in his new religion at Paris, and is such a zealot there, that he wears a chain of beads, with a cross hung to them, about his neck, waits upon that King whenever he goes to mass, writes over to his friends here, that he is not only reconciled to the church of Rome, but is ready to die a martyr for his religion. That King gave him a present of a ring worth 1400l. which he sent over by Sir *Henry Hungate* to shew the Queen. He is going to Rome, being, they say, the only favourite of Cardinal *Barberino* the Pope's nephew, whose letter he shewed here to his friends, so full of affection and many expressions of love to him, that he is convinced he shall make himself a better fortune there than he could have done here; which I believe is the true cause why he has changed his religion (57)'. However that be, the Oxford antiquary speaks more favourably of him, and tells us, that his first settlement abroad, upon his change, was in the college of *St Omer*. And that afterwards he was received with great affection into the favour of the Queen-mother of France, who made him Abbot of *Nantueil* of the Benedictin order in the diocese of *Metz*, and thence promoted him, upon the death of *John Francis de Gondy* (58), to be Abbot of the same order in *St Marzyn's* abbey near *Pentboise*, in the diocese of *Reau*; that he was also one of her Majesty's cabinet council, and was instrumental in bringing into her favour the famous Cardinal *Mazarine*, who, when fixed, proved ungrateful to *Montague* and his friends. That the Abbot was also in great favour with the Queen-mother of England, whom he did not long survive (*); but that a little before his death there was a report that he was elected Archbishop of — in *Guienne*. He was buried in the church of the hospital of Incurables at Paris. That he was of a most generous and noble spirit, and of great piety, spending all he could get in publick and pious uses (59). Before he left the church of England, he wrote the *Shepherd's Paradise*, printed at London in 1629, 8vo. And after he had left it, *Miscellanea Spiritualia*; or *Devout Essays*, in two parts. The first of which was printed in 1648, the other in 1654, both at London in 4to. But the small tract, intitled *Miscellanea al mondo*; *Contemplations on death and immortality*,

(54) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 162.

(55) It was dated from Paris, Novemb. 21, 1635, and was presently answered by *Lucius Lord Falkland*. See his article, Vol. II. remark [O].

(56) Strafford's Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 505.

(57) Ibid. p. 492.

(58) Uncle to Cardinal *de Retz*, author of the celebrated *Memoirs* under his name. *Moreri's Dictionary*, under the family of *Gondy*, in Tome IV. Edit. 1740.

(*) She died Aug. 10, 1669. *Salmon*, under that year.

(59) Fasti Oxon. as before.

(y) *Idem*, *eidem*,
ibid. p. 427, in
a letter, dated
May 19, 1635.

Prince, afterwards King Charles II, and the Lord Chamberlain took home his daughter-in-law (y). The mother crossed the sea into Ireland with her Lord, who, by his conduct in

sometimes ascribed to our Abbot, was probably written by his father.

Sir *Toby Matthews* was a character equally if not of a more abnormous cast than his equally suspected coadjutor. He was the eldest son (60) of Dr *Toby Matthews*, Archbishop of *York*, and was born at *Salisbury* (61) Oct. 3, 1577, was matriculated as a member of *Christ-church* college in *Oxford* in the beginning of *March*, 1589, at eleven years of age, and had a student's place there conferred on him the following year. By the advantage of a good Tutor and pregnant parts he became a noted Orator and Disputant, and taking the degrees in arts, he afterwards travelled into various countries beyond-sea. At his return, being esteemed a good accomplished gentleman, and well versed in the affairs of other nations, he was taken into the acquaintance of that profound scholar Sir *Francis Bacon* (afterwards Lord *Verulam*) then of *Gray's Inn*, who honoured him with a frequent literary correspondence (62). At length, leaving the church of *England*, by the persuasions of *Parsons* the Jesuit, to the great grief of his father, he entered himself into the society of *Jesus*. Afterwards, growing famous for his eminent skill in politicks, he came into *England*, upon invitation, in *January*, 1621, it was said, to give his assistance to *King James I.* in certain matters of state. On the 10th of *October*, 1623, he received the honour of *Knighthood* from his Majesty at *Roylton*, for his great zeal in carrying on the proposed *Spanish* match with *Prince Charles*, at which time not only the King, but the chief of the nobility, particularly the Duke of *Buckingham* (63), and others at court, had a high value for him, and so continued for several years after. Among the rest, the Earl of *Strafford* had so great an opinion of his abilities, that he was taken by his Lordship into *Ireland*, as a friend whose advice and counsel might be of use to him. But from the above-cited letter of Lord *Conway* to the Deputy, his residence in *Ireland* seems not to have been very long; and his connection with that statesman, and also with *Dr Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, unavoidably brought him into the odium of the puritanical party; which was greatly inflamed by the character which one *Andrew ab Habernfeld* gave of him in a pretended discovery of a treasonable plot against the King, sent in a letter to Sir *William Boswell*, his Majesty's agent at the *Hague*, to *Dr Laud*, in *October*, 1640, which runs thus: 'Sir *Tob. Matthews*, a Jesuited Priest (64) of the order of politicians, a most vigilant man of the chief heads, to whom a bed was never so dear, that he would rest his head thereon, refreshing his body with sleep in a chair for an hour or two: neither day nor night spared he his machinations, a man principally noxious, and himself the plague of the King and kingdom of *England*; a most impudent man, who flies to all banquets and feasts, called or not called, never quiet, always in action and perpetual motion, thrusting himself into all conversations of superiors, he urgeth conferences familiarly, that he may fish out the minds of men. Whatever he observeth thence, which may bring any commodity or discommodity to the part of the conspirators, he communicates to the Pope's Legate, and the more secret things he himself writes to the Pope, or to Cardinal *Barberino*. In sum, he adjoins himself to any man's company, no word can be spoken that he will not lay hold on, and communicate to his party. In the mean time whatever he hath fished out he reduceth into a catalogue, and every summer carries it to the general consistory of the politician Jesuits, which secretly meet together in *Wales*, where he is an acceptable guest, &c. (65).' This was published in 1643 by the famous *William Prynne* (66), who spared not to say that Sir *Toby* was sent into *England* by the Pope (*Urban VIII.* with whom he was in great esteem) to reconcile *England* to the church of *Rome*, to which end he received a pension also from Cardinal *Barberino*, protector of the *English* nation. Mr Wood however gives little credit to these (which he calls) bare reports, and says, that 'he had all his father's name, and many of his natural parts; was also one of considerable learning, good memory, and sharp wit, mixed with a pleasant affability in behaviour, and a seeming sweetness of mind, though sometimes, according to the company he was in, pragmatical, and a little too forward (67). This character is a remarkable instance of the truth of that observation, that the Antiquary has been favourable in general (68) to the memory

'of the Papists.' The present character is notoriously copied in that disposition from the sketch given of Sir *Toby* by Dr *Fuller* (69), *That having all his father's name, and many of his natural parts, he had few of his moral virtues, and fewer of his spiritual graces.* His father was in reality a Divine of such eminent worth, as ought not to be passed over in silence. He was descended from an ancient family of the *Williams*, of *Flint*, in the principality of *North Wales*, of which family *John Williams*, Esq; Receiver of *Flintshire*, 10 *Edw. IV.* marrying the daughter and heir of *Edmund Matthews*, Esq; his son, Sir *George*, assumed the name of *Matthews*, and had issue *Richard Matthews* of *Flint*, the father of *John Matthews* of *Bristol*, merchant, where this his son *Toby* was born in 1546 (70). From the school at *Wells* he was sent to *Oxford* at thirteen years of age, and soon after became a Student of *Christ-church* there. Having taken his degrees in arts, he received holy orders from the famous Dr *Jewel*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, being then much respected for his great learning, eloquence, sweet conversation, friendly disposition, and sharpness of his wit. In 1569 he was unanimously elected public Orator of the University, which office, though but twenty-three years of age, he executed with great applause to himself and honour to the public (71). At the same time he was a most celebrated preacher, when *Oxford* seems to have been but indifferently stocked with such. Afterwards preferments came thick upon him. In 1570 he was made Canon of *Christ-church* and Archdeacon of *Bath*, in 1572 Prebendary of *Sarum* and President of *St John's* college in *Oxford*, when, being famous for his preaching, he was made Queen's Chaplain, and soon after proceeding in divinity (72), he was made Dean of *Christ-church* in 1576. In 1579 he bore the office of Vicechancellor of that University, and in 1583 he was made Præcentor of the church of *Salisbury* in *June*, but being infatigable Dean of *Durham* in *August* following, he resigned the Præcentorship in *February* the same year; as he also did the Deanery of *Christ-church* in the beginning of the next year, 1584. It is not certain what was his motive for leaving the University, where he had so many ingenious friends and admirers, quit preferments of more profit than this deanery, and go further from the Court, the fountain of preferment; but there seems to be something in it of the spirit which prevailed at that time and before among many Divines (73), and which was called an apostolical preaching of the gospel, by travelling from town to town about the country for that purpose, in places where instruction was most wanted, as was particularly the case of those northern parts. The Dean's uncommon diligence in that practice strongly favours this opinion, there being scarce any town in the county but had him in their pulpit, and some places very often, while he held the deanery; nor did his assiduity in this course at all remit upon his promotion to the bishoprick of that diocese in 1595, nor even after his advancement to the archiepiscopal see of *York* (74) in 1606 (75), in which he sat with great honour and reputation to the time of his death, which happened *May 29*, 1628, at *Cawood* castle, whence his remains were carried, and interred in our Lady's chapel, at the East end of *York Minster* (76), where stands a sumptuous monument of black and white marble, adorned with gold, representing his effigies incumbent in full proportion, in his archiepiscopal robes, and an inscription in Latin, celebrating his hospitality, and particularly his powerful preaching (77), a talent which he never suffered to lie idle, but put out to use with indefatigable diligence to the last. Whence that challenge of *Alexander Cook*, Vicar of *Leedes* in *Yorkshire*, against the Papists, 'That *Toby Matthews*, the most reverend Archbishop of *York*, though almost eighty years of age, preacheth more sermons in a year, than you can prove has been preached by all your Popes from *Gregory the Great* his days (78).' Even *Edmund Campian*, the Jesuit, mentioning his name on another occasion, has these words: 'He that now rules in your pulpits, *Qui nunc dominatur in concionibus*;' adding, 'whom for his good learning and seeds of virtue we loved, *Quem propter bonas artes & virtutis semina dileximus* (79).' He preached with

(69) In his Church History, ann. 1628.

(70) Pedigree of the family, an abstract of which is in *Duc. Leod.* p. 253, 254.

(71) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 730.

(72) He supplicated for the degree of B. D. in 1571, but did not take it till *Decemb. 10*, 1573, and he proceeded to that of D. D. *May 27*, 1574. *Wood's Fasti Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 105, 109, 110.

(73) See in *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 428, the article of *Edmund Bunny*, who was called the *Divinity Squirt*, by some who did not approve this method.

(74) In his Diary, a transcript of which is in *Musæo Thoresb.* he accounts for 721 sermons while he was Dean, for 550 while Bishop of *Durham*, and for 722 in the 16 following years.

(75) For the dates of these promotions, consult *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 730, 731.

(76) *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 169, 170.

(77) In these words: *Cum omni politior doctrina Theologiam conjunxerat statim in concionibus dominari cepit. In Aula Academia Urbe Rure juxta celebris. Neque Chrysofomum Græcia, quam Tobiam suum Anglia jactantius olim profitebitur. Neminem illa [Reg. Eliz.] libentius audivit aut prædicantem suum prædicavit — Vix ad extremam senectutem exaruit dives illa concionandi Vena; cum erat Septuagenario major, nemo in concionibus frequentior, nemo felicius, nemo quem in æternum magis audire velis.*

(78) *Cook's Popish Brags abated.*

(79) *Campian's Ten Reasons, Rationes Decem, &c.* printed first in 1581, and five times in 1583, and translated

into *English* in 1687. In which labouring to prove that the Fathers were all Papists, to give a sanction thereto he says, that *Toby Matthews* once confessed so much to him; and the same opinion has been lately maintained by Dr *Conyers Middleton*.

(60) The Archbishop had two sons; *John*, born in *Christ-church*, *Oxford*, 1580; and *Samuel*, born at *Oxford* in 1583; besides a daughter, *Mary*, who died an infant in 1587. *Vicaria Leodiens.* p. 174, from a MS. of his mother, in an account of the births of all her children.

(61) Mr *Wood* therefore was mistaken in supposing him born at *Oxford*. *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 194.

(62) Enough, says *Wood*, to make a pretty volume. Sir *Toby* translated *Bacon's Essays* into *Italian*, printed at *London* in 1618, 8vo.

(63) Whom he accompanied into *Spain*, as will be seen presently.

(64) Mr *Wood* doubts his ever taking holy orders.

(65) Probably he had several relations there, being of *Welch* extraction, both by his father, and also by his mother, *Frances*, daughter of *Will. Barlow*, some time Bishop of *Chichester*, descended from the *Barlows* in *Wales*. *Pedigree in Duc. Leod.*

(66) In a piece, intitled *Rome's Master-piece*, p. 19, 20.

(67) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 194, 195.

(68) See his *Vindication*, &c. prefixed to the 1st Vol. of *Athen. Oxon.*

(*) Antrim promised to raise 3000 men at his own expence, to go against the Scots, then in rebellion, and afterwards disappointed the Deputy therein. See his article.

in the year 1639, highly provoked the Lord Deputy Wentworth (2): Whereupon, to avert the danger that was apprehended from his resentment, the Dutchess addressed to him the letter, a copy of which is inserted below [P], where it well deserves a place, both because it

the most ardent fervour, and his sermons, especially those on extraordinary occasions, made such impressions upon himself, that he gave thanks for the divine assistance in them. At the same time all his pains in preaching did not make him neglect the proper episcopal duties of visitation, confirmation, ordination, &c. confirming sometimes 500, sometimes 1000, at a time, yea so many, that he has been forced to betake himself to his bed for refreshment (80). He may justly be ranked among the eminent Divines of this nation, considered either in the schools or the episcopal chair. Camden styles him, *Theologus præstantissimus, in quo doctrina cum pietate, ars cum natura, certant* (81); and his great reading and tenacious memory are taken notice of by the Oxford historian, as follows: *Infruitæ propemodum lectionis vir librum penè nullum, quem vel scriptoris fama vel ipsum operis argumentum commendaret, intactum prætermisit, memoriam quoque tam tenacem habuit ut legenti sese paucissima obtulerint, quæ non, si quando usus flagitaret, confestim profert* (82). It is a little surprizing, that we find none of the Archbishop's sermons in print except his *Concis Apologetica contra Campianum in Deuteron. XXXII. v. 7.* first printed in 1581, and again in 1638, at Oxford, in 8vo. After his death a large letter, penned by him in the name of the Convocation about *Archbishop Grindal's* suspension, was published by Dr Fuller (83). Our Archbishop Matthews had a very great opinion of Grindal, and was a zealous promoter of the exercises, since called lectures, which were countenanced and encouraged by him (84). Another letter of his Grace to Archbishop Usher is exhibited by Dr Parr (85); and a third has been printed by Dr Smith (86). These are all that are genuine (87), save that remarkable letter of his concerning the Hampton-court conference in 1603, published by Mr Strype in Archbishop *Whitgift's* life (88), from the original in *Mus. Tboresbeian.* His Grace's manuscript notes upon all the ancient Fathers are mentioned by Dr Favour, who had read them, and says they are very judicious (89). These are probably lodged in the archives of York minster, to which church his whole library was bequeathed by his relict, a lady of distinguished beauty, and of exemplary wisdom, gravity, piety, and indeed all other virtues, not only above her sex, but the times. One thing is very singular in her story, that, as she was daughter of Bishop Barlow, so, her first husband was Matthew Parker, son to Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. She had four sisters, married to four Bishops, one to William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester; another to Overton, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; a third to Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford; and a fourth to Day, that succeeded Wickham in Winchester (90): so that a Bishop was her father, an Archbishop her father-in-law; she had four Bishops her brethren, and an Archbishop her husband. She died at the age of seventy-eight, on the 10th of May, 1629, and was interred near her last husband, under a monument, with an inscription to her memory. By her last will she gave to Peter-house in Cambridge, where her beloved son Samuel was a scholar and died, 200l. for two scholarships; and to her son, Sir Toby Matthews, a gold ring, set with eleven diamonds, which King Charles I. gave her: the Archbishop had bequeathed him a piece of plate, with a note that he had in his life-time given him above 14000l. Sir Toby, after acting a most heteroclitic part upon the stage of life, was taken off it Oct. 13, 1655, in the house of the third probation of the English college of Jesuits at Gaunt in Flanders, and was buried in a vault under the church belonging to them, without any kind of funeral pomp or splendor, according to his will. So much fluency of wit as his genius was impregnated with, could not be restrained from shewing some specimens in print. Besides some translations, we have several original pieces of his writing: Among which are, 1st, *A rich cabinet of precious jewels*, printed about 1623, 2d, *A Collection of Letters*, with his picture prefixed; to which is added, *Letters to several persons*, and the character of the most excellent Lady Lucy, Countess of Carlisle. She was the Goddess of his heart, and he expressed his adorations to her in such peculiar strains (*), as procured him a place in Sir John Suckling's *Session of Poets*: Thus:

Toby Matthews (*poë on him* (||) ' *what made him there*) (||) This was a common by-word with him.
Was whispering nothings in somebody's ear,
When he had the honour to be named in court,
But Sir you may thank my Lady Carlisle for't.

This Lady was daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; she died without issue in November, 1660, and was buried by her ancestors in the church at *Petworth* in *Suffex.* 3d, Some letters printed in the *Cabala*, or *mysteries of state*, in 1654, and in the *Cabala*, or *Scrinia Sacra*, printed at London in 1663, both which are perhaps inserted in the last mentioned collection of letters. 4th, Sir Toby also wrote a book to *show the benefit that proceeds from washing the head every morning in cold water*; and he had likewise made a large progress in the *history of the late times*, but, being left imperfect, it never saw the light. As to his translations, besides that of Bacon's *Essays* already mentioned, Sir Toby published an English version of *St Austin's confessions* (91), printed in 1624, 8vo; as also the *List of St Teresa*, printed about 1623, 8vo; and *The Penitent Bandito*; or *The history of the conversion and death of the most illustrious Lord Signor Troilo Savelli, a Baron of Rome*, printed about the same time; and a second edition came out in 1663, 8vo.—To conclude, Mr Walpole, who having well observed that Sir Toby had some wit, and pretended to be a politician, has given him a place among the English painters, as being intitled thereto upon the authority of Mr Vertue the engraver, who says Sir Toby had some skill in limning; and that he sometimes diverted himself in handling the pencil, appears from a letter of the Dutchess of Buckingham to the Duke in Spain, wherein she tells him, that she had not yet seen the picture of the *Infanta drawn by Toby Matthews* (92). [P] *A letter, which is inserted below.* The letter runs thus:

' My Lord,
 ' I was in hope, till very lately, that all your displeasure taken against my Lord had been past; but, in letters sent me out of England, I was assuredly informed your Lordship was much disgusted still with him; which news hath very much troubled me. I cannot be satisfied without sending these expressly to you: And I beseech you that, whatever you do conceive, you will deal clearly with me, and let me know it, and withal direct me how I may remove it. I must necessarily be included in your Lordship's anger to him, for any misfortune to my Lord must be mine, and it will prove a great misfortune to me to live under your frowns. Out of your goodness you will not, I hope, make me a sufferer, who have never deserved from you but as

' Your Lordship's
 ' Most faithful Servant,

Dunlure,
 this 2d of Sept. ' KATHARINE BUCKINGHAM (93).'
 1639.

The noble spirit which prompted and dictated this address shews, that her Grace knew exactly how to hit that nice and delicate point of condescending with a dignity suitable to her birth and quality: And the Lord Deputy's answer is animated with a no less nobly spirited politeness, in these terms:

' Madam,
 ' What relations your Ladyship hath had forth of England concerning me, I know not; but if I understood the parties that writ them, I should be better able to judge of them: For a sort of persons there are in that kingdom, who as they are of all others least privy with my inclinations, so are they most apt to form and publish every untruth that may be fashioned or enforced to my prejudice.
 ' Your Ladyship desires me to deal clearly with you, and otherwise I never practised with any. And as for my Lord of Antrim, your Ladyship might do well to advise him to the like manner of proceeding: For I must needs confess myself not satisfied, finding, in the

(80) *Vicaria Leod.* p. 165, and 167.

(81) *Britannia in Brigant.*

(82) *Wood's Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* as amended by Bp Fell.

(83) In his *Church Hist.* anno 1580.

(84) *Vicaria Leod.* p. 161.

(85) Letters annexed to Usher's life, Number XXXVI.

(86) *Camden. & illustr. viror. epist.* p. 53.

(87) That in the *Cabala*, ascribed to him by Mr Wood, is of Abbot, Abp Cant. *Ruthworth's Hist. Collect.* Vol. 1. p. 85.

(88) *Viz.* in p. 236, 237, 238. Dr Matthews, then Bp of Durham, assisted at this conference, and at the end of it preached before the King at Hampton-court, by his Majesty's special appointment. *Vic. Leod.* p. 160. from his *Diary.*

(89) *Favour's Anuq. Triumph. over Novelty, in the Epist. Dedic.*

(90) *Pedigree of the Barlows of Barlow, in Duc. Leod.* p. 253, and 627.

(*) Mr Walpole has given us some pleasant strictures upon this character in his *Anecdotes of painting, Vol. II.* under Sir Toby's article.

(91) This sold for 16s. a copy. See a catalogue of Popish books, subjoined to a piece, called *The foot cut out of the snare*, by John Gee, who says Sir Toby's translation might have been afforded for half a crown.

(92) *Walpole's Anecdotes of painting,* 23 before.

(93) *Strafford's letters, &c.* Vol. II. p. 386.

it is the chief production we have of her Grace's pen [2], and (which is directly to the purpose of these memoirs) it opens a view into a very engaging part of her character, by exhibiting a specimen of her admirable talent in that most useful species of writing.

' late proceedings here with this state, his Lordship returned me artificial for my simple and ingenuous dealing; and that himself and his man *Stewart* endeavoured to turn the improbability, indeed impossibility, of that design upon me as a fault whereon to excuse himself, which methought was not so fair, to make me accountable for that in the conclusion, wherein I had no hand or privity at all originally.

' But let these things be as they may, your Ladyship, I know, is so just as to allow me to preserve myself, which I shall do without hurt, I trust, to any other: and then I shall be very ready, without reflecting upon any matter which concerns myself, as formerly, to do your Ladyship's person and affairs all the service I shall be able, and persuade myself you will not find any, which may succeed me in this place, more careful and glad to express himself

' Your Ladyship's

Dublin,
this 9th of Sept.
1639.

' Most humble Servant,

' WENTWORTH (94).'

(94) *Idem*,
p. 387, 388.

[2] *The chief production of her Grace's pen.* There are some other letters of hers, written to the Duke, preserved among the Harleian manuscripts, one of which has been already mentioned. In another, written also to her Lord while he was in Spain, she desires him to get his picture drawn. *I pray you*, says she, *if you have any idle time, sit to Gerbier for your picture, that I may have it well done in little.* This painter, who became afterwards Sir *Balthazar Gerbier d'Orville*, was born at Antwerp in 1592 (95), but came young into England,

(95) *De Pile's Art of Painting*, &c. p. 277. English Edition the Third.

and was in the Duke's retinue so early as the year 1613. He was in high favour with his Grace, and, attending him into Spain, was employed in the treaty of the Prince's [Charles] marriage, though ostensibly acting only in the character of a painter (96). Bishop Tanner has a manuscript catalogue of the Duke's collection of pictures, statues, &c. drawn up by Gerbier, who was employed by his Grace in several of his purchases, by whose interest he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him in 1628, at Hampton-court, by the King [Charles I.] (97) who, it is said, employed him, upon his Grace's recommendation, as a man of a good understanding in the character of his agent at Brussels, where he resided several years (98). These anecdotes are furnished by Mr Walpole, who has given another, which confirms and elucidates a characteristic mark of the Duke's temper and singular turn of mind before noted. It is taken from a manuscript of the late Mr *Vertue*, which though a little imperfect, and thereby somewhat obscure, is yet sufficiently clear for our purpose, as follows: ' King James I. ill and dying, the Duke of Buckingham was desired to apply a plaister to his stomach, which he did with proper advice of Doctors, Physicians to the King: but the King dying, the Duke was blamed. One *Eglebam* printed a scurrilous libel, and flew away into Flanders. I was told by *Gerbier*, (though his testimony be odious to any man) that *Eglebam* dealt with him in Flanders for a peece of money (not more than 400 guilders to defray the charges) to print his recantation. Of which the Duke bid *Gerbier* join knavery together, and spit their venom till they split, and he would pay for printing that also (99).'

(96) He drew the Infant's there, which was sent over to King James.

(97) In a letter, dated 1628, it is said the King and Queen were treated by him at supper, which could not cost him less than 1000 l.

(98) *De Pile*, as before.

(99) Walpole, ubi supra, under Gerbier's article.

VILLIERS [GEORGE], eldest surviving son of the preceding, was born Jan. 30, 1627, at Wallingford-house, in the parish of St Martin in the fields, within the liberty of Westminster (a). His father's cruel fate leaving him an infant-orphan, the King [Charles I.] in his first visit after it to the Dutchess his mother, promised to be a husband to her, and a father to her children, and he performed his promise. The Dutchess was then great with child, and the King said he would be Godfather, in which relation he stood, together with Francis Earl of Rutland, the child's grandfather. After some compliments who should give the name, the King named him Francis, and the grandfather gave him his benediction, 7000 l. a year (b). The Duke and his brother were bred up by the King with his own children, under the same Tutors and Governors: Both the brothers were sent young to Trinity-college in Cambridge, and their names entered in the College book the same year with Prince Charles (c). Here the Duke became acquainted with the celebrated Mr *Abraham Cowley* and Mr *Martin Clifford*, whom he loved ever after, and they as faithfully and effectually served him. From the University both the brothers went to travel abroad, under the care of *William Aylesbury*, Esq; son of Sir *William Aylesbury*, Bart. appointed to that office by the King (d). They continued abroad till after the breaking out of the civil wars, and upon their return were conducted by their Governor to his Majesty, then at Oxford (e), where they laid their lives and fortunes at the King's feet, as a testimony of their loyalty and gratitude, worthy to be imprinted in the memory of the royal family. Young as they were, they immediately engaged in that cause, and chusing *Prince Rupert* and the Lord *Gerard* for Tutors to enter them in the war, they went with those noblemen into very sharp service, viz. the storming of the close at Litchfield (f) in Staffordshire [A]. For this the parliament seized on their estates; but, by a rare example of their compassion, restored them again in consideration of their nonage. However, these loyal youths kept those no longer than till they came of age to forfeit them again. It was about this time that their mother married the *Marquis of Antrim*, and thereby ruining herself and offending the King, they were now committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland, and sent to travel in France and Italy, where they lived in as great state [B] as some of those sovereign Princes. Their return to England was in so critical a time, as if, it should seem, they had

(a) He was baptized there the 14th of February following by Dr [afterwards Abp] Laud; then Bp of Bath and Wells. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 803.

(b) *Idem*, ibid. See also Hill's life of Dr Barrow, who was recommended to the mastership of that college by his Grace.

(c) See his article in Vol. I. of this work.

(d) Mr Wood says they were entered of Christchurch, and that Mr Geo. Eglington by was their Tutor, the Duke being then 15 years of age. Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(b) *Memoirs of the life of G. Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, by Mr Brian Fairfax, printed from a MS. in the possession of the late Bp Atterbury, with a piece, entitled, A catalogue of the curious collection of pictures of G. Villiers, D. of B., &c. 1758, 4to, p. 24, 25.

(f) Lord Clarendon, who gives a particular account of this action, observes, that it was one of the sharpest engagements that happened during the civil wars.

(1) Fairfax's *Memoirs*, as above, p. 25, 26.

[A] *Storming the close at Litchfield.* At their return to Oxford, the Dutchess their mother was very angry with Lord Gerard for tempting her sons into such danger; but he told her it was their own inclination, and the more danger the more honour (1).

[B] *They lived in great state.* Florence and Rome were the places of their residence, and they brought, says my Author, their religion home again. The Duke did not as his predecessor in the title of Lord *Rofs* had done before him, who changed his religion at Rome, and left his Tutor Mr *Mole* in the Inquisition, for having

translated King James's book, entitled, *An Admonition to Princes*, into Latin; and *Du Plessis Mornay's* book of *the Mass* into English (2). The Duke was instructed in mathematics at Rome by Mr *Abraham Woodbead*, who was there at this time on his travels as Tutor to some young gentlemen of University-college in Oxford, of which he was then a fellow; and upon his return, being deprived of his fellowship by the parliament visitors in 1641, he was entertained at York house by his Grace's appointment (3).

(2) *Ibid.* p. 26. See some account of Mr Mole's case under Henry [Vere] the 18th Earl of Oxford.

(3) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 613.

now chosen the last opportunity, as they had done the first, of venturing all in the King's service. It was in the year 1648, when the King was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and his friends in several parts of England designing to renew the war: Duke Hamilton in Scotland, the Earl of Holland and others in Surrey, Goring in Kent, and many in London and Essex, appeared in arms. These were the last efforts of the dying cause, and the Duke and his brother, in the heat of their courage, engaged with the Earl of Holland, and were the first that took the field about Ryegate in Surrey. The parliament, with their old army, knew all these designs, and despised them, till they grew so numerous in Kent, that the General [Fairfax] himself was sent to suppress them, who found sharp service in storming of Maidstone and taking of Colchester (g). Some troops of horse were sent, under the command of Colonel Gibbons, to suppress them in Surrey, and they drove my Lord of Holland before them to Kingston, but engaged his party before he got thither near *Nonfuch*, and defeated them. My Lord Francis at the head of his troop, having his horse slain under him, got to an oak-tree in the high-way, about two miles from Kingston, where he stood with his back against it, defending himself, scorning to ask quarter, and they barbarously refusing to give it, till with nine wounds in his face and body he was slain [C]. The Duke, after the loss of his brother, hardly escaped with his life to *St Neots* in Huntingdonshire, whither also came the *Earl of Holland*, who was there taken, and soon after beheaded. The Duke next morning finding the house where he lay surrounded, and a troop of horse drawn up before the gate, had time with his servants to get to horse, and then, causing the gate to be opened, he charged the enemy, and killed the officer at the head of them, and made his escape to the sea-side, and thence to *Prince Charles*, who was in the Downs with those ships that had deserted the *Earl of Warwick*. And now again the parliament gave him forty days to return to England; but he refused, and chose rather to stay with the Prince: So, at the expiration of the time, his estate was seized, being then the greatest of any subject in England, having now his brother's estate fallen to him (b). All that he had to support him beyond-sea was the money he got at Antwerp for his pictures, which were part of that costly and curious collection of his father, procured from Italy by the help of Sir *Henry Wotton* (i) and others, which adorned York house to the admiration of all men of judgment in pictures [D]. These were secured, and sent to him by his old trusty servant

(g) See Fairfax's article.

(b) The yearly value was above 20000l. Memoirs, &c. by Mr Fairfax, p. 28. It was assigned for the payment of the forces under General Lambert.

(i) See Reliquiæ Wottonianæ passim.

Mr

[C] *Lord Francis was slain.* The oak-tree is his monument, and had the two first letters of his name, F. V. cut in it, which remain to this day, says Mr Fairfax (4), who proceeds with his Lordship's elogium in these terms: 'Thus died this noble, valiant, and beautiful youth, in the twentieth year of his age. A few days before his death, when he left London, he ordered his Steward Mr *John May* to bring him in a list of his debts, and he so charged his estate with them, that the parliament, who seized on his estate, paid them. His body was brought from Kingston by water to *York-house* in the Strand, and, being there embalmed, was afterwards deposited in his father's vault in *Henry VIIIth's* chapel, Westminster-abbey, with this inscription, which it is pity should be buried with him:

Depositu[m] Illu[st]rissimi Domini
Francisci Villiers,
Ingentis speciei Juvenis,
Filii posthumi Georgii ducis Buckinghamii.
Qui vicefimo ætatis anno
pro Rege Carolo
Et patria
fortiter pugnando,
Novem honestis vulneribus acceptis,
Obiit vii^o die Julii
Anno Domini 1648.

The body of the Lord Francis Villiers, a most beautiful youth, the posthumous son of George Duke of Buckingham, who in the twentieth year of his age, fighting valiantly for King Charles and his country, having received nine honourable wounds, died July 7, 1648.

[D] *Part of his father's collection of pictures.* This collection had been purchased at great prices by his father. He gave 10000l. for what had been collected by Sir *Peter Paul Rubens*; and Sir *Henry Wotton*, when Ambassador at Venice, purchased many other capital pieces for his Grace. After his assassination some had been purchased by the King, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Abbot Montague*. One may however form a judgment in some measure how valuable the intire collection must have been, by the list of what remained; where we find no less than nineteen by *Titian*, seventeen by *Tintoret*, twenty-one by *Bassan*, two by *Julio Romano*, two by *Georgioni*, thirteen by *Paul Veronese*, eight by *Palma*, three by *Guido*, thirteen by *Rubens*, three by *Leonardo da Vinci*, two by *Correggio*, and three by *Raphael d'Urbino*, besides several by other esteemed masters, whose

pieces are scarce (5). Mr *Duart* of Antwerp bought some of them; but the greatest part were purchased by the Archduke *Leopold*, and added to his noble collection in the castle of *Prague*. He bought the chief picture, the *Ecce homo* by *Titian*, in which are introduced the portraits of the Pope, the Emperor Charles V. and Solyman the magnificent: It is eight feet in length, and twelve feet in breadth. Mr *Fairfax* says it was valued at 5000l. but from a note of the late Mr *George Vertue*, the Engraver, on that place in the manuscript, it appears, that *Thomas Earl of Arundel* offered the Duke's father the value of 7000l. in land or money, for this single piece (*).

The Duke was also possessed of another great curiosity in painting, which, being likewise sold by his son, has lately been the subject of much discourse, and not only given birth to various pamphlets, &c. but has likewise by the use that has been made of it, occasioned a contest at law. The Reader is doubtless beforehand with me in pointing out the stained window now standing at the East end of *St Margaret's* church, Westminster, of which is given the following account: The magistrates of *Dort* in *Holland*, being desirous of presenting *Henry VII.* with something worthy to adorn his magnificent chapel, then building at Westminster, directed this window to be made, which was five years in finishing; King Henry and his Queen sending their pictures to *Dort*, from whence their portraits in the window are delineated.

King Henry dying before the window was compleated, it fell into the hands of an Abbot of *Waltham*, who placed it in his abbey church, where it remained till the dissolution of that abbey by Henry VIII, A. D. 1540. To preserve it from being destroyed, it was removed by Robert Fuller, the last abbot of *Waltham*, to a private chapel at *New-hall*, an ancient seat belonging to the *Butlers* Earls of *Ormond* in *Wiltshire*; which afterwards came into the hands of *Thomas Bollein*, father of *Ann Bollein*, *Henry VIIIth's* Queen.

In Queen Elizabeth's reign *New-hall* is found to have been the seat of *Thomas Ratcliff*, Earl of *Suffex*; from his family *George Villiers Duke of Buckingham* bought it; his son sold it to General *Monk*, who to preserve it, or to guard it against imputations from his party, caused it to be buried under ground during the civil wars and usurpations; in which times many beautiful glass windows, to the amount of above 800, were destroyed by the rage of puritanical zealots. After the Restoration, General *Monk* caused this window to be replaced in his chapel of *New-hall*. In 1688 died his son and heir

(5) This was printed in the catalogue of the curious collection, &c. ubi supra, from p. 1 to p. 22; containing 230 pictures, besides 24 models in metal, marble, joory, or alabaster. After which are mentioned 12 boxes of agates, and other precious stones, chased in gold, and all antiques, as expressed in the English inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's collection in 1635.

(*) There is a curious copy of it in *Northumberland* house.

Christopher

Mr John Trayman, who lived in York house. The King resolving to go into Scotland,

(6) An account of this painter may be seen in *Anecdotes of painting in England, &c.* in 2 Vols 4to, Vol II. 1762, by Mr Horace Walpole, who has also shewn, by an uninterrupted series of masters in this kind of painting, that it was never lost, as has been commonly supposed.

(7) This church being used by the House of Commons to assemble in, they seem to have taken upon themselves to repair and beautify it. In 1735 the tower was rebuilt, and the church finely cycled, by the sum of 5500l. granted by parliament in the 8th and 12th years of Geo. II. And by a grant of 4000l. in 1757, the church had a thorough repair, the whole pavement was taken up, and new vaulted, the East end rebuilt, and the pews all made new: All being finished before the end of the year 1758.

(8) Viz. the Dean of Westminster-abbey.

(9) Near the place where it stood in Palestine a chapel was erected afterwards by way of memorial of it. Sandy's travels.

(10) This representation of him is not unlike that by Eusebius in his life of Constantine the Great, which Emperor erected his statue, and over his head was displayed a banner with the cross, and underneath his feet a dragon.

Christopher Duke of Albemarle, by whose death this noble seat devolved to his Dutchess; but she not residing there, it became ruinous and decayed. The present possessor of New-hall is *John Olmius, Esq;* who it is presumed purchased it of the heirs of the Monk's family. Within these few years he hath demolished great part of the ancient structure, and the fine chapel; but the window he preserved, hoping that it might at length be purchased for some church. It lay some time cased up in boxes, till Mr *Conyers*, coming to the knowledge of it, purchased it for his chapel at *Coptball* near *Epping*, and paid Mr *Price*, a great artist in that way (6), a large sum of money for repairing it. There it remained till his son *John*, building a new house at some distance from the old seat, had no further use for the window, and sold it to the Committee appointed for the repairing and beautifying *St Margaret's*, A. D. 1758, for the sum of 400 guineas; part of the 4000l. granted by Parliament for repairing and beautifying that church (7).

The progressive changes this window hath undergone are somewhat remarkable, and particularly in its being now fixed near the abbey-church of *Westminster*, in the chapel belonging to which it was originally designed to be placed.

The antiquity of it, by the foregoing account, I presume cannot be less than 250 years, being probably begun soon after the founding of *Henry VIII's* chapel, and before the death of that King, which is evident by several figures introduced into it.

However, soon after it was set up in *St Margaret's* church, several articles were exhibited in the Commissary's court against the Churchwardens, *William Ruffed* and *Samuel Pierston*, for setting up a piece of painting there, wherein was delineated several superstitious pictures or images, and that without a licence or faculty from the Ordinary of the place (8). Hereupon there came out, in vindication of the Churchwardens, in 1761, a piece in 4to, entitled, *Ornaments of Churches considered, &c.* to which is added in the appendix, a description of the window, as follows:

' This Eastern window, says the anonymous writer of the defence, consists of one entire history of the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour between two thieves, the portraiture of whose persons is so extremely well done, that there may be seen the muscles of each limb, occasioned by the different ways they are expanded on the crosses. Round the cross where our Saviour is crucified are the Roman officers and soldiers attending the execution, with some of the chief rulers of the Jews. At the foot of the cross are *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary* the wife of *Cleophas*, and sister to the blessed *Virgin Mary*, who stands in the front (9), representing as fainting away, so drawn in most pictures. On the right hand of the cross is the Roman Centurion on horseback, who with a lance pierces our Saviour's side, from which are represented issuing blood and water. The horse whereon the Centurion sits is finely executed, with full spirit and vigour. Behind the cross, a little to the left, is a small perspective view of the city of *Jerusalem*. On the right is the Penitent, and on the left the Thief which reviled our Saviour.

' The first capital figure on the right hand, standing in a niche, curiously delineated, is that of *St George of Cappadocia*, the reputed Patriot Saint of England, standing completely armed at all points, holding in his hand a banner partly unfurled, charged with a red cross, and behind him lies at his feet a red dragon (10). He was a Tribune under the Emperor *Dioclesian*, and beheaded by him for embracing the Christian religion A. D. 290. The banner he holds is a symbol of his dying in defence of the cross, and the red dragon under his feet alludes to his conquest over that red dragon the Devil, who burneth with fury, and is red with the blood of the faithful. Rev. ch. xii. v. 3.

' Opposite to *St George*, on the left hand, standing also in a niche, is the figure of *St Catharine*, the virgin and martyr of *Alexandria*, holding in her right hand a book, and resting her left on a sword, her head encircled with a crown of glory. At the bottom, towards the right, is a Hermit, drawn about breast-high, holding something that resembles a root, and looking up towards her; towards the bottom, on the left hand, is part of a wheel, the emblematical device of the manner of her martyrdom. She was beheaded under *Maximus I.* Emperor of the Western monarchy, A. D. 455.

' The third figure on the right hand, under *St George*, is *Henry VII.* at his devotion in his royal robes, crowned with a diadem, and kneeling under a canopy of state in a small oratory, with a book before him.

' Opposite to the King, on the left hand, under *St Catharine*, is the fourth figure, representing *Elizabeth* his royal consort at her devotions, and kneeling also under a canopy of state, with a book before her, and in her countenance is lively expressed the devotion of her heart.

' Above all is a row of six small panes, in which are the representations of angels attendant on the crucifixion. On the left hand, in a small pane, is the moon, and on the opposite side the sun, alluding to the preternatural manner of the darkness (the sun not being eclipsed, as the moon was at full) at our Saviour's crucifixion.

' On the left of these figures, and over the moon, is placed a white rose within a red one, to signify the uniting of the houses of *York* and *Lancaster* in the persons of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*. On the opposite side, and over the sun, is placed a *Pomegranate*, to signify the descent of the two mentioned houses from the royal house of *Spain*, as *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, married *Constance*, the eldest daughter and coheir of *Peter King of Castile and Leon*; and his brother *Edmund of Langley*, Duke of *York*, (great great grandfather of *Elizabeth*, wife of *Henry VII.*) married *Isabel*, the youngest daughter of the aforesaid King. The pomegranate Vert in a field Or are the arms of the kingdom of *Granada* in *Spain*, which kingdom was added to that of *Castile* by *Ferdinand V.* A. D. 1478, who united *Spain* into one monarchy, having married *Isabel*, Queen of *Castile and Leon*.

' On each side of the altar-piece, within stocco panes, are copper-plates, finely enamelled with the texts of Scripture explaining the crucifixion as painted in the glass, and the supper at *Emaus* in bas relief, carved by *Alkin* of *St Anne's*, *Westminster*, from a painting of *Titian*.

Upon the whole it is observable, that this writer has passed over in silence the figures of four angels, each with a cup or chalice in his hands, catching the blood which issues in unbroken streams from our Saviour's side and the wounds in his hands and feet (*). As also the figures of other angels conducting the soul of the penitent thief on one side to heaven; and the Devil on the other side transporting that of the reviling thief to hell; the souls of each thief being represented in a small bodily shape, fixed to suitable crosses.

The prosecution against the Churchwardens was begun in the Commissary's court, from whence an appeal being made to the court of Delegates, the cause is still depending there.

This cause naturally brings to mind another, as being an exact contrast to it, I mean the case of Mr *Sherfield*, Recorder of *Salisbury*, who was prosecuted in the *Star-chamber*, and fined 500l. for contemptuously breaking some panes of painted glass, representing the creation of the world by God the Father, in a window of *St Edmond's* church in that city (†). The fine it is allowed was very severe, according to the temper of that too arbitrary court (‡); but it may perhaps be esteemed an instance of the Divine Nemesis upon the man; of whom we have the following account, in a letter from Mr *Garrard* to the Lord *Wentworth*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. ' About this time [viz. in March, 1633 (§)] died *Sherfield* the glass-window breaker, some thousands in debt, and most wickedly cheated those that dealt with him for that little land he had in a manor near *Marlborough*. When, as your Lordship knows, he was fined 500l. in the *Star-chamber*, he then mortgaged his manor to one *Ayres*, a Bencher in *Lincoln's Inn* (||), who lent him upon it 2500l. Upon his death, *Ayres* challenging it, *Audley*, of the court of Wards, shews a former mortgage to him; Sir *Thomas Jarvis* one more ancient than that; his wife, before him, challengeth it as her jointure: His eldest brother shews a conveyance before all these. In conclusion, on his death-bed he commands a servant of his to carry a letter, with a key sealed up in it, to Mr *Noy* [the famous Attorney-general] where was assigned in what box in his study at *Lincoln's Inn* lay the conveyance of his estate; there it was found, and by a deed, bearing date before all these formerly mentioned, he had given all his estate to pious uses. Sic finita est fabula of Mr *Sherfield* (11).'

(*) The author of this piece assures me, that this part of the picture was omitted, as not being relative to the law-suit between the Ordinary and Churchwardens.

(†) Rushworth, Vol. I. second part, p. 152 to 156 inclusive, Edit. 1680, Fol.

(‡) He was also removed from the Recorder's place, and sentenced to make an acknowledgment of his fault before such persons as should be appointed by his Diocesan; notwithstanding his plea, that the church was an exempt jurisdiction, and what he had done was in pursuance of an act of vestry. He also pleaded the acts of *Elizabeth*, and her royal injunctions, as well as the book of *Homilies*. All which have been since considered by the Author of *The ornaments of churches, &c.* Sect. VI.

(§) The prosecution was in February the preceding year, but the fact was committed in 1629.

(||) He was a Bencher of that Inn.

(11) *Strafford's* letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 206.

the Duke attended him (k); and now again the parliament offered to compound for his estate at 20000l. which was less than a year's value; but he chusing to run the King's fortune in Scotland, worse than exile, came with him out of Scotland into England, and at Worcester his escape was almost as miraculous as the King's in the royal oak [L]. He escaped again into France, and went a volunteer into the French army, where he was much regarded by all the French officers, signalizing his courage at the siege of *Arras* and *Valenciennes* (l). When he came to the English court, which was but seldom, the King was always glad to see him: He loved his person and his company; though his court was not well disposed to him (m). There now happened a great turn in the course of his life. My Lord Fairfax, not approving the war with Scotland, had laid down his commission of General of the parliament's forces in 1650, but had part of the Duke's estate, about 5000l. a year, allotted him by the parliament toward the payment of his arrears, and he remitted more than would have purchased a greater estate. They gave him the manor of Helmesley, the seat of the Rutland family in Yorkshire, as a salve for the wound he received there, being shot through the body. They gave him also York house in London. The Duke heard how kind and generous Lord Fairfax was to the *Countess of Derby*, in paying all the rents of the Isle of Man, which the parliament had also assigned to him for his arrears, into her own hands, and which she confessed was more than all her servants before had done. The Duke had reason to hope my Lord had the same inclinations as to this estate of his, which his Lordship never accounted his own, and the Duke wanted it as much as the Countess. He was not deceived in his hopes; for my Lord Fairfax wished only for an opportunity of doing it. He lived in York house, where every chamber was adorned with the arms of *Villiers* and *Mauvros*, Lions and Peacocks. He was descended from the same ancestors, Earls of Rutland [F], Sir Guy Fairfax's two sons having married two of the daughters of the Earl of Rutland, which he took frequent occasion to remember. The Duke resolved to try his fortune, which had hitherto been adverse enough (n). Over he came into England, to make love to my Lord's only daughter, a most virtuous and amiable Lady. He found a friend to propose the match (o); the parents consented, and the young Lady could not resist his charms, being the most graceful and beautiful person that any court in Europe ever saw. All his trouble in wooing was, *He came, saw, and conquered*. When he came into England he was not sure either of life or liberty. He was an outlaw, and had

[E] *His escape after the battle of Worcester.*] When the King was preparing to march into England, he granted a commission to the Duke to raise a regiment of horse, and one of foot, out of the English that should repair to him. And after their march to Worcester, perceiving that very few of quality or distinction repaired to his Majesty, he remonstrated to the King, that it would be more for his interest to remove the Scottish General; alledging it would not consist with the honour of any peer of England to receive his orders; and thereupon asked his Majesty to confer that honour on himself; which the King refusing, the Duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the Council, scarce spoke to the King, neglected every body else, and himself, in so much as for many days he scarce put on clean linnen, nor conversed with any body, nor did he recover this ill humour while the army staid at Worcester. Nevertheless, in the engagement there, he was at the King's right hand, and behaved with exemplary valour. On the loss of the day he retired northward with his Majesty, who had then an intent of going into Scotland; but, on consultation with the Duke, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Wilmot, &c. it was thought more convenient to conceal himself in *Boscobel-house*. Whereupon the Duke, the Earl of Derby, and others, in all about sixty horse, marched thither with the King, and having left his Majesty there, as they hoped, in security, the Duke, with the Earl of Derby, &c. went northward, to overtake General Lesly with the main body of Scotch horse. But being met by the rebels, the Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Lauderdale, with most of them, were taken prisoners. While the rebels were plundering those noble persons, the Duke, with the Lord Leviston, Colonel Blague, Mr Marmaduke Darcy, and Mr Hugh May, forsook the road first, and soon after their horses, and betook themselves to a by-way, and got into *Blowre-Parke*, near *Cheswardine*, about five miles from *Newport*, where they received some refreshment at a little obscure house of Mr *George Barlow*: and afterwards met with two honest labourers in an adjoining wood, to whom they communicated the distress to which the fortune of war had reduced them; and finding them like to prove faithful, the Duke thought fit to imitate his royal master, delivered his George, which was given him by the Queen of England, to Mr May (12), (who preserved it through all difficulties, and after restored it to his Grace in Holland) and changed habit with one of the workmen. In this disguise, by the assistance of Mr Barlow and his wife, he was after some days con-

veyed by one *Nicholas Mattherus*, a carpenter, to the house of Mr *Hawley*, a hearty cavalier at *Billstrop* in Nottinghamshire, from thence to the Lady *Villiers's* house at *Brookesby* in Leicestershire, and, after many hardships and encounters, his Grace got secure to London, and thence had the good fortune to escape a second time into Holland; where, on his arrival, he was taken for the King; and it was thought good policy to publish that his Majesty was arrived. However, the King soon after escaping into France, the Duke went to him there (13).

[F] *He was descended from the house of Rutland.*] This appears from a pedigree of this ancient family, curiously drawn by Mr R. Thoresby, the famous Antiquary of Leeds in Yorkshire (14), who having observed that the name *Fairfax* is Saxon, and presumed to be in England about the time that they expelled the Romans, and confined the Britons before the coming of the Danes, and so, long before the Norman conquest, proceeds to inform us, that the records of this family before King John's time are not so well preserved: but since that there are very good evidences in the hands of the then Lord Viscount *Fairfax*, that they have succeeded lineally Lords of the manor of *Walton* for nineteen or twenty generations, near five hundred years, anno 1660. Accordingly the pedigree begins with *Richard Fairfax*, from whom descended *William Fairfax*, who lived in the time of King John and Henry III, whose descendant, after nine generations, was another *Richard Fairfax*, father to Sir Guy Fairfax, his third son, Knt. Judge of the King's bench, who died anno 1497, leaving a son, *William Fairfax*, a Judge, who died 6 Henry VIII. having married *Elizabeth*, sister to the first Earl of *Rutland* (15). Besides *William* the eldest, Sir Guy had other sons, viz. *Thomas*, a Serjeant at Law, as also *Guy* and *Nicholas*; but no mention is made of any of their marriages in this pedigree, a defect which must be supplied from Mr *Brian Fairfax* in the text above. This *William's* grandson, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* of *Denton*, was father to the Lord *Fairfax*, Baron of *Cameron*, whose son *Ferdinand*, Lord *Fairfax*, was father to the General (16), who leaving no male issue, the title came to his paternal uncle *Henry*, whose grandson *Thomas*, Lord *Fairfax*, was living and unmarried in 1712; in which year also was living and unmarried, *Brian Fairfax*, Esq; son to *Brian Fairfax*, Esq; the writer of the *Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham*, who was second son to the General's paternal uncle *Henry*, Lord *Fairfax*. He died in 1711.

(k) On their arrival there, when all the rest of his Majesty's English servants were removed from his person, the Duke only was excepted. Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 213.
(m) Fairfax, p. 29. Among these courtiers Mr Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, was the chief. See his article in remark [O]. And the Duke had his full revenge upon him afterwards. Ibid. in remark [P].

(o) Mr Fairfax thought it was Mr Robert Harlow.

(l) He was made Knight of the Garter soon after. Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(n) Mr Fairfax observes, that he had some revenge upon her by translating into English verse Horace's ode, *Fortuna semel laeta negatio &c.* it was printed afterwards in his works, Vol. I. Edit. 1715.

(13) Peerage, Vol. III p. 213, 214.

(14) In Doct. Leod. p. 66, 67, 69, 572, 575.

(15) Her mother was Dutches of Exeter, sister to Edward IV.

(16) The General was sprung from a younger branch of his family, the descendant of the elder branch being *Thomas Lord Viscount Fairfax* of *Embsay*, whose great grandson dying an infant, the title came to *Thomas's* second son, and upon his death, without male issue, the title came to the grandson of *Thomas's* third son, *Charles Viscount Fairfax*, who died in 1719.

(12) This servant of the Duke had also his share in procuring the disgrace of the Earl of Clarendon. See that Earl's article in remark [P].

not made his peace with *Cromwell*, who would have forbid the banns if he had known of his coming over. *Cromwell* had a greater share of his estate (||), had daughters to marry, and would not have liked such a conjunction of *Mars* and *Mercury* as was in this alliance. They were married Sept. 7, 1657 (p), at *Nun-Appleton*, six miles from York, a new and noble house built by Lord Fairfax, and where he kept as noble hospitality (q). When *Cromwell* heard of it, he rested not till he had him in the Tower, and would have brought him to Tower-hill had he lived a fortnight longer. The Duke had liberty given him to be at York house with his Lady; but going to Cobham to see his sister (r), he was taken and sent to the Tower on the 24th of August, 1658. This so angered Lord Fairfax, that he went to Whitehall to the Protector, and expostulated the case so as it put him into a great passion, turning abruptly from him in the gallery at Whitehall, cocking his hat and throwing his cloak under his arm, as he used to do when he was angry [G]. After the death of *Oliver*, the Duke had leave to be a prisoner in Windsor-castle, where his friend Mr *Abraham Cowley* was his constant companion. He continued till the 29th of July, 1659, when *Richard Cromwell* having abdicated, the Duke's liberty came of course, on his giving security to be faithful to the government. This was the happiest time of all his Grace's life, when he went to his father-in-law's house at *Appleton*, and there lived orderly and decently with his own wife, where he neither wanted, nor so abounded as to be tempted to any sort of extravagance (s), as he was after, when he came into the possession of his whole estate. Lord Fairfax was much pleased with his company, and especially to see him so conformable to the order and good government of the family. If they had any plots together, they were to the best purposes, the restoration of the royal family [H]. The Duke had given sufficient proofs of his loyalty, and Lord Fairfax of his affection, and desire to see that happy event, and now was the time of compassing it. General *Monk* in Scotland declared against *Lambert*, who marched against him with a strong body of horse. Lord Fairfax, and the Duke with him, declared for *Monk* in Yorkshire; but the Duke was obliged to withdraw, because his presence gave a jealousy of the design to bring in the King (t), which it was too soon yet to avow [I]. His Majesty's restoration restored the Duke to his estate (u), but to such a train of expence with it, as brought him acquainted with bankers and scribes, that infested it with the gangrene of usury, from which it never recovered. At the King's restoration no subject appeared in greater splendor. None kept greater hospitality than he did at Wallingford house [K], especially for the French nobility that came over, that engaged him in play, which had he continued, his estate had not lasted so long as it did; but he resolved to give it over, and kept his resolution ever afterwards. He was moderate in all his expences, his stable, table, laboratory: but all the King's favours to him were occasions of great expence (w). He was made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and sworn of the Privy Council presently after the Restoration (x). These were followed

(p) Mr Wood by mistake says November 19. Athen. Oxon. ubi supra, and therein is followed by the General Dictionary.

(s) Not so much as to his after beloved and costly mistress, the philosopher's stone. Idem, p. 32.

(x) During his abode in Holland he had been elected Knight of the Garter, and he was now installed at Windsor, April 15, 1661. Peerage, Vol. III. p. 214.

(17) Memoirs, p. 30.

(18) This was confirmed by the insurrection of Sir George Booth, which Lambert, with a brigade of this old army, did so easily suppress, the success whereof inspired him with the ambition of imitating *Cromwell* in dissolving the parliament, and making himself Protector. Gen. History of England.

[G] *Cromwell was angry.* Thus, says this writer (17), I saw him, Lord Fairfax, take his last leave of his old acquaintance *Cromwell*, whose servants expected he would be sent to bear the Duke company in the Tower. But the Protector was wiser in his passion.

[H] *The restoration of the royal family.* It was a maxim of my Lord Fairfax in politics, that the old veteran army, which he had commanded, was not to be beaten by any new raised force in England, and that the King's friends shewed more affection than discretion in their plots to restore him, while they were united (18); and that this old army would never be beaten but by itself, as the event shewed, when Lambert and Monk divided them. But the most fatal influence of this opinion in my Lord Fairfax was the night before the 30th of January, when some of his friends proposed to him to attempt the next day to rescue the King, telling him, that twenty thousand men were ready to join him: he said he was ready to venture his own life, but not the lives of others, against the army now united against them.

[I] *It was too soon to own the design.* The matter was concerted between Fairfax and Monk before the latter marched out of Scotland, whither Dr Brian Fairfax (afterwards Secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury) was dispatched to him from Lord Fairfax the General, and there concluded that great transaction about the restoration of our liberties, with such privacy, that Mr Fairfax never saw Scotland, though the matter was transacted there. This curious anecdote is preserved in the Diary of Mr Ralph Thoresby, the eminent Antiquary of Leeds, whose father, upon Fairfax's declaration for a free parliament, joined him, among others, with a large body of men at Marston Moor, for which, as he had been in the parliament service under the General before, he was censured by some persons as acting now inconsistently. Whereupon, by way of defence, he made the following Dodecastick:

*If to be modest in all revolutions,
And to refuse to act in our confusions;
If to condole the sad fate of the nation,
And help towards the King's restoration;*

*If swearing the allegiance cheerfully,
And daily appearing for his Majesty;
If wishing all the forces good success
Against all sorts of foes: And to express
Much joy for victory all appointed times:
If these, I say, shall be accounted crimes,
Then let me bear the blame; if otherwise,
Let hanging be the false informer's prize (19).*

— Nec lex est justior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Upon this appearance of Fairfax at Marston Moor, he was joined by Lambert's forces at Newcastle, who deserted him. Whereupon Fairfax took possession of York, and kept a correspondence with Monk. What was the issue is well known (20), and was remembered by our Duke, who, in an expostulatory letter to King Charles some years after, has these words: 'As to your Majesty's return to England, I may justly pretend to some share, since, without my Lord Fairfax's engaging in Yorkshire, Lambert's army had never quitted him, nor the Duke of Albemarle marched out of Scotland (21).'

[K] *He lived at Wallingford house.* When he first began to settle his family, he desired his old friends, *Cowley* and *Clifford*, to recommend to him a domestic Chaplain. They knew how hard it was to please him; he must be a man of learning, wit, good nature, good manners, a graceful person, and decent behaviour. They found one to their own mind and to his (22), whom he valued as a friend and loved as a companion, who lived to be an ornament to the age among those of the highest order. He brought the Duke acquainted with another excellent person, whose friendship and conversation he much coveted if he could have more of it, who afterwards attained to the highest dignity in the church; and likewise with a Lawyer, as eminent in his profession. So that his father was not more happy in the choice of a few friends, than he was if he had followed their advice. *He saw and approved the best; but too often did deteriora sequi, follow the worst (23).*

first

(||) He had particularly the estate and house of Newhall in Essex, mentioned in the preceding article.

(q) His friend Mr Cowley made an Epithalamium on the occasion.

(r) Mary. She was Dutches of Richmond and Lenox. Memoirs, p. 24.

(t) On Sir Geo. Booth's rising this year, 1659, the Duke was taken up, and sent to the Tower, August 13, with the Earls of Oxford, De la Ware, and Falkland, who were all, except his Grace, sent to the Tower. Whitlock's memorials, p. 683.

(u) On the 4th of May, 1660, the Commons agreed to an order of the Lords to restore him to his estate; and on the 29th the Duke and Monk rode together bareheaded before his Majesty on his triumphant entry into London.

(w) Fairfax, as before, p. 37.

(19) Diary of Mr R. Thoresby, communicated by his son and heir, the reverend Mr R. Thoresby, Rector of Stoke-Newington in Middlesex.

(20) The General presented a fine horse of his own breeding to the King, on which his Majesty rode at his coronation. He also made some verses upon the occasion, which will be inserted under the additions to his article in the Appendix.

(21) Memoirs of Fairfax, p. 33.

(22) Dr Thomas Sprat. See his article.

(23) Memoirs, p. 34. This well known passage in Ovid is, *Video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor.*

first by the Lord-Lieutenancy of Yorkshire, and then by the place of Master of Horse to his Majesty (y); the first of which cost him more than it did all that succeeded him, and the last cost him 20000l. to the Duke of Albemarle (z). This is not mentioned as any excuse for his ingratitude to his Royal Master, which indeed will admit of none. Who would have then thought that his Grace was secretly engaged in rebellious designs against the King [L] so early as the year 1662? Yet it is notorious, that he suffered himself to be led away by the same spirit of faction so far, that in 1666 he found it necessary to abscond, in order to avoid a most just prosecution. He was removed from all his places on the 25th of February that year, and a Serjeant at Arms was sent, by express order from his Majesty, to take him up; but this proving ineffectual (aa), a proclamation was issued out on the 8th of March, requiring his appearance, and surrender of himself by a certain day. In compliance to this proclamation he surrendered himself, made his submission, and, through an almost unparalleled instance of kindness, he was received into favour by the good-natured Charles, who restored him also to his place in the Bed-chamber, and even to his seat at the Council-board, Sept. 23 the following year, 1667; and the same year he found himself sufficiently able to overset and ruin his great rival in the Monarch's affections, the *Earl of Clarendon* (bb). After this, no wonder that we find him at the head of the Cabinet Council, constituted in 1670, which was generally nicknamed *the Cabal* (cc), and invested with all the power of a prime minister. In August this year he went Ambassador to France, in order to break the famous triple alliance [M], which had been the boast

(y) Gen. Hist. of England, and Athen Oxon. as before.

(z) Fairfax, p. 33, 34.

(aa) He defended his house for some time by force against the Serj. at Arms, and at last made his escape. Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. book 6. p. 347.

(cc) From the first letters of their names, viz. Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, where we see his Grace is the center or key-stone.

(bb) See that Earl's article.

[L] He absconded on account of some seditious practices.] The King's happy restoration may justly be stiled the æra of the Duke's unhappiness, since from that period commenced the ruin both of his fame and fortune. It appears that he had joined with *Peter Talbot*, Confessor to her Majesty, in inflaming the minds of the Dissenters as early as the year 1662, and had some time before engaged in an acquaintance with one *Dr Heydon*, a noted impostor, and reputed Conjuror among the people. This man, just before the recess of the parliament in 1665, being taken up for treasonable practices, for sowing sedition in the navy, and engaging persons in a conspiracy to seize the Tower, an information was made against the Duke by some persons to whom the conjurer unboasted himself, and who had been employed by him to carry letters to the Duke. *Heydon* pretended to have been in all the Duke's secrets for near four years past, and said that he had been all that time designing against the King and his government. That his Grace thought the present season favourable for the execution of his design, and had his agents at work in the navy and in the kingdom, to ripen the general discontents of the people, and dispose them to action; that, since the Duke came out of the Tower (24), he had been importuned by him to head the first party he could get together, and engage in an insurrection, the Duke declaring his readiness to appear, and join in the undertaking as soon as the affair was begun. This Doctor pretended to great skill in Astrology; but had lost much of his fame by a prediction of the hanging of *Oliver*, made to his son *Richard* and *Thurloe*, who came to him for the calculation of nativities, disguised in the garb of distressed cavaliers. He was for that imprisoned and confined sixteen months, whilst *Cromwell* outlived the prediction near four years. However, the Duke, who had imbibed an opinion of the art (25), as well to gratify his own humour as to flatter the Astrologer, put him upon casting the King's nativity, which was condemned by a statute. The Duke had employed this fellow, among others, to incite the seamen to mutiny; and had given money to other rogues to go about the country in sailors jackets begging, and exclaiming for want of pay, whilst the people, oppressed with taxes, were cheated of their money by the great officers of the Crown. The King was highly incensed at him for his conduct in the late sessions, and infusing the spirit into the Commons which had been so much to the detriment of the public service: He could not forbear expressing himself with more bitterness against the Duke than ever dropped from him upon scarcely any other occasion. When he was solicited in his behalf, he frankly said, that the Duke had been the cause of the continuance of the war; for the Dutch would have made an early and very low submission, had the parliament pursued their first vigorous vote of supplying him; but the Duke's cabals had lessened his interest both abroad and at home with regard to the support of the war (26). What it was that provoked the Duke to carry his resentment to such a pitch as is utterly inexorable is not certainly known. Mr Carte thinks it probable the ill humour might be first engendered by his being denied the post of President of the North; which, if true, is certainly an aggravation of his fault, since that post and court

(24) He pretended to have been put there for speaking in parliament for the pay of the fleet, and for easing the people in their taxes.

(25) This art, as vain as it is, was in great vogue in France, when the Duke passed some years of his life there before the Restoration. See the History of that kingdom.

(26) Carte's life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. B. 6.

had been very justly abolished in the time of King Charles I. so that the revival of it would undoubtedly have created a general uneasiness, and must have been particularly opposed by the Earl of Clarendon, who had so great a hand in procuring the abolition (27). Let me therefore add further, that as the disappointment must more than probably have been imputed to the Earl by his Grace, so it was a further incentive to revenge it upon that minister. Accordingly, presently after his Grace was taken into his Majesty's favour, we find him engaged in persecuting the Earl with such inveterate malice, as drove him to seek his refuge in banishment.

(27) See his article.

[M] He went Ambassador to France.] Mr Wood tells us (28) that the French monarch liked his person and errand so well, that he entertained him very nobly for several days together, and in conclusion gave a sword and belt set with diamonds to the value of forty thousand pistoles; and *Monf. de Verville* assures us, 'the Most Christian King shewed him a greater respect than ever any foreign Ambassador was known to receive. As he knew him, continues the Frenchman, to be *un homme de plaisir*, he entertained him accordingly. Nothing could be so welcome to the court of Versailles as the message he came about; for which reason a regale was prepared for him, that might have befitted the magnificence of the Roman Emperors, when Rome flourished in its utmost grandeur (29).' This account is likewise confirmed by the Duke himself in the following letter to the Lord Arlington, then principal Secretary of State, dated St Germain, August 15, 1670.

(28) In Athenæ Oxon. Vol. II. col. 803. from a manuscript which he had seen.

(29) Mémoires de la Cour de l'Angleterre, by Mr de Verville.

' My Lord,

' If I had had the good fortune to bring my Lord Falconbridge's Secretary with me, he would have entertained your Lordship with a whole sheet of paper, full of the particulars of my reception here. For I have had more honours done me than ever were given to any subject.' He then proceeds to give an account of his success in the business of his embassy, as follows: 'You will receive, in two or three days, a proposition from this Court concerning the making war upon Holland only, which you may enlarge as you please. *Monf. de Lionne* shewed me the model of it last night, and I shall see the particulars before they are sent. In the mean time, having not your cypher, I shall only tell you in general, that nothing but our being mealy-mouthed can hinder us from finding our accounts in this matter. For you may almost ask what you please. I have written more at large in cypher to my Lord Ashley; and when you have discoursed together, if you think my stay here will be of use to his Majesty, let me know it. If not, I will come away. I am,

' My Lord,

' Your Lordship's most humble

' And most faithful Servant,

' Buckingham.'

Whatever expence the Grand Monarque might be at in presents and entertainments to our Ambassador, his friend Mr Fairfax intimates, that these were turned

(dd) See his article.

of *Sir William Temple* (dd), and was thought to have been the principal author of an attempt made upon the life of Clarendon's first friend the *Duke of Ormond* in December the same year [N]. In 1671 he was installed, on the 7th of June, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and he entertained that learned body nobly at York-house, where his father had done it on the same occasion forty years before (ee). His celebrated comedy, called the *Rehearsal*, was first brought upon the stage the same year, 1671 [O], and before the expiration of it he advised the *Declaration of Indulgence*, published March 15, for suspending

(ee) Fairfax, p. 34. who observes, that he now seemed to be setting up for a Favourite; but he wanted his father's diligence, which fitted him to stand before Princes.

(30) Mr Fairfax's words are: His [the Duke's] embassies into France and Holland cost him more than a diamond ring could recompense. *Memoirs*, p. 34.

into so many occasions of an almost equal expence to the Duke (30), who was now in the highest spirits, as appears from the next letter to Lord Arlington, which furnishes a glaring instance of that foible of vanity, which has been deservedly laid to his charge. It is dated August 17, from the same place as the preceding, and runs in these terms:

‘ My Lord,

‘ I have nothing to add to what I wrote last, but that
‘ I am every day convinced of the happy conjuncture
‘ we have at present in our hands of any conditions
‘ from this court that we can in reason demand (31).
‘ The King of France is so mightily taken with the
‘ discourses I make to him of his greatness by land,
‘ that he talks to me twenty times a day; all the Courtiers here wonder at it, and I am very glad of it, and
‘ am very much,

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Lordship's most humble

‘ And most faithful Servant,

‘ Buckingham (32).’

(31) The presence of this embassy was to condole the death of the Dutchess of Orleans, King Charles's sister, who died at St Clou, June 30th preceding. See the Duke's speech in the House of Commons, June 14, 1673.

(32) These letters are in the Duke's Works, Vol. I. Edit. 1704.

(33) He was not only pardoned, but had an estate of 500l. per annum given him in Ireland.

(34) The excuse was a revenge for the Duke's prosecution of him in 1663 for a conspiring to seize Dublin castle, and the Duke then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Blood's article, Vol. II. p. 817.

(35) Here Mr Carte seems not sufficiently to advert to Blood's character, which makes him an exception to this rule, as will hardly be denied after perusing his article in the second volume of this work.

(36) Bp Burnet says, that, in the Dutch wars, the King having discovered to Buckingham the Earl of Ossory's design on Helvoetsluys, he employed all his wit to make it appear ridiculous, as hating both the Duke of Ormond and Lord Ossory, and would have seen the King and all his affairs perish, rather than the person he hated should have the honour of such merit; and thereupon the King ordered the design to be laid aside, so easy was he to the man of wit and humour. Burnet's History of his own time, Vol. I. Folio Edition.

But notwithstanding these vaunting letters, that he could obtain any thing from the French King, it is certain the Grand Monarque, by tickling his vanity, obtained every thing that he proposed, and the Ambassador consented to the French fleets coming into our seas and harbours, which afterwards improved their mariners, and learnt them the way of fighting at sea.

[N] *The principal author of the assault upon the Duke of Ormond.*] Mr Carte, having taken notice of the general opinion, that *Blood* was put upon this attempt by the Duke, to which he joins the Dutchess of Cleveland. They both, continues he, hated the Duke of Ormond mortally, and were powerful advocates to solicit *Blood's* pardon (33). The reason assigned by the criminal for his attempt was considered as a meer excuse (34); for his Grace had done nothing particularly against him more than against others concerned with him in the same conspiracy, and put into the same proclamation. If *Blood's* estate at Sarney was forfeited for his treason, and, upon his attainer, granted by his Majesty to Captain Toby Barnes; or if his accomplices were executed after a full conviction; all this was done in the course of government, and must have been done by any other Lord Lieutenant as well as the Duke of Ormond. *Blood* knew very well his own guilt, and had no reason to resent any thing in this proceeding of his Grace; nor do acts, merely ministerial, use to produce, in any, such resentments as cannot be satisfied without the assassination of a minister, who, in the discharge of his duty, and the trust reposed in him by his Prince, could not have spared his own father in the like case (35). Mr Carte then proceeds to give the direct reasons for laying the design upon the Duke, which are, first, that it suited him better than any other person, as being the most profligate man of the age, and capable of any iniquity, however mean or enormous. That all the arts or suggestions, which he or his instruments could use, had not worked his Grace so much out of the King's good opinion and favour, but that his Majesty still gave him, upon occasion, marks of his esteem and confidence. The Duke had not, by the resentment which disgraced ministers are apt to shew in their conduct, given the finishing stroke to his credit with the King, which they had begun by removing him from the government of Ireland. He might be again employed to defeat the measures of Buckingham and his cabal, to which he was in the mean time a considerable restraint. It was undoubtedly Buckingham's interest to have Ormond dispatched out of the way. That it was not long before this attempt of *Blood*, that Buckingham and some of his friends had given out, that the Earls of Clarendon and Ossory had set on two persons to murder him (36); that these two persons were poisoned,

and before their death owned the subornation. It would be impertinent to offer to vindicate those two honourable noblemen from a charge which no man on earth could possibly believe: but to what purpose could such a calumny be invented and spread, unless to prepare the world to receive an apology for another assassination (in case the true author should be discovered) as if it were perpetrated purely in revenge for the like intended against himself, or made necessary for his own defence. No body does odious things but for some end or other of a piece with the means which they make use of to bring it about. The Duke of Buckingham was not so senseless a mortal, or knew men so little, as to believe this story, which he took care to have published; or if he did, as mankind judge of others by themselves, he could not suspect these men of virtue and honour of such a design, without being capable of it himself (37). Here we see this writer has accumulated no less than nine reasons to induce a belief of the Duke's guilt; yet they are all of them manifestly too general to fix the charge absolutely upon him; which indeed is suggested by the accuser himself, where he says, it is not easy to find any other person to whose character the design so well suited, or who could be under a temptation to it; not denying, that such a person might be found, though not without some difficulty. But whatever defects may appear in the preceding reasons, when considered separately, they will unquestionably be allowed to be sufficiently made up by the sanction given to them in the tenth and last, where he tells us from good authority, that the *Earl of Ossory*, not long after the affair, boldly charged it upon the Duke to his face, and that too before the King himself, with whom his Grace was then in high favour (38). At the same time this noble spirited son vowed, that if his father should come to a violent end, he would pistol his Grace as the author of it. All which, for any thing that appears, was quietly pocketed by the Duke, who had several other transactions with *Blood* afterwards, an account of which may be seen under *Blood's* article.

[O] *The Rehearsal was first brought upon the stage in 1671.*] It was first acted on the 7th of December this year, and several times printed in quarto; but the plays exposed in it shew, that it was begun before the end of the year 1663, and finished before the end of 1664; since it had been several times rehearsed, the players were perfect in their parts, and all things in readiness for its acting, before the plague in 1665; which then prevented it, and so proved an occasion of new modelling it. In the first form he called his Poet *Bilboa*, meaning *Sir Robert Howard*. But many plays coming out in heroic rhyme, which grew still into greater vogue after *Mr Dryden* became Laureat in 1669, this put the Duke upon changing *Bilboa* for *Bays*. *Mr Dryden*, in revenge for the ridicule thrown upon him in this piece, exposed the Duke under the name of *Zimri*, in his *Abalom* and *Achitophel*. The lines are too well known to be transcribed here, though well worth the reader's perusal: They are very severe; yet the Duke is thought to have exposed *Dryden* ten times more severely. *Dryden*, says *Mr Walpole* (39), is an admirable portrait, but *Bays* an original creation. *Dryden* satirized Buckingham, Villiers in the *Rehearsal* made *Dryden* satirize himself. The same author observes it as an instance of astonishing quickness, that the Duke being present at one of these plays by *Dryden*, where a Lover says,

My wound is great, because it is so small:

His Grace cried out,

Then 'twould be greater, were it none at all.

And it may be further remarked, that had the Duke lived long enough, he would have had a like occasion for displaying his wit in behalf of his friend *Mr Cowley*, in celebrating whose praises *Mr Addison* has this astonishing line:

He more had pleased us, had he pleased us less (40).

The Duke also wrote a poem of some considerable length, called *Reflections upon Abalom and Achitophel*; all in verse: And a Key to the *Rehearsal*.

(37) Carte's History of the Life of the Duke of Ormond, p. 424.

(38) The Earl's words are related under his article in remark [D] Vol. II. p. 1073.

(39) In his catalogue of royal and noble authors under the Duke's article.

(40) Vid. Cowley's article in remark [LII].

the penal laws against Dissenters (ff). In 1672 he was sent a second time, together with the Earls of *Arlington* and Lord *Halifax*, to the French King, then at *Utrecht*, to concert measures secretly for carrying on the second Dutch war [P]; and it was about this time that he bought Colonel *Scot's* regiment. Yet, upon the meeting of the parliament the ensuing year, a complaint being made of him in the House of Commons for revealing the King's counsels and corresponding with his enemies, in his defence of himself before that house, he confessed some part of his own bad administration, and betrayed more of his associate *Arlington* [Q]. In 1674, having made himself very unpopular at Cambridge (gg), he resigned the chancellorship of that University, and the Duke of Monmouth was chosen in his room, July 15 that year (bb). About this time he began to side with the Nonconformists; and, in opposition to the Court, he joined with the Earl of Shaftsbury and others against the famous bill, *To prevent the danger that may arise from persons disaffected to the government*, which was brought into the House of Lords in April, 1675 [R]. In October

(ff) See *remains* [R].

(gg) *Carte's Hist. of England*, Vol. II. under the year 1669. See also the *Lantry* in remark [U].

(bb) *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 803. and *Gen. Hist. of England*.

(*) *Turenne*.

(41) *Memoirs*, &c. p. 34.

[P] *He was sent to the French King at Utrecht.* Mr Bryan Fairfax attended him in this embassy, and gives us the following account of the rout taken in it: 'We took barge, says he, at Whitehall, June 1673, and lay that night on board the English Admiral at the buoy of the Nore, the King and Duke being there. Next night we came to anchor in our yacht in the Dutch fleet on the coast of Holland. The next night we were entertained by the States at the Hague. Next night we supped with the Prince of Orange, at his camp at Bodegrave. Next night with the King of France at Utrecht, where we staid two or three days, and then marched back with him at the head of his army to Arnheim, where we visited the Prince of Conde, who lay ill there of a wound in his arm, which he got in passing the Rhine at Tolhua, and Marthal Turin (*). Thence we went with the King to Nimeguen, Grave, Boxtell, and there we parted. The King went to Paris, and we into the Spanish dominions, to Antwerp, Brussels, Bruges, Ghent, Dunkirk, and Calais; where our yachts staid for us, and we came to Dover, Canterbury, London, where we arrived the day month that we left it (41).'

[Q] *He defended himself before the House of Commons.* He spoke twice before the House on this occasion. On the first day, in answer to the charge of entering into the French measures, he avowed, that, if the triple league had any advantage in it, he had as great a hand therein as any man. This he repeated the next day, and then proceeds thus: That when, upon the instance of the French Ambassador, he was sent into France afterwards to condole the death of the Dutchess of Orleans, he urged for the service of the King, that the French ought not to endeavour to make themselves considerable at sea, of whom we had reason to be more jealous than of the Dutch, because, says he, the French then would have power to conquer us. When I returned, I found all demonstrations that the French had no such thoughts, but that the King of England should be master at sea. At this time, continues he, Lord Shaftsbury and myself advised not to begin a war without the advice of the parliament. But this was not Lord Arlington's opinion. My next advice was, not to make use of French ships; half their value in money would have been more serviceable. I alledged they would be of no use to us, by reason of their want of experience in our seas, and there would be great danger in their learning the use of them; which advice my Lord Arlington opposed, notwithstanding the King was so desirous of avoiding a breach with France, that he sent me to Dunkirk, and my Lord Arlington to Utrecht, where I still endeavoured to get money instead of ships. At my first audience the King of France was willing to comply; but after some returns and letters from hence he was altered: but I make no reflections upon persons, but barely state matters of fact. He afterwards declares it was the advice of my Lord Shaftsbury, as well as his own, so to order the war, that the French should deliver us some towns of their conquests into our hands, a useful precaution in former times; Lord Arlington would have no towns at all for one year. And here is the cause of the condition of our affairs. We set out a fleet, with intention to land men, in order to the taking of towns. The French army go on conquering and get all, and we get nothing, nor agree for any. Pray consider who it was that was so often locked up with the French Ambassador. My spirit moves me to tell you, that, when we were to consider what to do, we were to advise with the French Ambassador. I will not trouble you with reports; but pray look not upon me as a peer, but an honest English gentleman, who has suffered much for my love to my country. I had a regiment given me, which was Sir

Edward Scot's; I gave him 1600l. for it. There is no Papist officer in it, nor Irishman. I shall say nothing of my extraordinary gains; I am sure I have lost as much estate as some men have gotten (and that is a big word;) I am honest; and when I appear otherwise, I desire to die. I am not the man that has gotten by all this; yet after all this, if I am a grievance, I am the cheapest grievance this house ever had; and so I humbly ask the pardon of this House for the trouble I have given. The Speaker then proceeded to ask him several questions, in his answer to which he suggests, that Lord Arlington had declared to him some advices against the liberties and privileges of the House of Commons, and to alter the government. That if the Duke of Ormond had got, as appeared upon record, about 500000l. though Lord Arlington had not got so much, yet he had got a great deal. That the army was raised and Scornberg made General by Lord Arlington, and that the army was brought up to awe the debates and resolutions of the House of Commons by the same Lord's advice. He acknowledged that he joined with that Lord in making the French league, and that he himself made the first treaty with France, by which the triple alliance was broken. He also confessed, that he advised the declaration for indulging the Dissenters, and that he joined Lord Arlington in making the second treaty of Utrecht: But that he was utterly against attacking the Dutch Smyrna fleet before the war was proclaimed, that step being taken purely by Lord Arlington's advice. And lastly, that both himself and Lord Shaftsbury were for advising with the Parliament before the [Dutch] war begun, and averse to the prorogation which followed it (42).

[R] *He opposed the bill to prevent the danger that may arise from persons disaffected to the government.* In this bill was inserted the Test, by which, besides the oaths required of Magistrates in corporations, viz. I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King, there was added the following, *I A. B. do swear, that I will not endeavour an alteration of the Protestant religion established by law in the church of England, nor will I endeavour any alteration in the government of the kingdom in church or state as it is by law established.* This was proposed to be taken by all who enjoyed any beneficial offices, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, and by all Privy Counsellors, Justices of the peace, and both houses of parliament. The Court party espoused the bill very vehemently, and it was opposed as vehemently by the Country party, who looked upon it as a project to divide the Protestants, and to strengthen the Popish party. It was debated in paragraphs for seventeen days successively, the Lords that opposed it alledging, that it was inconsistent with itself and hurtful to the constitution of the kingdom. The chief speakers for it were the Lord Treasurer Danby and the Lord Keeper Finch, with the Bishops Morley and Ward. Those on the other side were the Lords Halifax and Holles, the Earls of Salisbury and Shaftsbury, and the Duke of Buckingham; these with the Marquis of Winchester, nine Earls and seven Barons, entered their protest against it, 'conceiving, that any bill which imposeth an oath upon the peers, with a penalty, as this doth, that upon refusal of that oath they shall be made incapable of sitting and voting in their house, as it is a thing unprecedented in former times, so it is, in their opinion, the highest invasion of the liberties and privileges of the peerage that possibly may be, and most destructive of the freedom which they ought to enjoy as members of parliament: because the privileges of sitting and voting in parliament is an honour they have by birth, and a right so inherent in them, as that nothing can take away but what

(42) By this defence the Duke escaped any further prosecution. The Earl of Arlington, who was examined by the House on the same occasion, was impeached by them. *Salmon's Chron. Hist.* under this year 1673. The speech is printed in his *Grace's works*, Vol. I. Edit. 1704.

(kk) He opened the conference. His speech on this occasion is likewise inserted in his works.

(ll) He was accompanied by Shaftsbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, who were all sent thither on the same occasion. General Hist. of England.

following he brought a bill into the House of Lords *for tolerating the Dissenters* (ii), and was appointed one of the managers in a conference between the two Houses of Parliament upon the point of the jurisdiction of the upper house (kk). In order to check the heat and animosities occasioned by this dispute, his Majesty, in November this year, prorogued the parliament till Feb. 15, 1676-7, which being upwards of a year, the Duke made a speech on that day, to shew, that, in this prorogation, his Majesty had exceeded the bounds of the prerogative [S]; and persisting in defence of this assertion, the next day he was committed to the Tower by the House of Lords (ll): but, upon a petition to the King, he was discharged thence in May following. After this he joined in opposition to the court upon the breaking out of the Popish plot, and was warm in prosecuting all those who were concerned therein. In 1680, having sold *Wallingford house*, he purchased a house at *Dowgate*, and resided there, joining with the *Earl of Shaftsbury* in raising tumults and disturbances in the city against the administration (mm). In 1685 he published, in 4to, *A short discourse upon the reasonableness of men's having a religion, or worship of God* (nn) [T].

(mm) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 804.

(nn) Three editions of it were published that year.

To

(43) The bill miscarried by the King's proroguing the parliament on the 9th of June.

(44) See his article.

(45) The General died in 1671. The Ode is inserted at the head of the Duke's works, Edit. 1704.

(46) Having called them the ancient statutes of the realm, he observes by the way, that statutes are not like women, for they are not one jot the worse for being old.

‘ what by the law of the land must withal take away their lives, and corrupt their blood.’ And when the bill was committed, they got in this proviso, *That it should be no hindrance to their free speaking and voting in parliament* (43). Whatever patriotism there might be in opposing this bill by others, it is too notorious that Villiers had no title to any share of that merit. He seems indeed in this, as in other parts of his political conduct at this time, to have acted the mean part of a second to Shaftsbury (44). Yet so much may be alledged in his behalf, that this opposition was of a piece, and consistent with his avowed espousal of the Dissenters, and indeed a consequence of it; a part of his conduct surely somewhat more than excusable, on account of the respect and gratitude which he owed to the memory of his father-in-law Fairfax, and which he always preserved, and had given a noble testimony of it in a Pindaric ode on his death a few years before (45).

[S] *His speech to prove the parliament dissolved.*] As this is an essential point in the constitution, it will be worth while to see the Duke's way of arguing thereupon. His proofs are drawn from two statutes of Edward III. (46): The words of the first being, Item, *It is accorded, that a parliament shall be holden every year once, and more often, if need be*, which is explained and confirmed in the other. Item, *For maintenance of these articles and statutes, and the redress of divers mischiefs and grievances which daily happen, a parliament shall be holden every year, as at other time was ordained by another statute.* He then proceeds to observe, that these statutes were not repealed by either of the bills for a triennial parliament, which passed in this and the preceding reign; ‘ Whence, continues he, the whole matter is reduced to this short dilemma; either the Kings of England are bound by the acts abovementioned of Edward III. or else the whole government of England by parliaments and by the law above is absolutely at an end. For a power to invalidate, by an order of the King, an act made for the maintenance of *Magna Charta*, implies a power, by a like order, to invalidate *Magna Charta* itself; and then the King is absolute, and may do what he pleases with our estates, lives, and liberties. And yet this power must be allowed him, or else we that sit here this day cannot act as a parliament. For as to the proclamation, pray, my Lords, is that of more force than a prorogation; or if a thing that hath been ordered the first time be not valid, doth the ordering it a second time make it good in law; I have heard indeed that two negatives make an affirmative, but I never heard before that two nothings ever made any thing.—The laws have reposed so great a trust and so great a power in the hands of a parliament, that every circumstance relating to the manner of their electing, meeting, and proceeding, is looked after with the nicest circumspection imaginable. For this reason the King's writs about the summons of parliament are to be issued out *verbatim* according to the form prescribed by the law, or else that parliament is void and null: For the same reason, if a parliament, summoned by the King's writ, do not meet the very same day that it is summoned to meet upon, that parliament is void and null: And, by the same reason, if parliaments be not legally adjourned *de die in diem*, those parliaments must be also void and null. He then proceeds to answer the objections, wherein he observes, that though the King's power of prorogation is not taken away by the statute of Edward III. yet it is certainly limited to be within a year.’ In answer to the argument, that if that prorogation be null and void, then things are just as they were before, and therefore

the parliament is still in being. ‘ My Lords, says he, I confess there would be some weight in this but for one thing, which is, that not one word of it is true. For if, when the King had prorogued us, we had taken no notice of the prorogation, but had gone on like a parliament, and had adjourned ourselves *de die in diem*, then I confess things had been just as they were before; but since upon the prorogation we went away, and took no care of ourselves for our meeting again, if we cannot meet and act by virtue of that prorogation, there is an impossibility of our meeting and acting any other way. One may as properly say, that a man who is killed by assault is still alive, because he is killed unlawfully, as that the parliament is still alive, because the prorogation is unlawful. The next argument that those are reduced to, who would maintain this to be yet a parliament, is, that the parliament is prorogued *sine die*, and therefore the King may call them again by proclamation. In the first part of this proposition I shall not only agree with them, but also do them the favour to prove that it is so in the eye of the law, which I never heard they have yet done. For the statutes say, that *a parliament shall be holden once within a year*, and the prorogation having put them off till a day without the year, and consequently excepted against by the law, that day in the eye of the law is no day at all, that is, *sine die*: And the prorogation might as well have put them off till so many months after Doom's day; and then I think no body would have doubted but that would have been a very sufficient dissolution. In confirmation of this he observes, that the usual way of dissolving parliaments formerly was, the King desired them to go home till he sent for them again, which is a dismissal *sine die*. Lastly, in answer to the Precedent in Queen Elizabeth's time, when the parliament was once prorogued three days beyond a year, he observes it was done in a hurry, in the time of a very great plague; the mistake was not attended to then, nor taken notice of afterwards, otherwise than that Queen Elizabeth would have given a lawful remedy. But this supposition of the Duke's is a little too hard to be digested. It is certainly much more probable, that, in this prorogation, the necessity of the occasion [the plague] was considered, which put the case properly within the prerogative. And it is well known, that Queen Elizabeth exerted the prerogative oftener than any of her successors, but without giving any offence or raising any jealousies, for this reason, because in every instance the equity and justice of the proceeding was notoriously evident. Whence our Duke's conclusion seems to be too hasty, in saying, that we must either allow the statutes made in that particular session in Queen Elizabeth's time to be void, or lay it down for a maxim, that the Kings of England, by a particular order of theirs, have power to break all the laws of England when they please. He concludes with observing, that it is no disrespect to his Majesty to say he is bound up by the laws; that, if nothing of all he had urged were true, they should not find any honourable excuse for acting again with the House of Commons; and that nothing could be more dangerous than the making laws by an assembly whose power is doubtful, and therefore, says he, it would be in us inexcusable if we should overlook this danger, since there is for it so easy a remedy, which the law requires, and which all the nation longs for, that is, The calling of a new parliament (47).

[T] *A discourse concerning the reasonableness of men's having some religion.*] In this piece the Duke having made use of the common argument, though in an un-

(47) This speech is also printed in his works, as before.

common

To this there coming out presently, in 4to, *A short answer to the Duke of Buckingham his Grace's paper concerning religion, toleration, and liberty of conscience*, the Duke wrote a reply in 4to, entitled, *The Duke of Buckingham his Grace's letter to the unknown author of the paper, entitled, A short answer*. Immediately after which there was published, *A reply to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's letter to the Author of a paper, entitled, A short answer to his Grace's discourse concerning religion*, in folio. At the death of King Charles, falling into an ill state of health (99), he went into the country to his own manor of *Helmesley* in Yorkshire. King Charles was his best friend; he loved him, and excused his faults; he was not so sure of his successor, whose emissary father *Fitzgerald*, sent to convert him in his sickness, he had so shamefully foiled by an inimitable turn of wit (pp). During this retirement he wrote a piece, which was published in 1687, entitled, *A Demonstration of the Deity*. In the country he generally passed his time in hunting and entertaining his friends, which he did a fortnight before his death as pleasantly and hospitably as ever he did in his life. But one day, after fox-hunting, he took cold by sitting on the cold ground, which threw him into an ague and fever that carried him off, after three days sickness, at a tenant's house, *Kirkby-moor-side*, a lordship of his own near *Helmesley*, April 16, 1688, ætat. 60 (qq). The day before his death he sent to his old servant Mr *Brian Fairfax*, to desire him to provide him a bed at his house at *Bishop-hill* in York; but the next morning the same man returned with the news that his life was despaired of. Mr *Fairfax* went post, but before he got to him he was speechless. The *Earl of Arran*, son to *Duke Hamilton*, was with him; who, hearing he was sick, visited him in his way to Scotland. When Mr *Fairfax* came, the Duke knew him, looked earnestly at him, but could not speak. Mr *Fairfax* asked a gentleman there present, a Justice of peace, and a worthy discreet man in the neighbourhood, what he had said or done before he became speechless; who told him that some questions had been asked him about his estate; to which he gave no answer. Then he was admonished of the danger he was in, which he seemed not to apprehend: he was asked if he would have the minister of the parish sent for to pray with him; to which he gave no answer; which made another question be asked, if he would have a Popish Priest; to which he answered with great vehemence, no, no! repeating the words he would have nothing to do with them. Then the aforesaid gentleman, Mr *Gibson*, asked him again if he would have the minister sent for; and he calmly answered, *yes, pray send for him*. This was in

common way, against the eternity of the world from its mutability, the author of the short answer observes, that, had he been to treat with Atheists, he would have urged to them, that it is impossible this world should be eternal, because then it must also be invisible. To which the Duke replies thus (48): 'My nameless, anonymous, harmless humble Servant, I have twice read over, with a great deal of patience, a paper of yours, which you call *An Answer to A Discourse of mine*: And to my confusion must own, that I am not able to comprehend what part of my discourse it is you do answer, nor in all yours what it is you mean. Having this confession, you ought not to be offended at me if I cannot remember it neither. And yet there is one passage in it which I shall never forget, because it does in a most extraordinary manner delight me: It is this shrewd convincing argument of yours, which you say, had you been to treat with Atheists, &c. It is, I swear, a refined quaint kind of notion, which, to do you justice, I do verily believe is intirely your own. Yet, for all this, I cannot be absolutely convinced, that I am now the same *George Duke of Buckingham* that I was forty years ago: And, to shew you I am in earnest, I do here promise you, that if you do for me a favour less difficult, which is to make me the same *George Duke of Buckingham* I was but twenty years ago, I will (as poor a man as I am) give you a thousand guineas for your pains, and that is somewhat more, I am afraid, than you will ever get by your writings.' Which the aforesaid anonymous replier returns in these terms: 'But, not to be wholly contradictory to his Grace's opinion, as his Grace is pleased to express his great difficulty of believing himself the same *George Duke of B——* which he was twenty years ago, there indeed I must join with him, it being too apparently true, that his Grace has not been the same five years ago that he was twenty-five, which all men that have had the honour of knowing his Grace at *Whitehall* in 60, and at *Dowgate*, will justify for me.' In 1686 there came out A defence of the Duke, intitled *A letter from Nevill Payne to a domestick of the Duke of Buckingham, upon occasion of his Grace's discourse concerning Toleration*, which is exactly in the Duke's vein. He begins with declaring himself enraged to see so great a peer treated with so little respect, especially in a public good, that may compose animosities and prevent distractions. Entering then into the merits of the argument, he shews the answerer's false conceit, that Toleration is admitted no where but in commonwealths; and having observed that Cal-

vinists, Lutherans, &c. subsist in Poland and Germany together with Catholics, he enquires why the church of England will not admit competitors. The cause, says he, is visible, The church of England is only a Court Invention, and their Ministers are a sort of ecclesiastical guard to the Prince. When Henry VIII. was first possessed by his scruples, like *Numa* consulting with his goddess, he asked advice of their oracle, which he knew would suit with his own opinion; and this made them acceptable, especially when sacrilege, that was no little game with our courtiers and gentry, countenanced the innovation. He then observes, that this turn produced a deluge of wild conceits in religion. While the Dissenter contemns all forms of prayer as insipid, and without edification; the Churchman, in answer, produceth authority and antiquity from Catholic authors. But when the Papist returns his own arguments against his novelty, then he turns fanatic, and believes no more than reason and sense; which in different terms is the Quaker's light within, or the Presbyterian's divine impulse or illumination. Considering then that she [the church of England] cannot subsist but by a regal power and assistance, she cannot admit a Toleration, whereby her specious pretences would be discovered. On the other hand he further observes, that a Prince, who will be engaged for her cause, must disoblige the greatest part of the nation. And therefore it cannot be for the security of the King to uphold a Court religion, because his subjects will be always jealous of them both, since these are ready for their own interest and lucre to preach the Prince's will for Gospel; as in my hearing, before Charles I. Dr *Sheldon*, the late Archbishop, upon the text of Samuel, *Hoc est Domini regis*—proved that Kings might take away any man's possessions. Besides, it is impossible that any security can be to a *Protestant King*, because the Dissenters, being more numerous, will be always plotting his destruction, as they did to Charles I. and were near accomplishing that of Charles II. How much better is it that things purely so be committed to them that are truly Ecclesiastical; wherein the Prince is freed from the vain scruples and pretensions of his subjects in religion. This was perfectly a-la-mode de Cour, when an universal Toleration as is here recommended was then actually granted, and the King [James] had delivered himself up absolutely to these true Ecclesiasticals. Mr *Nevill Payne* therefore concludes with the following Eloge upon that Monarch: *When the King gives the best example of piety, and the greatest devotion, he shews us how much need we have of God's grace and mercy* (49)

(99) Memoirs, p. 38.

(49) The Duke, it seems, was out of health at the time. For Mr *Payne* concludes with wishing him a good recovery.

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(99) Nevill Payne's letter to him, mentioned in remark [T]

(pp) Every body knows his Grace's excellent banter of Transubstantiation, by proving a cork which he held in his hand to be a horse, according to that doctrine. He published the dispute, with the title of *An Account of a Conference, &c.* printed in his works, Vol. II.

(48) Mr *Walpole* justly gives this the character of a ludicrous and very good answer. Catalogue of royal and noble authors, ubi supra.

the morning, and he died that night. The minister came and did the office enjoined by the church; the Duke devoutly attending it, and receiving the sacrament, an hour after which he became speechless; but appearing sensible, the prayers of the church were repeated by his bed-side, recommending him to the mercy of God through the merits of Jesus Christ. Thus he died quietly in his bed, the fate of few of his predecessors in the title of Buckingham. His body was embalmed, and brought to Westminster-abbey, and there laid in the vault, with his father and brothers, in Henry VIIIth's chapel (rr). The world has been severe in censuring his faults and foibles [U], but not so just in noting his good qualities. This is well remarked by Mr Fairfax (ss), who has therefore thought proper to do him that justice. For his person, says this faithful friend, he was the glory of the age and of any court wherever he came; of a most graceful and charming mien and behaviour, a strong, tall, and active body, all which gave a lustre to the ornaments of his mind; of an admirable wit and excellent judgment; and had all other qualities of a gentleman. He was courteous and affable to all; of a compassionate nature, ready to forgive and forget injuries. What was said of a great man in the court of Queen Elizabeth, that he used to vent his discontents at court by retiring from company and writing sonnets, may be said of him; but when he was provoked

(rr) Memoirs,
p. 38.

(ss) Ibid.

[U] *The world has been severe in censuring his faults and foibles.* In 1679 there came out a piece, intitled, *The Litany of the Duke of B———*, exposing the most flagrant faults and follies in the course of his life. This most virulent foul-mouthed satire, containing several facts in the Duke's life, being very scarce, we shall present the Reader with it, relying upon his candor for the same apology as is constantly made for the Roman satirist Juvenal in the like case. It runs thus:

*From a sensual, proud, atheistical life,
From arming our lacquies with pistol and knife,
From murthering the husband, and whoring the wife,
Libera nos Domine.*

*From going Ambassador only as Panders,
From rekillng dead Kings with monstrous slanders,
From betraying the living in Scotland and Flanders,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From a wild rambling no-where abode,
Without day or night, nor at home nor abroad,
From a Prince to unborse us in Dover road,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From crowning the herse of our babe of adultery,
By an infamous servant to a Lord of the prelacy,
Whom we got cashiered for carnal arsery,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From selling land of twice ten thousand a year,
All spent no mortal can tell how or where,
And then reform kingdoms as a sanctified Peer,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From monstrous sucking till both tongues have blisters,
From making our boasts of giving three glisters,
By giving of claps to three cheated sisters,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From transposing of nature upon the Bum Gers,
On Kenison acting both Venus and Mars,
From owning twenty other men's farce,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From wretched pasquils on Shadwell and Dryden,
From casting natiwities with learned Heydon,
And casting of dollars at Antwerp and Leyden,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From trembling at sea when not a gun roar'd,
And then steal ashore by breaking our word,
With damm me if ever you catch me aboard,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From being still cheated by the same Undertakers,
By Levellers, Barwds, Saints, Chymists, and Quakers,
Who make us gold-finders, and themselves gold-makers,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From damning whatever we don't understand,
From purchasing at Dowgate, and selling in the Strand,
Calling streets by our name, when we have sold the
land (50),
Libera nos Sc.*

*From barring our own house to treat Scholars ill,
And then be unchancellor'd against our will,
Nought left of a College but our own College-hill,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From judging of Judges in a senseless speech,
From following S—, that regaling leech,
Because, being twins, both suck'd the same bitch,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From mortally hating all those that love us,
From mimical acting all those above us,
Till the master at last is forc'd to remove us,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From cringing to those we scorn to condemn,
In hopes to be made the Citizens gem,
Who now scorn us more than e'er we did them,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From sneaking 'twixt Castle-yard and Vandeput,
From telling of tales when we have been at Rut,
And ramming three candles into one Lady's scut,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From beginning an execrable traitterous health,
To destroy the parliament, King, and himself,
To be made Ducal Peer of a new Commonwealth,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From changing old Friends for rascally new ones,
From taking Wildman and Marvel for true ones,
From wearing green Ribbons 'gainst him that gave blue
ones,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From lodging at Court before we are sent for,
For selling six palaces for less than they rent for,
And buying three hillocks (51) for three Kings of Brent-
ford,
Libera nos Sc.*

*From learning new morals from Bedlam Sir Peyton,
Or truth and modesty from Elwys Leyton,
From making our heirs to be Morris and Clayton,
Libera nos Sc.*

A late elegant writer observes, that the Duke's portrait has been drawn by four masterly hands. Burnet has hewn it out with his rough chissel, Count Hamilton touched it with a slight delicacy, that finishes while it seems but to sketch. Dryden caught the living likeness. Pope completed the historical resemblance (52). But, however unsparingly cruel these may be in the design, they are all exceeded by this writer himself in the cruelty of the execution. 'When this extraordinary man,' says he, with the figure and genius of Alcibiades, 'could equally charm the Presbyterian Fairfax and dis-solute Charles, when he alike ridiculed that witty King and his solemn Chancellor; when he plotted the ruin of his country with a Cabal of bad ministers, and, equally unprincipled, supported its cause with bad patriots, one laments that such parts should have been devoid of every virtue. But, when Alcibiades turns chymist, when he is a real bubble and a visionary miser, when ambition is but a frolic, when the worst designs are for the vilest ends, contempt extinguishes all reflection on his character (53).' This last thrust is aimed to give his memory such a mortal stab, as had been given to his father's life by Felton, upon whom we have a commendatory epitaph, ascribed to the son, which though the Editor thinks (54), in favour of the Duke, could not be written by him, yet Mr Walpole declares he knows no principle the Duke had to prevent his being the author. Indeed, says he, it is more bombast than offensive.

(51) Viz. Sion-hill, College-hill, and Cliefden-hill.

(52) Burnet, in Hist. of his own times. Hamilton's sketch is, that, full of wit and spirit, he lavished away, without noise, the vast riches he was entered upon. Memoirs of Count de Gramont, p. 94. Edit. 1714. Dryden's satire has been already mentioned, and Pope's will be seen in the next remark.

(53) Catalogue of royal and noble authors, ubi supra.

(54) Thomas Brown, who says he had seen it ascribed to the Duke in several MS. collections of state poems, then in the custody of some curious gentlemen, and printed as the Duke's, in a Miscellany, published in 1692, by Peter Buck. Memoirs of the Duke of Buckingham, prefixed to his works.

by

(50) York-house, now York-buildings, consists of George-street, Villiers-street, Duke-street, of Alley, and Buckingham-street.

by the malice of some, and ingratitude of others, he might shew, that a good-natured man might have an ill-natured muse. His charitable disposition he seemed to inherit from his grandfather, Francis Earl of Rutland, who used every quarter-day at London to send his Steward with bags of money to several prisons, to relieve prisoners and pay their debts, bidding them thank God, and pray for their benefactor, but not telling them who he was. The Duke, continues this writer, was a man of great courage. One instance of which was, that when a melancholy mad servant assaulted him with a drawn sword in his hand, while he was at supper, he with a knife disarmed him. The character which Sir Henry Wotton gives of his father might be said of him: 'Among all the favourites which mine eyes have seen in diverse courts and times, I never saw before a strong heart and eminent condition, so clearly void of all pride and shocking arrogance, either in his face or in his fashion.' It is to be wished the rest of his father's character had been as true of him; his diligence and application to business, and that he had left his few honest servants in as good fortune as reputation, who never wronged him in his estate, nor flattered him in his faults, and thought they escaped well in not being oppressed under the ruins of his fortune. His father had two crimes objected against him, which he was not guilty of; plurality of offices, and preferring his relations. The faults objected to him were, that he loved women and spent his estate. His estate was his own: He had often lost it for the King, and might now be allowed to enjoy it himself. If he was *sui profusus*, he never was *alieni appetens*. If he was extravagant in spending, he was just in paying his debts, and at his death charged them on his estate, leaving much more than enough to pay them [W]. 'If he was a grievance, as he told the House of Commons (11), he was the cheapest to the public that ever was complained of.' He had no children by his Dutchess, nor heirs capable of inheriting his estate or title. His amours were too notorious to be concealed, and too scandalous to be justified by saying he was bred in the latitude of foreign climates, and now lived in a vicious age and court, where his accusers of this crime were as guilty as himself. He lay under so ill a name for this, that whenever he was shut up in his chamber, as he loved to be *nescio quid meditans nugarum*, or in his laboratory over the fumes of charcoal, it was said to be with women; when a dirty chymist (*), a fox-hunter, a pretender to poetry or politicks, a rehearsal, should entertain him, while a messenger to summon him to Council could not be admitted. This is true of him, that, of all the noise made of his loving women, he never had so much as a bastard laid to his charge that he or any body else believed to be his own. Some pretended to love his person, but it was his estate which smarted for it. It is hard to tell by his expence (111) which was his favourite pleasure: I think his chymistry at home, and fox-hunting abroad. I will conclude his character with saying, that if human frailty will not excuse these faults, let Christian charity oblige us to hope, that as God gave him time, he gave him also the grace of true repentance. His wife Mary, Dutchess of Buckingham, was a most virtuous and pious Lady in a vicious age and court: If she had any of the vanities, she had certainly none of the vices of it. The Duke and she lived lovingly and decently together; she patiently bearing with those faults in him which she could not remedy. She survived him many years, and died near St James's at Westminster, and was buried in the vault of the family of the Villiers in Henry VIIIth's chapel, anno 1705, ætat. 66 (1111). Most of the productions of the Duke's pen were collected and published, not many years after his decease, in two volumes 8vo; the second edition of which came out in 1704; and the third in 1715 [X]: And there is another edition now [1762] in the press.

[W] Leaving much more than enough to pay his debts.] The above authentic account of the circumstances of his Grace's exit furnishes a very necessary key to the description given of it by Mr Pope in the following lines:

In the worst Inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
The floors of plaster, and the walls of dung;
On once a flock-bed, but repaired with straw,
With tape-tied curtains never meant to draw;
The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow strowe with dirty red,
Great VILLIERS lies—alas, how chang'd from him,
That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!
Gallant and gay in Cliveden's proud alcove,
The burver of wanton Shrewsbury, and love;
Or just as gay at Council, in a ring
Of mimick'd statesmen and their merry King.
No wit to flatter left of all his store!
No soul to laugh at, which he valued more.
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame, this Lord of useless thousands ends.
His Grace's fate sage Cutler could foresee,
And well (he thought) advis'd him, Live like me.
As well his Grace replied, Like you Sir John!
That I can do when all I have is gone.
Resolve me, Reason, which of these is worse,
Want with a full or with an empty purse (55).

We have already observed, that this excellent Poet frequently over-seasoned his satires with gall (56). Whether in this instance it does not sink into a libel waits the decision of Bishop Warburton, the undertaker of this Poet's honest fame.

[X] His works.] These volumes are a Bookseller's Miscellany, containing various speeches, poems, &c. The chief of those which belong to his Grace have been mentioned in the course of this memoir, except *An essay on human reason, addressed to Martin Clifford, Esq;* Five letters on election affairs, Ten little burlesque and satirical palms: In the second volume. And in the first, Four poems by the Duke and Lord Rochester; upon *nothing, a Session of the Poets, a Satire on the follies of the men of the age, Timon, a satire on some new plays*, and a poem, entitled, *The lost mistress*, a complaint against the Countess of —, 1675. This was probably the Countess of Shrewsbury, whose Lord he killed in a duel on her account, and who is said to have held the Duke's horse, disguised like a page, during the combat: to reward his prowess in which, she went to bed to him in the skirt stained with her husband's blood. We have also, of the Duke's writing, A demonstration of the Deity: As also Verses on two lines of Mr Edward Howard, printed in the third part of Miscellanies in 1693: And a Letter to Sir Thomas Osborn. All mentioned by the Catalogue of royal and noble Authors. In the Gazetteer for Feb. 24, 1750, was inserted the following challenge, said to be sent by his Grace sometimes (57) to a young Lady on Valentine's day:

Brimfull of anger, not of love,
The Champion sends his Fee One glove:

45 D

(11) See remark [2].

(*) In 1673 his chymist was one Robert Bathurst, an Irishman, a kinsman of Dr Ralph Bathurst, some time President of Trinity-college in Oxford. See the Doctor's article in the Appendix.

(111) Among other unaccountable extravagancies, he fell into a new way of expence, in building in that sort of architecture which Cicero calls *rejana substructiones*; and himself, when his friends dissuaded him from it, called it *his Folly*. Fairfax, p. 35.

(1111) Id. p. 39.

(56) Pope's article, &c. item. [Ad].

(57) In the London Magazine for that month the verses are ascribed to the late Dr B—y.

(55) Epist. 3. to Allen Lord Bathurst, ver. 299, et seqq.

But I, that have a double share
Of softer passion, send a pair.
Nor think it, dearest Delia, cruel,
That I invite you to a duel;
Ready to meet you, face to face,
At any time, in any place;

Nor shall I leave you in the lurch,
Though you should dare to fix the Church:
There come equipt with all your charms,
A ring and licence are my arms;
I will th' unequal contest try,
Resolv'd to fight, though sure to die.

P

USHER [JAMES], the pious and learned Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland, was born on the 4th of January, 1580, in the parish of St Nicholas in the city of Dublin, where his father, Mr Arnold Usher, was one of the six Clerks in Chancery, a gentleman of a good estate and reputation, and descended of a very ancient family, which in England bore the name of Nevil, till the reign of Henry II, when it was changed by one of his ancestors, who about the year 1185, passing with Prince [afterwards King] John in quality of Usher into Ireland, settled there by the name of his office (a), and his descendents spreading into several branches, filled the most considerable posts in and about Dublin for many ages (b), to the time of our Author, whose personal merit will appear in the sequel to have reflected an honour upon his descent. He had excellent natural endowments, with a most tractable temper. The first steps of his education were distinguished by some remarkable incidents. Having learned to read from two of his maternal aunts (c), who were both blind from their cradle. He had the good fortune to be prepared at the age of eight years, to be taken into a very good school, opened at that time by two eminent scholars [A], sent by James I, then King of Scotland, to keep up a correspondence with the nobility and gentry about Dublin, in order to secure his interest in that country, in the view of his eventual succession to the Crown of England. Under these masters our young genius advanced so quick in the rudiments of classical learning, that the College of Dublin being compleated in 1593, he was found qualified to be then admitted, at the age of thirteen, the first scholar upon that foundation (d); the charter of which had been obtained from Queen Elizabeth by an uncle of his own name, and his predecessor in the see of Armagh [B]; and Mr James Hamilton,

(b) Parr's Life of our Archbishop, p. 1, Edit. 1686. fol.

(c) That is, sisters to his mother, Margaret, daughter of James Stanyhurst, Esq, Recorder of Dublin, Speaker of the House of Commons in three Parliaments, and a Master in Chancery. Vita Usherii a T. Smith, p. 5, 6, Edit. 1707.

one

[A] Two eminent scholars.] Their names were James Fullerton and James Hamilton, both young Scotch gentlemen. This employment was made use of for a colour; good schoolmasters being then much wanted in Ireland. They were afterwards both knighted by King James; and the first being appointed of the bedchamber to his Majesty, the other was at length created, by that King, Viscount Chandebois. The Archbishop always recounted this as a remarkable instance of God's providence towards him (1).

[B] An uncle of his name, and his predecessor in the see of Armagh.] His name was Henry Usher, he had been bred at Cambridge, from whence he went to Paris to compleat his education. And was at that time Archdeacon of Dublin, having been deputed before to Queen Elizabeth, upon an affair relating to St Patrick's church (2), which he managed with the same success as he afterwards met with in this of the college. Henry Fitz-Simons (of whom hereafter) tells a story, which must rest upon his authority (3), that, when the Archbishop had spent a considerable time in writing a work against Cardinal Bellarmine, all his papers were forced away by his wife, who threw them into the fire, alledging, that the match was unequal between a man who, having a great family of children, was continually interrupted by his domestic affairs, and one who was entirely free from all earthly cares. Mr Bayle (4) has spent a long note to shew, that this Lady's argument, though plausible in the theory, was not well grounded in fact and experience. This, I believe, would be thought meer trifling at this time of day, at least in England, since it is nothing else than giving a list of all the best Protestant writers of our church, some of whom (as Hooker) have been as much exercised by their wives as Socrates. But Bayle (as is well known) frequently launches out into such reasonings chiefly for the sake of some piece of wit, as here he concludes with observing, that Bellarmine had not so much leisure as the Archbishop's lady imagined. 'Here follows, continues he, a passage I met with in a piece, published in 1625 (5). Cardinal Bellarmine, of pious memory, said often to the most illustrious Cardinal Rochefoucault, 'I assure you, my Lord, that I am oppressed with people and visits, and must needs confess there are too many Christians in the world.' *Monsignore veramente ci sono troppo Christiani al mondo.* But to return to the proper business of this remark, the foundation of Dublin-college; to solicit which our Archdeacon went to England in 1590, and returned to Dublin with the charter, dated March 30, 1592. He was promoted immediately from the archdeaconry, by a rare example, to the primacy in August, 1595, and died April 2, 1613, leaving a son, Robert Usher, who

being bred at Dublin-college, was first chosen Fellow, and afterwards, by the interest of his cousin James, unanimously elected *Provost* of the society in 1629, whence he was advanced to the bishopric of Derry in 1634. But in the Irish rebellion, in 1641, retiring to England, he died there towards the latter end of the next year, at Bridgenorth in Shropshire (6). This is related by Dr Thomas Smith, who likewise observes, that the Dublin-college was first founded by Alexander Bicknor, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1320, and that this foundation being intirely demolished, the first motion in parliament for restoring it was made in 1569, by Dr James Usher's father-in-law, James Stanyhurst, Esq; (7), who died at Dublin, Dec. 27, 1575, aged fifty-one years (8). So that our Archbishop had a double title to the favour mentioned in the text. His father-in-law had a son, named Richard, who, being a man of distinguished learning, and much respected on that account by his nephew, our Archbishop, who held a correspondence with him, deserves some notice to be taken of him here. He was born in Dublin in 1547; and having been bred at school under the famous Peter White (9), became a Commoner of University-college, Oxon. in 1563, where he wrote *Commentaries on Porphyry* at two years standing. After taking the degree of A. B. he left the college, retired to London, became first a Student in Furnival's Inn, and afterwards in that of Lincoln, where spending some time in the study of the common law, he then returned to Ireland. But resolving to change his religion, he went into the Low-countries, France, and elsewhere, being then a married man. Upon the death of his wife, he was made Chaplain to the Archduke of Austria, who gave him a handsome salary. He died at Brussels in 1618, with the character of an excellent Theologian, Grecian, Philosopher, Historian, and Orator (10). He is the Author of the following pieces: 1st, *Harmonia, sive catena Dialectica in Porphyrianas constitutiones* (11), Lond. 1570, fol. 2d, *De rebus in Hibernia gestis* (12), lib. 4. Antw. 1584. 4to. To which is annexed, *Rerum Hibernicarum Appendix ex Silvestro Giraldo Cambrensi collecta cum annotationibus adjectis*. 3d, *Descriptio Hiberniae*, of which an English translation was inserted in *Holingshead's Chronicle*, Vol. I. Lond. 1586, fol. 4th, *De vita S. Patricii Hiberniae Apostoli*, lib. 2. Antw. 1587. 5th, *Hebdomada Mariana, ex orthodoxii catholicae Rom. ecclesiae patribus collecta &c.* Antw. 1609, 8vo. 6th, *Hebdomada Eucharistica*, Duac. 1614, 8vo. 7th, *Brevis praemunitio pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Usserio* (13), Duaci. 1615, in about three sheets 8vo. 8th, *The principles of the Catholic religion*. 9th, He also translated into English heroical blank verse, the first four books of Virgil's *Aeneis*, Lond.

(6) Jacobi Usherii vita, a T. Smith, p. 11.

(7) Id. p. 7.

(8) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 443.

(9) He was born in Ireland, became Fellow of Oriel college in Oxford in 1551, and A. M. in 1556, and Dean of Waterford, from both which being ejected for Popery by Queen Elizabeth, he afterwards taught school at Munster, and was much encouraged by the Popish gentry and nobility. Id. col. 249.

(10) Camden files him *Eruditissimus ille nobilissimus Ricb. Staniburghus*. In Hibernia, in com. West-Meath.

(11) This being communicated to Edm. Campian before it went to the press, he gave a great character of the Author. In Epist. suis editis. Ingolst. 1602, p. 50.

(12) Dedicated to his brother, Baron of Dunfany.

(13) This piece accordingly was to have been followed by another, which was expected by our Author in vain. See remark [O].

1583,

(a) This was a practice much used in those early ages, to which no doubt the ambition of founding a family was the great motive.

(d) There were three admitted; but Usher's name is still standing at the head of all in the College-Register. Letter 240 in Parr's Collection. Sir James Ware says, they were admitted in this order, Walsh, Usher, Lec.

(1) Parr's life of Usher, as above, p. 2.

(2) The affair of St Patrick's church related to its revenues, which he saved out of the hands of Sir John Perrot, then Deputy, who had resolved to seize them for the public service. Usherii vita, a T. Smith, p. 10.

(3) In Britonoma-ch. Ministrom, lib. 3. cap. 6. p. 348.

(4) Note [B] in the article of Henry Usher.

(5) Intituled *Responseaux demandes d'un grand prelat touchant la hierarchie de l'eglise, & la juste defense des privilegies & des religieux*, p. 204, 205.

one of his schoolmasters, being at the same time made Senior Fellow of the Society, and a Professor of Philosophy, was appointed his tutor (e). In the beginning of his studies he was particularly fond of poetry, and lost too much time in diversions (f); but was reclaimed by a passage he luckily met with in Cicero (g), which putting him upon the perusal of *Sleidan de quatuor Monarchiis*: this gave him a strong inclination to the study of history, which he prosecuted with an almost unexampled vigour. In this pursuit, beginning at fourteen years of age to make extracts from all the historical books he could meet with, he placed the facts in a chronological order for the assistance of his memory [C]. In the mean time, he did not neglect the necessary academical sciences, and having made a suitable progress in logick and the Aristotelian philosophy, he took the degree of A. B. in 1586 (b), and immediately applied himself to the study of divinity, chiefly upon the controverted points between the Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches, his country being then mostly inclined to Popery. However, in 1598, he held the part of Respondent with great applause in the philosophy act, that was performed in compliment to the *Earl of Essex*, upon his first coming over Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (i), and Chancellor of the University of Dublin. Our student the same year, upon the death of his father, who had designed him for his own profession, the Common Law (k), discovered an uncommon degree of resolution and firmness of mind. The paternal estate, which descended to him as eldest son and heir, he resigned, though of considerable value, to his younger brother [D]: and reserving only so much of it as was necessary to support him in a studious life at the college, he followed his own inclination in devoting himself to the profession of divinity, and being thereby qualified by the statutes (E), he was admitted Fellow of the Society. The proficiency he made in this study, was answerable to his resolution. At the age of eighteen, our stripling entered the lists with *Henry Fitz-Simons*, a learned Jesuit, then prisoner in the castle of Dublin, who had given a general challenge to defend Bellarmin's principles against any opposer [F]. The next

1583, 8vo. To which he subjoined an English translation of *certain psalms of David* [the four first] according to the observation of the Latin verses, that is without rhyme. 10th, *Poetical conceits*, Lond. 1583, in Latin and English. 11th, *Certain epitaphs, framed as well in Latin as English*, one of which is upon his Father. Mr Wood tells us, that he and *Gab. Hervey* were esteemed by some to be the best Poets for Iambics in their age (14).

[C] For the assistance of his memory. Dr Parr informs us (15), that, between the age of fifteen and sixteen, he had drawn up, in Latin, an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as to the book of Kings, not much different from the method of his annals, only in the enlargement by some more accurate observations and synchronisms of heathen annals.

[D] He resigned the paternal estate to his younger brother. Dr Parr is still our informer, who intimates, that this step was not taken out of an inconsiderate juvenile rashness, but was the effect of a mature deliberation, upon viewing the condition of the estate, which he found greatly incumbered with law-suits, besides being loaded with sisters portions. That he wrote out a complete terrier of all the estate and leases, and, to obviate the censure of doing any thing rashly and with precipitation, he drew up an exact state of all the law-suits and incumbrances that lay upon it, with directions what to do in them, transmitting it to his uncle as guardian for his brother and sisters, to be managed for their advantage, which was performed so well, that most of his sisters (of whom he had no less than seven) were afterwards very well married, and some of them to persons that proved eminently considerable in church and state (16). Add to this, that our Author, besides something for his support at the college, reserved a sum to purchase books sufficient to carry on his studies. His younger brother, named *Ambrose*, was also a very deserving youth, and, being bred at Cambridge, early attained a great skill and perfection in the oriental tongues, and rendered a great part of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew into English before King James's translation was made (17), the manuscript of which Dr Parr had seen, being then lodged in the hands of his nephew, Sir *Theophilus Yong*, Knt. one of his Majesty's privy council in Ireland. Mr Usher also translated, out of Latin into English, his brother's treatise *De Christiana in ecclesiam successione et statu*, the manuscript of which was then extant. We have a Latin letter to the Archbishop, written April 9, 1607, by one *William Eyre*, Fellow of Emanuel college in Cambridge, a good judge of oriental learning, wherein *Ambrose's* skill in the Arabic tongue is strongly intimated, as follows: *Interea vero hec, agnosco me valde obaratum esse et tibi, et dulcissimo fratri tuo Ambrosio, qui peritissima manu sua quaedam in usum meum ex Alcorano Arabice exscripsit* (18). These early productions gave room to expect many others, had not he been prevented by his death, which cut him off in his youth (19).

[E] Qualified by the statutes. By the first draught of the statutes all the fellowships were appropriated to Divinity, which was afterwards altered by the directions of Dr *Bedel*, the second Provost (after Mr Temple (20)). I suppose, says that Provost in a letter to our Archbishop, it hath been an error all this while to neglect the faculties of law and physic, and attend only to the ordering of one poor college of Divines. I did communicate the plan of the four faculties (21) to my Lord of Canterbury—who seemed not to dislike it, but required it should be maturely thought of by your Grace and the University, in which case he promised his assistance, if it was judged fit. At that time I left with him the statutes of our College, which I had this winter written out with mine own hand, and caused to be fair bound (22).

[F] He held a dispute with Henry Fitz-Symonds &c. This challenge by *Fitz-Symonds* is in the dedication of a piece already quoted (23), where he declares he offered to maintain such particulars as were thought by the Protestants to be the weakest in the Romish doctrine, and to attack all those points which they thought to be the strongest in their doctrine. *‘Douce ego (says he) causæ bonitate suffultus defendere quicquid inter nos infirmissimum, vel impugnare quicquid inter ipsos tutissimum reputant, in me recipere.* The Jesuit then proceeds to give an account of his dispute in these terms: *Sed neque in specula eminentem videre, neque in castris, clausisque Stentoria ut agnoscent voce provocantem, exaudire voluerunt. Prodit quidem semel in summa vocis vultusque trepidatione ostendarius præceci sapientiae (non tamen male ut videlatur indolis) juvenis, nescio an auræ populavis cupidior, saltem de abstrusissimis rebus Theologicis, cum adhuc philosophica studia non esset emensus, nec Ephæbis egressus, disputandi avidus &c. Hunc autem Jussi suorum calculos adferre, quibus pugil seu agonista idoneus renunciaretur, et vel cum ipso disputationem me intarum. Sed sicut hsi cum minime tanto honore dignati sunt, ita me vicissim sua concepi præsentia dignatus ipse non fuit* (24). But no body would hear me, though I called with a voice as loud as Stentor to the contest. Only there once came to me a youth of about eighteen, very forward in his understanding, who shewed a very strong desire of disputing upon the most abstruse points of Divinity, though he had not yet completed his course of philosophy, nor arrived to manhood. But when I asked him if he had leave from his Superiors, promising in that case to enter the lists with him, the young man, not being honoured with any such commission, had nothing to shew, and returned no more. Thus the Jesuit; but the matter is related by another author, as follows: *Henry Fitz-Simon*, the Jesuit, challenging his adversaries to meet him in the castle of Dublin, this beardless youth combated so bravely and frequently that veteran in the main article of his cause, viz. Antichrist, that he repented his having challenged him, and met with opponents sufficient in this one youth, who was but eighteen years old. *Cum Henrico Simonide*

(e) Letter 14c, p. 412, of his Life by Dr Parr.

(g) The passage was this, *Nescire quid ante quam natus sit, accidit id est semper esse puerum.* Id. ibid.

(i) Parr, p. 5.

(k) Smith, p. 18.

(f) Smith tells us, he was much addicted to card-playing. *Vite Illustrum Viror.* 1700, 4to, in Vita Usserii, l. 15.

(b) *Vite, anno ætatis decimo septimo.* Vita a F. Smith, 16.

(14) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 442.

(15) In the Abp's life, p. 3.

(16) Ibid. p. 6.

(17) Dr Smith mentions a Latin translation of *Surata Carverna* from the Alcoran, some Hebrew and Arabic collections, and an Arabic lexicon, besides some tracts upon various points of Theology of his writing, which are extant in the archives of Dublin-college library. *Vita Usserii*, p. 9.

(18) Collection of letters by Dr Parr, No. III.

(19) Smith, as before.

(20) Grandfather to Sir W. Temple. See his article.

(21) That is apparently, Philosophy or Arts, Law, Physic, and Divinity.

(22) This letter is dated in 1628, and is the 126th in Dr Parr's collection.

(23) In note (3).

(24) Prefatio Britten-moch. p. 14.

(1) He was much pleased with this office, and spoke of it with pleasure after he became Archbishop. Epist. to Archbishop Laud techumens in the

next year, 1600, he proceeded A. M. was appointed Proctor (1), and chosen Catechetical Lecturer of the University (m). — About the same time having met with Stapleton's *Fortress of Faith*, he tasked himself to read the Fathers [G] thoroughly, being resolved to examine the

in Parr's Collection, p. 459.

(m) It is observable, that the famous Origen was appointed to the like office of instructing the school of Alexandria at the same age. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 6. c. 3.

Jesuita poscente sibi dari adversarios in castro Dubliniensi de arce causæ suæ, scil. Antichristo sapius quidem conflixit — This Author then proceeds thus: *Ipsum audite Jesuitam in præfatione libri sui quem de Britannomachia ministrorum placuit inscribere. Prodiit quidem semel inquit octodenarius*, and so on as before to the words *disputandi avidus*, at which he stops with an &c. (25). Whereupon Mr Bayle remarks pertinently enough, 'The Reader, says he, will please to take notice of the &c. where he must not suppose the rest to be omitted as being of no use to the subject; for the only reason why they were suppressed is, because they are inconsistent with what was said before (26).' However, Dr Thomas Smith has made it sufficiently evident, that there was a dispute between them (27): And Dr Parr informs us (28), that the subject was *Bellarmin's* controversies; and because the several matters in debate could not be disputed in one or two meetings, they appointed to meet once a week; and besides gives us the following letter of Mr Usher to *Fitz-Simonds*, which shews that, after a few meetings, the Jesuit declined the combat.

'I was not purposed, Mr *Fitz-Simonds*, to write unto you, before you had first written unto me, concerning some chief points of your religion, as at our last meeting you promised. But, seeing you have deferred the same (for reasons best known to yourself) I thought it not amiss to enquire further of your mind concerning the continuation of the conference begun betwixt us. And to this I am the rather moved, because I am credibly informed of certain reports, which I could hardly be persuaded should proceed from him, who in my presence pretended so great love and affection to me. If I am a boy (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me) I give thanks to the Lord, that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is, in your own conceit, a weaver's beam, and your abilities such, that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel; and therefore, like the Philistine, you contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor do come now unto you, in any confidence of any learning that is in me (in which respect notwithstanding, I thank God, I am what I am) but I come in the name of the Lord of hosts, whose companies you have reproached, being certainly persuaded, that even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he was able to shew forth his own praises; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you, that, setting aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters that rest in controversy between us. Otherwise I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so, I also, for my own part, may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truth which I profess, freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus intreating you in a few lines to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, I end; praying the Lord that both this and all other enterprizes that we take in hand may be so ordered, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory and the kingdom of his son Jesus Christ.

'*Tuas ad aras usquæ,*

'James Usher.'

Dr Parr observes, with the Author of *Collectio Batefiana*, that the same Jesuit, living to understand our Author better, styles him *A catholicorum Doctissimus* (29). And to form a judgment of the value of this testimony of our Author's literary merit, it will be necessary to enquire into the worth and credit of the witness. *Henry Fitz-Simon* was the most noted Jesuit in his time, if we may believe the Oxford Antiquary, who informs us, that he was an Irishman born, and the son of a merchant in Dublin, that he was matriculated at Oxford as a member of *Hart-hall* [now Hertford-college] April 26, 1583, and in that of his age, fourteen. That in December following it seems probable that he was elected Student of

Christ-church (30): But that he did not stay long at the University, which he left without taking any degree, being come to a resolution to change the church of England for that of Rome. In which disposition he crossed the sea, and entered himself in the *Society of Jesus* at *Louvain*, where putting himself under the instructions of the famous *Leonard Lessius* (31), he made such a quick proficiency, that he became eminent enough, in a short time, to be himself a Teacher, especially in Philosophy, which he taught publicly for several years. At length, returning to his native country of Ireland, he made it his business, as a missionary, to gain profelytes to his religion. To which end he had both private conferences and public disputes with Protestant ministers. In this work he persisted for two years without disturbance, being esteemed the chief disputant among those of his party, and so ready and quick, that few or none would undertake to deal with him. In fine, being apprehended for a dangerous person, he was committed to safe custody in *Dublin-castle* in 1599, where he continued about five years. Though confinement hindered him from proceeding to spread his principles, yet did it not break his resolution, or damp his courage and good-will for the cause. On the contrary, he was no sooner fixed in a prison, than he said, that, being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him; which expression being looked on as a challenge, was taken up by our Author, then Mr James Usher. Afterwards, at the end of the five years, being set at liberty, on his promise to behave quietly, and give no disturbance to the King and kingdom, he went forthwith into voluntary exile into the Low-countries, where he spent his time in performing offices requisite to his function, and in writing books, particularly, *A catholic confutation of Mr John Rider's claim of antiquities, and a calming comfort against his carceat, with a reply to Mr Rider's postscripts, and a discovery of Puritan partiality in his behalf.* To which is annexed, *An answer to certain complaintive letters of afflicted Catholics for religion.* All printed together in quarto, at *Roan*, in 1608, in which year he went, according to summons, to Rome, where being appointed for the mission of Ireland, he published his profession of the four vows; and then, being sent back to the Low-countries, he went again into Ireland, where he spent many years, in confirming the Roman catholics in their religion, and in making new profelytes. At length, having been a great encourager and abettor of the rebellion which broke out there in 1641, he was, after the rebels began to be subdued, forced to fly for shelter into woods and on mountains, and to creep and skulk into every place, for fear of being taken and hanged by the English soldiers. In the beginning of the year 1643 he was forced to change his place, and retire for safety into a moorish and boggy ground, where sheltering himself under a shepherd's cot, no better than a hovel, which did not keep out the wind and rain, he lived there in a very sorry condition, and had for his bedding a pad of straw, which would be often wet by the rising and coming in of the water. Notwithstanding all this misery he seemed to be very cheerful, and was ready to instruct the young ones about him, and comfort others. But being in a manner spent, and his age not able to bear such misery long, he was with great difficulty taken away, and being conveyed by some of the brethren into a better place, he expired among them on the calends of February the same year 1643-4. By his death, concludes this writer, the Roman catholics lost a pillar of their church, being esteemed, in the better part of his life, a great ornament among them, and the greatest defender of their religion in his time (32). Besides the pieces already mentioned, he wrote *A justification and Exposition of the Sacrifice of the Mass*, in two books, or more, printed in 1611, 4to. And *Britannomachia ministrorum in plerisque & fidei fundamentis & fidei articulis dissidentium.* Duac. 1614, 4to. As also a third piece, which was *A Catalogue of the Irish Saints.*

[G] He was put upon reading the *Fathers* by Stapleton's *Fortress.* That the Archbishop should be particularly moved to enter into so long and laborious a study by Stapleton's book, is easily accounted for from the great reputation

(30) One of both his names was then elected a Student there.

(31) This famous Jesuit was born in the parish of Brechtan, near Antwerp, in 1554, taught Philosophy and Theology at Louvain with reputation, and died in 1623. We have a treatise *De Justitia & Jure*, by him, and other works, which make two volumes folio in Latin. *Ladvoocat's* Diction. Portatif, 2d edit. Paris, 1755, in 2 Vols. 8vo.

(25) Vita Jacobi Ufferii in collectione Batefiana, p. 737. Lond. 1681, 4to.

(26) Bayle, in our Author's article, rem. [A].

(27) In vita Ufferii, p. 19, 20, 21.

(28) In our Author's life, p. 6.

(29) His life, p. 7, 8. And Collect. Batefiana, page 737.

(32) Ath. Oxon: Vol. II, col. 457 46.

the truth of that learned Author's quotations from them. He spent eighteen years in this study [H] without interruption, only by way of refreshment, spending some hours occasionally

reputation of the Author, who was esteemed the most learned Roman catholic of all his time. He was son of William Stapleton, and born in 1535, of a genteel family at *Hensfield* in *Suffex*. He received the first part of his education under one John Twine, a noted schoolmaster at Canterbury, and being removed thence to Wykeham's school at Winchester, he went in the ordinary course to New-college in Oxford, of which he was admitted perpetual Fellow in 1591, and made Prebendary or Canon of Chichester a little before the death of Queen Mary, being then only Bachelor of Arts. But, upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the crown, religion beginning to put on another face, the Canon, as well as his father and family, left the kingdom, and went to Louvain, where being settled, he applied himself with great zeal to the study of Theology, and in a short time making great proficiency therein, he went to Paris to compleat his knowledge in the sacred tongues. Afterwards he took a journey to Rome, from a motive of devotion, says my Author; however, he made no long stay there, but returning to Louvain, he set about writing an answer to Bishop Jewel, and translating Bede's church history into English, to the end that Queen Elizabeth, to whom he dedicated it, might see and understand the ancient faith and religion of our ancestors, &c. This service to his church being finished, he left Louvain, and removed to Doway, which University had been erected a little before. Thither he hastened at the request of Dr William Allen, President of the English college there, and for a time performed the office of Catechist Reader at *Ancbine*, near that place. Afterwards he took the degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate, and Doctor of Divinity, under *Matthew Galien*, Provost of the church of *St Amoure*, and Chancellor of the University of *Dorway*, who collated him to a canonry in that church; and he was also made Regius Professor of Divinity in the University. However, he resigned both these preferments some time after, and entered into the *Society of Jesus* at Doway: but, upon a long and diligent probation, finding that order not to agree with his temper and course of life, he quitted it, and returned to his former way of teaching, (to the great joy of many) and became a Canon once more of the church of *St Amoure*. At length, being called to *Louvain*, he was made King's Professor of Divinity, and Canon of the church of *St Peter* there, and writing several things, particularly against Mr *Whitaker* of Cambridge, his fame spread over all those parts, and he grew into great esteem with the King of Spain, so that he had the deanery of *Hilverbeck* in *Kampenland* in *Brabant* conferred upon him: [*Little enough, God wot, for such a rare and most learned clerk as he was*] says Mr Wood, who repeats it again, that in all kind of literature he obtained such perfection, that he was numbered among the most learned men of that age. And it was generally thought, continues our Antiquary, that he deserved a Cardinal's cap before *Allen*; but so it was, that his ability being eclipsed by the activity of the other, he did not rise higher than a Dean. In the possession of this dignity, and his professorship and canonry at Louvain, having lived to the age of sixty-three years, he expired there, greatly lamented by all learned Roman catholics, on the 12th of October, 1598, and was interred in the church of *St Peter* in the same city, where soon after a monument was erected to his memory, with a large inscription thereon, containing the succession of his employments in the universities and church, as well in England as beyond sea. He wrote and translated many things, most of which were printed in four large volumes in folio, at Paris, in 1620. The titles of them are in the first volume. 1. De principiis fidei doctrinalibus, lib. 12. Paris, 1579 and 1582, &c. 2. Defensio successionis ecclesiasticæ, lib. 1. 3. Reflexio principiorum fidei doctrinalium, Antw. 1592. 4. Defensio autoritatis ecclesiasticæ, contra Gul. Whitakerum, Anglo-Calvinistam. 5. Triplicatio pro ecclesiæ autoritate, adversus eundem Whitakerum. The second volume contains, 1. De universæ justificationis doctrina hodie controversæ, lib. 12. 2. Speculum pravitatis hereticæ per orationes quasi ad oculos demonstratæ, Duac. 1580. 3. Orationes Fanebræ, Antw. 1577. 4. Orationes academicæ miscellanæ; some of which were published in 1602. 5. Orationes Catecheticæ, sive manuale peccatorum de septem peccatis capitalibus, Antw. 1598. 6. De magnitudine

Romanæ ecclesiæ, lib. 2. Antw. 1599, in 4to. 7. A Fortress of Faith, first planted among us Englishmen, and continued hitherto in the universal church of Christ, the faith of which times the Protestants call Papistry, Antw. 1565, 4to. This learned treatise the Author, as before intimated, wrote upon occasion of his translating Bede's church history into English, wherein he endeavours to shew, that the same faith was professed in the primitive times as in his. This being read over several times by Archbishop Usher, then Bachelor of Arts, some mistrust of the quotations of ancient authors therein put him upon reading the Fathers. 8. The Horn-blast: or A Reply to the answer of Robert Horne, the false Bishop of Winchester, in four books, Lovain, 1567. 9. A discourse of Protestancy and the mit Authors of it. In volume the third are, 1. Antidota Evangelica in Matthæum, Marcum, Lucam, Johannem, Antw. 1595. 2. Antidota Apostolica in Acta Apostolorum, Tom. I. Antw. 1595. 3. In Epist. Pauli ad Romanos, Tom. II. Ibid. 1595. 4. In duas Epist. ad Corinthios, Tom. III. Ibid. 1598 and 1600. The fourth volume is filled with, 1. Promptuarium in Evangelia Dominicalia; pars hyemalis, Antw. 1591, pars æstivalis, Venet. 1594. 2. Promptuarium Catholicum in Evangelia Dominicalia totius anni, Col. 1592 et 1602. 3. Promptuarium Catholicum supra Evangelia Ferialia totius quadrages. 4. Promptuarium Catholicum super Evangelia in festis S. S. totius anni. 5. Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ S. Thomæ Apost. S. Tho. [a Becket] Archiepiscop. Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori Angliæ Cancellarii, Duac. 1588.

Besides the pieces contained in these four volumes, our Author wrote A Treatise de Justificatione, printed at Paris in 1582. As also A Return of untruths, against Mr *Jewel*, Antw. 1566. His translation from the Latin into English of Venerable Bede's history of the church of England beforementioned was printed at Antwerp in 1565. This translation, to which he added some marginal notes, was censured by the learned Selden (33) as not altogether true. Stapleton also translated Frederic Staphyle's large volume De diffidiis Hæreticorum, printed at Antwerp in 1565. It is remarked, to the honour of his works, that Pope Clement VIII. was so much delighted with them, that he commanded them to be read daily at times of his recreation, or meal-times, and invited him to Rome, with a design to confer upon him the place of Apostolical Prothonotary, or, as some said, to make him a Cardinal. Among which high order the famous Cardinal Perron, who was well read in the controversies of his time, was wont to postpone all controversial writers in comparison with Stapleton, whom he esteemed to be the best of his time and before. To conclude, passing by all the commendations given him by those of his own faith and persuasion, it is sufficient for his fame to mention those of his antagonist *Whitaker*, who says in Latin, Stapletonus hanc causam (de traditionibus) omnium acutissime ac accuratissime tractavit, &c. (34). And elsewhere, speaking of the opinion, as well of Papists as Protestants, in divers matters, he saith modestly of himself, that he differed as much from Stapleton as Troilus from Achilles.

[H] He spent eighteen years in reading the Fathers.] In prosecuting this study, his method was to make notes and observations upon their writings, taking them in order, and marking the passages, which were genuine, and which spurious and forged. In this compass of time he not only read the Greek and Latin Fathers, but most of the considerable Schoolmen and Divines from the first to the thirteenth century. He intended to have published these collections under the title of *Bibliotheca Theologica*, after a book of that title published by one *Johannes Melanus*, Professor of Divinity at Louvain (35). This appears from his Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to his answer to the challenge of Malone the Jesuit (36), where, having given an account of the chronological catalogue annexed to the end of that treatise, apparently drawn from this store, he proceeds thus: 'The exact discussion, as well of the Author's times as of the censure of their works, I refer to my *Theological Bibliothecque*, if God hereafter shall lend me life and leisure to make up that work for the use of those that mean to give themselves to that noble study of the doctrines and rites of the ancient church.' And how much he desired it might be done appears from hence, that, being asked upon his death-bed what his will was

(33) Selden's Preface to the Decem Scriptorem, p. 9, 10. Edit. 1632.

(34) In contr. 1. q. 3. cap. 3. In epist. dedicat. lib. de Scriptura.

(35) See his letter to his uncle, Mr Richard Stanyhurst, at the English college there, desiring him to procure this book for him. Letter 1 in Parr's collection.

(36) This answer was printed at London in 1625, in 4to, and again in 1631. Malone published a reply about 1625, which was sufficed with many false citations from the Fathers, or collections of supposititious authors, and also forged records and lying legends, that the Archbishop intended to make any more of; but an answer was wrote by Dr Thomas Dr Smith, and Mr Turck, Parr, p. 25.

(n) He was ordained Deacon and Priest the same day (Sunday before Christmas-day) by his uncle, Henry Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, who had dispensed with his want of age, which was allowed by the Canons in case of extraordinary merit. Smith, p. 23, who tells us he had preached before the State for some time without orders.

(37) The transcript of Dr Langbaine is in the Bodleian library; and the original, in our Author's handwriting, was once in the possession of Dr Edward Stillington, Dean of St Paul's in 1636. Parr, p. 12, 13.

(38) In vita Usherii, p. 25, 26. See more of this in remark [SS].

sionally in searching into, and collecting the antiquities of his country [I]. - In 1601, he entered into holy orders (n), and was in a little time appointed Afternoon Preacher on Sundays before the State at Christ-Church in Dublin. In the course of this duty, he preached a remarkable Sermon against granting a toleration to the Papists [K]. In 1603, a collection of eighteen hundred pounds being made to buy books for his college-library, he was pitched upon, with Dr Chaloner, to execute that trust [L]. This brought him into England, where he became acquainted with Sir Thomas Bodley, who being then upon the like employ for his new erected library at Oxford, they mutually assisted each other (o). In 1606, the like business of purchasing books and manuscripts relating to the English history (in which study our Author was then engaged) brought him again into England [M]. And the following year, he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity, and was chosen Professor of that faculty in his college (p). He was also promoted to the Chancellorship of the cathedral of St Patrick the same year [N]. In 1609, he wrote his treatise about *Hermage and Corban lands* [O], not only in Ireland, but in England, whither he came a third time this year to buy books, and consult MSS. upon the subject of history and antiquities. In which search, he visited, among others, the libraries in both the Universities, and contracted an acquaintance with most of the *Literati* in that way [P] here. In the same manner he con-

(o) Dr Smith observes, that Sir Thomas must have been very serviceable on this occasion to our Author, who was then only twenty-three years of age. Vita Usherii, p. 28.

(p) He held this place thirteen years, and read lectures weekly, but they are all lost. They were written chiefly upon the points in dispute with the Papists. Parr, p. 10, 11.

concerning those collections, he answered to this effect, 'That he desired they might be committed to his dear friend Dr Langbaine; Provost of Queen's college, Oxford, the only man on whose learning as well as friendship he could rely, to cast them into such a form as might render them fit for the press. They were accordingly put into the hands of that learned Doctor, who in order thereto had them transcribed (37), and then set himself to fill up the breaches in the original, the quotations in the margin being much defaced with rats. But the Doctor, studying in severe cold weather in the public library, contracted a cold, which put an end to his life in 1657, while he was upon this task; and Dean Fell afterwards endeavoured to get it finished, but in vain.

[I] He spent some time in collecting the antiquities of his country.] In his letter to his uncle Stanyhurst afore-cited he writes thus: 'Besides my main studies, I have ' destined, as a kind of recreation, to spend some time ' in gathering together the scattered antiquities of our ' nation, whereof I doubt not but many relicks are ' come into your hands, which I would very willingly ' hear of.' And then, running over several, he particularly insists upon a copy of *the life of St Patrick* (which he observes is in manuscript in the Jesuit's college at Louvain) not only because the Author seemed to be of some antiquity, but as he alledged several sentences out of St Patrick's own writings. ' If any of our countrymen, ' continues he, studious of such matters, will be pleased ' to communicate either that or any other antiquities ' of like nature, I do promise that I will take as much ' pains for him, and make full recompense of courtesie ' in the same kind.'

[K] Sermon against granting a toleration to the Papists.] The text was from Ezechiel, c. iv. v. 6. *And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year*, which he applied to Ireland. *From this year, says he, I reckon forty years, and then these whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity.* This conjecture at that time seemed to be the present thoughts of a young man who was no friend to Popery; but when the Irish rebellion broke out in 1641, and so many thousand Protestants were killed, and the whole nation harassed by a bloody war, some persons then alive, who heard this sermon, began to think the preacher a young prophet. Our Author was particularly lucky in some other such predictions, insomuch that there is a treatise extant *de prædictionibus Usherii*. Dr Smith (38) has thought proper (how judiciously I refer to others) to censure these fumes of our Author as proceeding from a vain humour to dive into the mystical sense of Scripture, and an idle pretence of being endued with a prophetic spirit. But such kind of predictions being only a judicious conjecture and foresight, it seems more to the purpose of his character, that, in this passage of his sermon, he put the non-toleration of Popery upon the intolerant persecuting spirit of that religion, dissuading a toleration thereof upon reasons of danger to the state, and not solely upon its idolatry. The use of this will appear presently.

[L] He was appointed with Dr Chaloner to that trust.] The money was raised by the English army, after having defeated the Spaniards that had come to the assistance of the Irish at Kingsale: And it was resolved by the benefactors that these two should be employed to buy the books. They discharged the trust to the

satisfaction of the donors and the whole college (39). Our Author always testified the greatest regard for the benefit of the college in every point, as is evident from many of his letters. He was Vice-chancellor several years, and frequently corresponded with Abbot and Laud, the two succeeding Chancellors. But it seems to have been during his absence upon this occasion that his mother was reconciled to the Romish religion, a misfortune which gave him the most afflicting concern, and the more as she continued obstinate therein to the last, dying at Drogheda in the communion of that church (40). The same writer observes (41), that her father, the Recorder, though outwardly a conformist to the new religion, after its establishment by Queen Elizabeth, yet still retained his old affection for Popery, as appears from his supporting first in his own house Edmund Campian, afterwards the famous Jesuit, then a refugee from England, and in the next place recommending him to a friend in the country, where he might be secure from the danger of being seized (42) and brought to justice for treasonable practices, in drawing her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance. The Recorder took care however to manage so prudently, as to give no umbrage to the government, and by that means continued unmolested in his post.

[M] The same business brought him again to England.] He now contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with several learned men, and among others, Sir Robert Cotton, Thomas Allen of Oxford, and Mr Camden (43), which last designing a new edition of his *Britannia*, consulted with him about publishing *Nimias, St Patrick, and Congal*, and other things relating to the ancient state of Ireland and the city of Dublin (44), a great part of the answers to which were inserted in the edition of our Author: For many of these things concerning Dublin I acknowledge myself indebted to the diligence and labour of James Usher, Chancellor of the church of St Patrick, who in various learning and judgment far exceeds his years (45).

[N] Chancellor of St Patrick's.] This place was conferred upon him by Dr Adam Loftus, then Archbishop of Dublin. It was his first ecclesiastical preferment; he had no other till his promotion to the bishoprick of Meath. Dr Parr observes, that though he had no particular obligation by this post to preach, yet he would not omit it in the place whence he received the profits, viz. *Finlasi*, not far from Dublin, which he endowed with a vicarage, and preached there every Sunday, unless hindered by very extraordinary occasions.

[O] His treatise about Hermage and Corban lands.] These were lands anciently received by the *Chorepiscopi* (46). Archbishop Bancroft, to whom this treatise was addressed, presented it to King James. The manuscript is still extant in the library at Lambeth, but the substance of it was translated into Latin, and published at the end of his dissertation *de Corbis, &c.* in the first part of his glossary, by Sir Henry Spelman, who gives our Author the character of *Literarum insignis Pharus*.

[P] He became acquainted with most of the Literati here.] Among these were Henry Bourchier, afterwards Earl of Bath, Sir Henry Saville, Henry Briggs, John Selden, John Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Samuel Ward, afterwards Master of Sidney-college in Cambridge, and lastly Thomas Lydiat, famous for his chronological writings against Joseph Scaliger, and being now much reduced in his fortune, the Archbishop carried him to

(39) Parr, p. 11.

(40) Idem, p. 8, 9, who says her change happened during our Author's absence in England, but without specifying the particular time.

(41) P. 6.
(42) Epist. III. in the select pieces of Edmund Campian, edit. Antwerp, 1631. See also Campian's preface to his Hist. of Ireland, published from a MS. in our Archbishop's library, by Sir James Ware, at Dublin, 1633.

(43) Smith, p. 29. See an account of Thomas Allen in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 574, et seq.
(44) Usher's letter to Camden, No. 61. p. 76. in the Collection of Camden's letters, Edit. Lond. 1691.

(45) Camden's *Britannia*, Lond. 1607, Folio, p. 752.

(46) These lands were free from all taxes and secular jurisdiction, but liable to services and pensions to the Bishops, which not being performed, they ceded from their right. Dr Smith says they were first called *Termon-lands*, either as belonging to the monks, or as being separated from lay lands by boundaries, called *Termini*. Vita Usherii, p. 31.

tinued ever after to make once in three or four years a visit to London, passing one month of his stay in the summer at Oxford, and another at Cambridge. Thus eager in the

(47) The Primate, in some of his letters to Lydiat, subscribes your loving brother-in-law, particularly letter XXI, and others in Parr's collections, viz. on the 26th and 27th of March.

(48) Our Author, in a letter to Usher, calls it Alkerton. Letter XX. in Parr's collection.

(49) He took that of A. B. May 5, 1595, and A. M. February 5, 1593. Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 150 and 154.

(50) Dedication to his Lordship of a Sermon preached at a Visitation while he was rural Dean.

(51) There was a design of presenting him to the free-school at Armagh, the salary of which was raised for that purpose to 50l. per annum at least. Lydiat's letter to Usher, dated from the Inner Temple, Aug. 22, 1611, and Usher's answer, Oct. 4 the same year. Letters V. and VII. in Parr's Collection &c.

Ireland, where he afterwards married his Grace's sister (47). He was the son of Christian Lydiat, Lord of the manor of Aulkrynton (48), commonly called *Okerton*, near *Banbury* in Oxfordshire, and citizen of London. Thomas was born at *Okerton*, in the beginning of the year 1572, and discovering pregnant parts from his infancy, was, by the application of his father, elected at about thirteen years of age one of the children of *Wykeham's* college near Winchester, whence, according to the statutes of the two foundations, he was removed to New college in Oxford, and chosen Probationer-fellow in 1591: At which time being under the tuition of Dr (afterwards Sir) *Henry Marten*, he made great proficiency in Logick, and two years afterwards was admitted *Veni. Suius*. After he had taken the degrees in arts (49), he applied himself to Astronomy, Mathematics, the learned languages, and Divinity; the last of which he was very desirous to have made his principal study, and took holy orders, as the statutes of the college require; but, finding a great defect in his memory and utterance, of which he often complained, particularly to Dr Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, his Diocesan (50), he resolved to resign his fellowship, as he did in 1603, and retiring to his patrimony at *Okerton*, and contenting himself with the revenues thereof, though but small, he prosecuted his studies with indefatigable diligence, and spent seven years in finishing and publishing such books as he had begun in the college. He was thus employed, when his merit coming to the knowledge of *Prince Henry*, his royal highness appointed him his Chronographer and Cosmographer. He was possessed of these honours in 1609, when publishing his capital book *De emendatione temporum*, he dedicated it to that Prince, who, agreeably to his excellent good-nature, accepted it very graciously, and, had he lived, would have proved a truly royal patron to him; but all our Author's towering hopes from this quarter were buried in the grave of that most amiable Prince, who died in the flower of his youth a year after. In the interim, his Grace the Primate of Ireland being in London this year, 1604, found out our Chronologer, and, taking him into Ireland, provided him a chamber in the college of Dublin, where he continued two years; at the end of which, purposing to return home, he obtained a promise from the Lord Deputy and Chancellor of Ireland of a competent maintenance (51) whenever he should come back to that kingdom. But, on his arrival in England, the rectory of *Okerton*, his native place, becoming vacant, though when he was Fellow of New-college he had refused the offer of it by his Father, who was Patron, yet he did now, after several demurs, and not without much reluctancy of mind, accept of it in the year 1612. Thus settled, he entered into a marriage with his friend our Primate's sister, and sat down to his studies more closely than ever. Besides going over the harmony of the Gospels, and making six hundred sermons thereon, he wrote and intirely finished several books, and laid the foundation of others in the twelve ensuing years. All these pieces he designed to publish, but was prevented by having unadvisedly engaged for the debts of a near relation, upon which bond he was arrested, and not being able to pay for the present (having spent his small patrimony in printing his books) he was thrown into a prison called *Butards*, in Oxford, where he remained, and in the King's bench and elsewhere, till Sir *William Besswell*, a great encourager of deserving men, Dr *Robert Pink*, Warden of New-college, and Primate *Usher*, laid down the money, and released him. As soon as he had obtained his liberty (in procuring which Archbishop *Laud*, at the request of Sir *Henry Marten*, gave his assistance) he presented a petition to King *Charles I.* for leave to travel into foreign parts, viz. Turkey, Ethiopia, or the Abassinian empire, in the search after manuscripts, especially relating to civil and ecclesiastical history, in order to publish them in print, or whatsoever copies might tend to the propagation or increase of good learning. And further also, as his Majesty had Leiger Ambassadors and Agents, with his confederates, Emperors, King, and Princes, of other countries, they might in his Majesty's name, in behalf of Mr *Lydiat* and his assigns, move their Highnesses to grant the like privileges to him and his assigns &c. What effect this petition had does not appear, probably not such a one as was agreeable to the ardor of his wishes. However

that he, it is an incontellible evidence of his noble intentions and public spirit for the advancement of letters. Neither did his disappointment in it lessen his respect for the King, in whose cause he shewed himself a firm and zealous loyalist on the breaking out of the civil wars, in which he was a great sufferer at his rectory of *Okerton* by the Parliament party. In a letter written by him to Sir *William Compton*, Kut. Governor of *Banbury-castle*, dated Dec. 7, 1644, he complains of having been four times pillaged by the Parliament's forces of *Compton-house* (commonly called *Compton in the hole*) in Warwickshire, to the value of at least 70 l. and was forced, for a quarter of a year together, to borrow a shirt to change his linnen; that he had also been twice forced from his house, and carried once to *Warwick*, and another time to *Banbury*. To the first of which places he was hurried away on a rascally jade of a horse, and was infamously abused by the soldiers there, and so sorely hurt, that at the writing of the said letter he was not perfectly restored, and doubted he scarce ever should be. The cause of all which ill usage was for that he had denied them money, and had defended his books and papers, and afterwards, while a Prisoner in *Warwick-castle*, he had spoken boldly in behalf of the King and Bishops. At length, after he had lived at *Okerton* several years in great poverty and obscurity, he was taken out of this world on the third of April, 1646, and was buried the day following in the chancel of the church at *Okerton*, which he had rebuilt some time before. In 1669 a stone, with an inscription, was laid over his grave, at the expence of the Warden and Fellows of New-college in Oxford, and an honorary monument, with an inscription, was erected by the same society in the cloyster of their college. Mr *Wood* observes, that though he was a person of small stature, yet was he of great parts, and of a public soul, and though a poor and contemptible priest to look upon (for so he was held by the vulgar) yet he not only puzzled *Christopher Clavius*, and the whole college of Mathematicians, but also that *Goliath* of literature, *Joseph Scaliger*, who, when he was worsted by our Author's writings (as was maintained by great men, and particularly *Archbishop Usher*) instead of acknowledging the superiority of his antagonist, meanly betook himself to abusive language, calling *Lydiat*, in the most scornful manner, a beggarly, beardless, and gelt priest. That as he was much esteemed by learned men at home, among whom, besides our Primate, were Sir *Adam Newton*, Secretary, and Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, Chamberlain to *Prince Henry*, Dr *John Bainbridge*, Mr *Henry Briggs*, Dr *Peter Turner*, &c. who were his great acquaintance, so was he by the Virtuosi beyond-sea, who even did not scruple to rank him with the Lord *Bacon* of *Verulam* and Mr *Joseph Mede*. And when they heard that *Lydiat* and *Mede* were very poorly preferred, they declared that the English were unworthy of such brave scholars, since they shewed no more regard for them. This character of Mr *Lydiat* was apparently drawn from a perusal of his works, of which therefore we shall give a list, as follows: 1. *Traclatus de variis annorum formis*, Lond. 1605, 8vo. 2. *Prælectio Astronomica de natura caeli et conditionibus elementorum*. 3. *Disquisitio Philologica de origine fontium*. These two were printed with the first, and are always bound up with it. 4. *Examen canonum chronologicæ Isagogicorum*, annexed to. 5. *Defensio Traclatus de variis annorum formis contra Josephi Scaligeri obtredationem*, Lond. 1607, 8vo. 6. *Emendatio temporum ab initio mundi huc usque compendio facta contra Scaligerum & alios*, Lond. 1609, 8vo. (*). 7. *Explicatio et additamentum argumentorum in libello emendationis temporum compendio factæ, de nativitate Christi & ministerio in terris*, printed in 1613, 8vo. 8. *Solis et Lunæ periodus, seu annus magnus*, Lond. 1620, 8vo. 9. *De anni solaris mensura epistola Astronomica ad Heu. Sarichum*, Lond. 1620-1, 8vo. 10. *Numerus annorum melioribus lapidibus insignitus, factusque gemmeus, et ab anno ann. magni, sive Solis et Lunæ periodus octid sexcentenniæ &c.* Lond. 1621, in one large sheet on one side. 11. *Canones chronologici, nec non series summorum magistratuum et triumphorum Romanorum*, Oxon. 1675, 8vo, printed from a manuscript in the library of Dr *J. L. Lambire*, Principal of *Hart-hall*, now *Herford-college*, Oxford. 12. Letters to Dr *James Usher*, afterwards Primate of Ireland, annexed to that Primate's life, published by Dr *Parr*, 1686. 13. *Marmorium chronon Arundelianum cum annotationibus*, printed in *Marmora Oxonijsis*, published

Both Inscriptions may be seen in Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 11. p. 149 & 155.

(*). Another edition was printed at the Hague, in 1654, 12mo.

the pursuit of knowledge he declined the provostship of his college to which he was elected in 1610 (q). Two years afterwards he commenced D. D. (r); and the next year, 1613, being at London, he published his first treatise [2.] *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu*; it was presented by Archbishop Abbot to King James, as the eminent first-fruits of Dublin University (s). Returning home a little before Midsummer, he married *Phæbe*, the only daughter of Dr *Luke Chaloner* [R] abovementioned. In 1615, he drew up articles of religion for the Church of Ireland; which being intirely Calvinistical in respect to the doctrine of absolute *predestination* and *reprobation*, a handle was made of this step to endeavour the ruin of his interest in King James, by representing him as inclined to Puritanism: but the impotent malice turned (as is not unusual in such cases) greatly to his advantage [S]. For coming, explaining both against the Millenaries of the elder and latter times. Parr.

(r) He was admitted by Dr Hampton, Abp. of Armagh, then Chancellor. Having performed the usual exercises, part of which being to read two lectures on some part of Scripture, he chose Dan. ix. 24, and Rev. xx. 4.

lished by *Humphrey Prideaux*. In this piece Mr *Lydiat* had animadverted upon the edition of the *Marmora Arundeliana* by Mr *Selden*, whom, instead of a most judicious, he has stiled only an *industrious Author*; which coming to the ears of that learned gentleman, was so much resented by him, that, though otherwise in general a friend and supporter of learned men under difficulties, yet, when desired and importuned to contribute towards *Lydiat's* release from prison, he absolutely refused. These are all the pieces of our Author's extant in print. He also left behind him a great number of manuscripts, most of which are: 1. Annotations upon that part of Mr *Edward Breweood's* treatise of the Sabbath, wherein he denies the Christian sabbath on the Lord's day, or the first day of the week, to be established *jure divino*, by God's commandment. The beginning of this manuscript *there was brought to me, being prisoner in the King's bench, on Friday evening, Dec. 3, 1630 &c.* which is mentioned, as it shews the time of his confinement in that prison. 2. Annotations upon some controverted points of the Chronical Canons. 3. A few annotations upon some places or passages of the second and third chapters of the book, intitled *Altare Christianum*. 4. A treatise touching the setting up of altars in Christian churches, and bowing in reverence to them or common tables, and bowing the knee or uncovering the head at the name or naming of Jesus, occasionally made in 1633, written upon the request of some London ministers, to declare his judgment therein, and dedicated to Archbishop Laud in gratitude for his releasing him out of prison, [which shews that he was not a prisoner in 1633, though probably discharged not long before]. In a postscript to this discourse about bowing at the name of Jesus, he endeavours to answer the four arguments of Bishop *Andrews* in his sermon on Philip. ii. 10, 11. 5. An answer to Mr *Joseph Mede's* treatise of the name of altar, or *ἁγίασηγιον*, anciently given to the holy table; written in February, 1637. 6. An answer to the *defence of the coal from the altar*. 7. *Evangelium contractum ex quatuor Evangelis &c.* written in Hebrew. 8. *Annales Ecclesiæ Christi inchoati secundum methodum Baronii*: This is written in Latin, but is imperfect. 9. *Chronicon Regum Judæorum methodo magis perspicua*, written in Hebrew. 10. *Mesolabium geometricum*. 11. *Chronicon mundi emendatum*. 12. *Divina sphaera humanorum eventuum*, dedicated to the King in 1632. 13. *Problema Astronomicum de Solis eccentricitate*. 14. *Diatribæ, et Animadversiones astronomicae ternæ*. 15. *Circuli dimensio Lydiatæa, Archimæda*. All which manuscripts, with others, treating of Divinity, Mathematics, and Astronomy, amounting to the number of thirty-eight at least, were bound up in twenty-two volumes, and reserved as rarities in the hands of the forementioned Dr *John Lamphire*, Principal of Hart-hall, now Hertford-college.

[2.] *His treatise De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu.*] This piece is a continuation of Bishop *Jewel's* Apology, written in answer to that captious question of the Papists, *where was your [Protestant] religion before Luther?* The design therefore is to prove that the protestant tenets are the same with those of the primitive church, in executing which *Jewel* shews, that there also were some visible members of this church down to the 6th century, which is here extended to the 13th by our Author, who further proves that there were some persons in the Western churches, during the darkest times of ignorance, not tainted with the errors of the Romish faith. It is divided into three parts. The first reaches to the tenth century, when *Gregory VII.* was raised to the popedom. The second was to have reached from that period to the year 1370. And the third was planned to bring it to the Reformation. How far he had brought it in this edition is seen in the following extract of a letter written to his brother-in-law, *Thomas Lydiat*, dated at Dublin, August 16, 1619. 'You have rightly observed,

' says he, that in my discourse, *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu*, there is wanting, for the accomplishment of the second part, an hundred years [from 1240 to 1370, viz. the last chapter of this part] which default in the continuation of the work is by me supplied. I purpose to publish the whole work together, much augmented, but do first expect the publication of my uncle *Stanyhurst's* answer to the former, which, I hear, since his death (52), is sent to Paris to be there printed. I am advertised also, that even now there is one at Antwerp who hath printed a treatise of my countryman *De sacro Bosco, De vera Ecclesiæ investigatione*, wherein he hath some dealing with me: Both these I would willingly see, before I set about reprinting my book, meaning, that if they have justly found fault with any thing, I may amend it; if unjustly, I may defend it (53). We have already shewn what reason he had to expect the answer here mentioned from his uncle; but that was never published, nor did our Author publish any other edition of his work, as he here purposed. Probably prevented by the distraction of the times (54). It was reprinted at Hanover in 1658, 8vo, without any amendments. In the last edition of 1687, containing likewise his *Antiquity of the British churches*, are these words in the title-page: *Opus integrum ab Auctore auctum et recognitum*, which Dr *Smith* observes was a meer puff of the Bookseller.

[R] *He married Dr Chaloner's daughter.*] This gentleman was descended from the ancient family of the *Chaloners* in Yorkshire. He was one of the four first Fellows of the college of Dublin (55), and had been a great assiter and benefactor to it, having been appointed Overseer of the building, and Treasurer for the money raised for that purpose, and was both a learned and pious man. In all these respects Dr *Usher* must needs be very agreeable to him, and we are assured that he courted this alliance, intending, had he lived, to have given this friend his only daughter, with a considerable estate in land and money (56). But dying before it was concluded (57), he charged her upon his death-bed, that, if Dr *Usher* would marry her, she should think of no other person for a husband; which command of her dying father she punctually obeyed, and continued his wife forty years, and was always treated by him with great tenderness to her death, which preceded his about a year and a half.

[S] *Turned in the end to his advantage.*] Among those articles, which amount to the number of 104, besides asserting the doctrine of predestination and reprobation in the strongest terms (58), one of them professes that there is but one catholic church, out of which there is no salvation; and another maintains that the sabbath-day ought to be kept holy (59). Upon these accounts, Dr *Heylin* called the passing of these articles an absolute plot of the Sabbatarians and Calvinists in England, to make themselves so strong a party in Ireland as to obtain what they pleased in this convocation (60). Our Author was well known to be a strong asserter of the predestinarian principles, and being besides of opinion, that episcopacy was not a distinct order, but only a different degree from that of Presbyters, he lay obnoxious enough to the charge of Puritanism. However, as he always warmly asserted the King's supremacy, and the episcopal form of church government established, and all the discipline of it, it is evident all the objections to him, as inclined to Puritanism, were the effect of party, the church beginning about this time to be divided between the Calvinistic and Arminian principles upon the quintarticular controversy. Dr *Parr* tells us his enemies were of no great repute for learning and worth, and that our Author, hearing of their attempts to rivet him out of his Majesty's favour, procured the following letter from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to the Privy-Council in England.

(q) He recommended Sir *William Temple's* Grandfather to it. *Smith*, p. 34.
(r) *Parr*, p. 13.
(s) They were framed with very little alteration from the nine Lambeth articles, so called, because confirmed there by Archbishop *Whitgift*, in 1595.

(52) He died at Brussels the year before. *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. i. col. 250.

(53) Letter 38 in *Parr's* collection.

(54) It is certain that, in his journey to *St Donat*, mentioned hereafter, he lost two MSS. concerning the *Waldenses*, which he had obtained toward the writing of this work. *Parr*, p. 60.

(55) There was only four appointed at first, viz. *Luke Chaloner*, *William Daniel*, *James Fullerton*, and *James Hamilton*.

(56) *Parr*.

(57) He died at Dublin on the 27th of April, 1612.

(58) From the 1Xth to the XVIIth inclusive.

(59) They were signed by Archbishop *Jones*, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and the Speaker of the House of Bishops in convocation, and Prolocutor of the clergy, and likewise by the Lord Deputy *Chichester* in King *James's* name, and by his Majesty's order.

(60) *Heylin's Petrus respondet*, p. 47.

(x) It was printed in 1621, in 4to. This and another printed in 1625, which was preached before the King at Wanstead, Jan. 10, 1624, on Esther iv. 14. are all the Sermons published by himself.

(y) Subjoined to Christ. Sibthorp's book upon the same subject, and reprinted at London in 1631, 4to. In it he endeavours to prove the religion of those ancient Christians to be the same with that of the Protestants, in the most material points of difference from the Church of Rome.

as his custom was, to England in the latter end of the year 1619, he brought a letter to the Privy-Council to clear him of that charge, and he afterwards gave the King in discourse such intire satisfaction in the point, that the Bishopric of *Meath* (*u*) being then vacant, his Majesty of his own accord nominated him thereto in 1620 [*T*]; soon after which, he preached before the House of Commons [*U*], on February 20 (*w*) that year, and printed his Sermon at their request (*x*). He was consecrated to his see on his return home the following year. In 1622, he published, at Dublin, his treatise concerning *The Religion of the ancient Irish and Britons* (*y*). And in October the same year, upon Lord Falkland's receiving the sword as Lord Deputy of Ireland, our Prelate preached a Sermon before him which gave great offence [*W*]: but at the censuring some officers on the 22d of November for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, he made a speech in the castle of Dublin in defence of that supremacy, for which he received a letter of thanks from his Majesty (*z*) [*X*]. In June,

(u) His conduct in the Government of this see, shews him to be far enough from being disaffected to the discipline of the established Church. See Parr, p. 27, 28.
(w) By mistake it is Feb. 19 in Parr, and so copied in the General Dictionary.

1623,

(z) Dr Parr has preserved an extract of this letter, p. 24, and 25.

‘ May it please your Lordships,
‘ The extraordinary merit of this bearer, Mr Doctor
‘ Uther, prevailed with us to offer that favour (which
‘ we deny to many that move us) to be recommended
‘ to your Lordships; and we do it the rather, because
‘ we are desirous to set him right in his Majesty's opi-
‘ nion, who it seemeth hath been informed, that he is
‘ somewhat transported with singularities, and unapt-
‘ nesses to be conformable to the rules and orders of
‘ the church. We are so far from suspecting him in
‘ that kind, that we may be bold to recommend him
‘ to your Lordships as a man orthodox, and wor-
‘ thy to govern in the church, when occasion shall be
‘ presented, and his Majesty may be pleased to advance
‘ him. He being one that hath preached before the
‘ state here for eighteen years, and hath been his
‘ Majesty's Professor of Divinity in the University thir-
‘ teen years, and a man who has given himself over to
‘ his profession. An excellent and painful preacher,
‘ a modest man, abounding in goodness, and his life
‘ and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with
‘ him are yet constrained to love and admire him. And
‘ for such a one we beseech your Lordships to under-
‘ stand him, and accordingly to speak to his Majesty.
‘ And thus, with remembrance of our humble duties,
‘ we take leave of your Lordships, most humbly at
‘ command. From Dublin the last of September, 1619.
‘ Adam Loftus, Chancellor; Henry Docwra; William
‘ Metberould; John King; Dudley Norton; Oliver St
‘ John; William Tuamensis; Francis Axingiers.’

Upon this letter the King sent for him, and, after much conversation upon the subject, declared his satisfaction in the Doctor, by saying, that the *Knave Puritan was a bad man, but the Knave's Puritan was an honest man* (61).

[*T*] *The King nominated him Bishop of Meath.*] Upon this occasion he received the following letter from the Lord Deputy of Ireland:

‘ My Lord,
‘ I thank God for your preferment to the bishopric
‘ of Meath. His Majesty thereto hath done egregious
‘ favour to his poor church here. There is none here
‘ but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto:
‘ Even some Popish gentlemen themselves have largely
‘ testified their gladness of it. Your grant is, and other
‘ necessary things shall be, sealed this day or tomorrow.
‘ I pray God bless you and whatever you undertake.
‘ So I rest,

‘ Your Lordship's most affectionate Friend,

Dublin, Feb. 3, 1620. ‘ Oliver Grandison (62).’

[*U*] *He preached before the House of Commons.*] Upon his appointment to preach on the 7th of February, the Prebendaries of Westminster-abbey claimed the privilege of their church, and their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction for many years, and offered their service (63); whereupon the House being displeas'd, appointed the place to be at the Temple, and he was ordered a second time to preach before them. And Secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the House, spoke to the King that the choice of their Preacher might stand. The King said it was well done. Feb. 13 the Bishop was at court, kissed the King's hand, and had a conference with him upon his sermon: when his Majesty told him he had an unruly flock to look after next Sunday, observed that the House were in no proper temper for receiving the Sacrament, that after the late contentions many might eat their own condemnation. He bid the Bishop tell them he hoped they were prepared, but

wished they might be better: to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their Prince and Country; to look to the urgent necessity of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom; concluding with *his dat qui cito dat*. Feb. 27 the House sent Sir James Perrot and Mr Drake to give him thanks, and desire him to publish his sermon, which was done accordingly (64).

[*W*] *A sermon which gave great offence.*] We have an account of this by himself in a letter to Lord Grandison from Dublin, Oct. 16, 1622, wherein he acquaints that nobleman (late Lord Deputy) that, taking his text in Rom. xiii. *He beareth not the sword in vain*, he expressed his wishes, that if his Majesty were pleased to extend his clemency towards his subjects, that were Recufants, some order notwithstanding might be taken with them, that they should not give us public affronts, and take possession of our churches before our faces. ‘ I also intreated, continues he, that, whatever con-
‘ nivance were used to others, the laws might be strictly
‘ executed against such as had revolted from us (65).’ Upon this a report was raised that he had said, *the sword had rested too long in the sheath*. But the reason of this address to Lord Grandison was what some gave out, that he had taxed his Lordship with being too remiss in prosecuting the Papiists during his government, which he here expressly denies. However that be, it is certain he fell under the displeasure of his Metropolitan, Dr Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, who wrote him the following letter.

‘ My Lord,

‘ In the exceptions taken by the Recufants against
‘ your sermon, I cannot be affected as Gallo was at the
‘ beating of *Sophenes*, to take nothing for them. I am
‘ sensible of that which my brethren suffer: and, if my
‘ advice had been required, I should have counselled
‘ your Lordship to give lenitives of your own accord
‘ for all which was conceived over-harsh or sharp. The
‘ Inquisition, whether an offence were given or taken,
‘ may add to the flame already kindled, and provoke
‘ further displeasure; it is not like to pacify anger.
‘ But let your case be as good as Peter's was, when
‘ the brethren charged him injuriously with preaching
‘ to the uncircumcised, the great Apostle was content
‘ to give them a public satisfaction, *Act. ii.* and it
‘ wrought good effects; for the text, says his auditors,
‘ *quieverunt & glorificaverunt Deum*, it brought peace
‘ to the congregation and glory to God.

‘ My noble Lord Deputy hath propounded a way of
‘ pacification, that your Lordship should satisfy such of
‘ the Lords as could be present, wherein my poor en-
‘ deavours shall not be wanting. Howbeit (to say in-
‘ genuously as I think) that is not likely to have success;
‘ for my Lord of Kilkenny and your other friends, try-
‘ ing their strength in that kind at *Trim*, prevailed not,
‘ but can tell your Lordship what is expected. And
‘ if my wishes can take place, seeing so many men
‘ having something against you, tarry not till they com-
‘ plain, but prevent it by a voluntary retraction, and
‘ milder interpretation of the points offensive, especially
‘ of drawing the sword, of which spirit we are not, nor
‘ ought to be; our weapons are not carnal, but spiritual.
‘ Withal it will not be amiss, in mine opinion, for your
‘ Lordship to withdraw yourself from these parts, and
‘ to spend more time in your own diocese, that such as
‘ will not hear your doctrine may be drawn to love and
‘ reverence your Lordship for your hospitality and con-
‘ versation (66).’

[*X*] *He made a speech &c.*] This speech is too long to be inserted here (67), and contains nothing more than the common arguments. However, it had so good

(64) In this sermon he states the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Sacrament against the real presence. In which view he refers to it in his treatise against *Malene* the Jesuit, ch. iii. *in initio*, and gives the substance of it.

(65) Letter 53 in Parr's collection.

(66) Letter 54 *ibid.*, dated from Treilagh, October 17, 1622.

(67) It is printed by Dr Parr, p. 19 to 24.

(61) Parr.

(62) *Idem.*

(63) Dr Laud, afterwards Abp of Canterbury, was installed a Prebendary a few weeks before. See his article.

(aa) Letter 55 in Parr's Collection from Mr Henry Holcroft to our Bishop, dated June 13, 1623.

(dd) Ibid. p. 26, it was held in Nov. 1625. The event was of singular service to Lady Peterborough, and the grateful sense she had of it will be seen in the sequel.

(68) See Wilkin's Concil. Brit. & Hibern. Vol. IV. p. 445.

(*) To the same purpose it is said that Sir John Savile once brought our Archbishop, under the notion of a country parson, to dispute with a learned Jesuit, who, upon trial, said, that country Vicar had more learning than all the Bishops in England. Ducat. Leod. p. 626.

(69) Bates, ubi supra, p. 741.

1623, he was constituted a Privy-Counsellor of Ireland (aa), and went not long after to England, by his Majesty's special command, in order to carry on a work, which he had begun some time before, concerning the antiquity of the British Churches (bb). This business keeping him here till the death of Dr *Christopher Hampton*, Archbishop of Armagh, in January 1624, made way for his advancement to that see, upon which occasion he prepared to return to Ireland; but being seized with a quartan ague, which held him nine months, it was August 1626, when he arrived there (cc). Before he left England, he had a disputation (dd) with a Popish Priest at *Drayton in Northamptonshire*, the seat of Lord *Mordaunt*, afterwards Earl of *Peterborough*, who thereby became a convert to the Protestant religion [Y]. King James granted him the temporalities of the Archbishopric, notwithstanding his absence, and he was ordered four hundred pounds sterling out of the revenues of Ireland, by King Charles I, not long after his accession to the throne (ee). Being now at the head of the Irish Church, he omitted nothing which might either reform the abuses, or relieve the wants of it, both in regard to doctrine and discipline [Z], keeping a watchful eye to defeat the restless endeavours of its nearest and most dangerous enemies the Papists. In this spirit, he opposed vigorously a design which was set on foot by them in the winter after his arrival for granting a more full toleration to them [AA]. At the same time observing the

(bb) See remark [HH].

(cc) Parr, p. 27.

(ee) Ibid. p. 264.

an effect, that diverse of the offenders being satisfied they might lawfully take the oath of supremacy, did thereby avoid the sentence of *Præmunire*, then ready to be pronounced against them. It must be observed, that there had been a synodical meeting (as it is called) of the popish clergy, together with some common lawyers, and Monks of the Cistercian, Franciscan, and Jesuits order, wherein a decree was made, declaring the absolute unlawfulness of taking this oath of supremacy (68).

[Y] *He disputed with a Jesuit, and converted Lord Mordaunt to the protestant religion.* He was scarce recovered from his ague, when Lord Mordaunt, a zealous Roman catholic, being greatly desirous to bring his Lady into the pale of that church, concluded, that there could be no better or more certain way of bringing it about, than to procure a disputation to be held between two learned and principal persons, one of each side, at which his Lady should be present. In that resolution he chose, for the champion of his own cause, the Jesuit *Beaumont*, whose true name was *Rookwood*, being brother to that *Rookwood* who was executed for the gunpowder treason. Against this antagonist Lady Peterborough chose our Primate, who, notwithstanding his health was not sufficiently confirmed to engage in such a task, yet from the ardent zeal for the reformed doctrine, with which he was constantly animated, and to save a soul from falling into the wiles of an artful Jesuit, he did not refuse to comply with her Ladyship's request. The place appointed for holding the disputation was my Lord's seat at *Drayton in Northamptonshire*, a place very proper for the business, as being furnished with a most copious library of the writings of all the ancient fathers of the church, which were ready at hand, if it should happen (which is ordinarily the case) that any of them should be referred to in the engagement. The heads of the dispute were agreed to be upon *Transubstantiation; the Invocation of Saints; of Images; and the Perpetual Visibility of the Church.* After it had been held for three days, five hours each day, in which our Primate sustained the part of Respondent, that office for the fourth day lay upon Beaumont, according to the regulation settled by himself. But no Jesuit then appeared. On the contrary, he sent a letter to the Baron, with an excuse for the default, alledging, *that all the arguments which he had formed had slipped out of his memory, nor was he able by any effort to recollect them, imputing the cause of the misfortune to a just judgment of God upon him, for undertaking of his own accord, without the licence of his Superiors, to engage in a dispute with a person of so great eminence and learning as the Primate (*).* Such a shameful tergiversation sunk deeply into the mind of Lord Mordaunt, so that, after some conferences with the Primate, he renounced popery, and continued in the profession of the protestant faith to the end of his life. This account is given in the life of our Archbishop by Dr *Nicholas Bernard*, who says he had it from an eye and ear witness. And it is in a great measure confirmed by the reproach thrown upon Beaumont by *Chaloner*, a secular priest, who in a piece wrote against the Jesuit, admonishes him *to beware of Drayton-house, lest he should there chance to light upon another Usher, and be again put to flight, to the great disgrace both of himself and his profession* (69). As to the Primate, the eminent service done by this disputation to Lady Peterborough could not but be very sensibly felt by her; and that it was so, she gave his Grace sufficient proofs in that extraordinary kindness and respect which she shewed to him all his life after.

[Z] *He reformed the doctrine and discipline of the Irish church.* For that purpose he made frequent personal visitations, admonishing those of the clergy whom he found faulty, and giving excellent advice and directions to the rest, charging them to use the liturgy of the church in all public administrations, and to preach and catechise diligently in their respective cures, and to make the Holy Scripture the rule as well as the subject of their doctrine and sermons. He also endeavoured to reform the Proctors, Apparitors, and other officers of the Ecclesiastical courts, where there were many great complaints of abuses and exactions in his Predecessor's time (70).

(70) Parr, p. 27, 28.

[AA] *He opposed a full toleration to the Papists.* The propositions to which the Papists offered to consent, in case of a more full toleration, were to pay their quota towards maintaining 500 horse and 5000 foot-soldiers: Upon which occasion a general assembly of the nation, both Protestants and Papists, was called by the then Lord Deputy Falkland in the hall of the castle of Dublin. The Bishops, by the Lord Primate's invitation, met first at his house, where a protestation was drawn up in form, importing, that the popish religion being superstitious and idolatrous, a full toleration of it would be sinful, and moreover a matter of most dangerous consequence. This paper was signed by our Archbishop at the head of eleven Prelates, one of whom [the Bishop of Derry] at the next meeting of the assembly, April 23, 1627, published it at Christ-church before the Lord Deputy and Council in the middle of his sermon, wherein he declared warmly against the toleration; in which he was seconded by the Primate in a sermon preached the Sunday following before the same auditory (71). Hereupon other resolutions were taken. Mr *Bayle* (72) having transcribed Bates's account (73) of this proceeding of the Bishops, makes the following remark: 'I am to observe, that our Archbishop and his Suffragans acted according to the principles of those who are the most rigid enemies to toleration, they not grounding their declaration upon political reasons, like moderate men of that party, but only on the nature of the worship in the popish communion, without once mentioning its persecuting spirit, which is the only reason why even such as favour toleration suppose that it ought not to be tolerated.' To pass by this Critic's rash assertion, that the favourers of toleration ground their opinion of exempting Popery only upon account of its persecuting spirit, the contrary of which is notoriously evident in our famous Poet *Milton*, who gives the very same reason for denying a Toleration to Popery with our Archbishop, viz. *its idolatry* (74). It will be sufficient to represent the true state of the case with respect to the Primate's conduct, which probably was unknown to Bayle. The Papists here understood by the Irish Bishops protestation were such as either descended of the race of the ancient English, or such as held their estates from the crown, who being generally loyal subjects to his Majesty, thereupon took this occasion to propose the suspension of the laws against Recusants. This raised a murmur among several of the Protestants, for whose satisfaction it might be very necessary for the Bishops to make the mentioned declaration. But that the Primate had no such spirit of Intolerance as is here intimated by his Accuser, is evident from what followed, which was, That the Protestants, refusing to contribute their quota to the support of a standing army, were assured that the laws against Recusants should remain in full force, and that if the Papists, on the other hand,

(71) Parr, p. 29.

(72) Under our Prelate's article, remark [B] at the end.

(73) In vita Ufferii, p. 741, 742.

(74) Milton's treatise of true religion, heresy, schism, and toleration, in his works, Vol. II. Edit. 1753, 419.

daily growth and increase of Arminianism, which was looked on by him as a very dangerous doctrine, he employed some time in searching into the original of the *Predestinarian Controversy*, and meeting with a curiosity upon that subject, he published it in 1631, at Dublin (ff) in 4to [BB]; as he did also another in 1632 (gg), *Concerning the ancient Irish Church* [CC]. This year he was likewise employed in recovering several lands belonging to his own diocese, in which he was assisted by Archbishop Laud (bb). From the time that Lord *Wentworth Earl of Stafford* held the post of Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Archbishop left no means untried to improve the revenues of that Church in general [DD], hav-

(ff) It was the first book in Latin that was printed in Ireland.

(gg) Which was reprinted in 1665, 4to, at Paris.
(bb) See his letters to that Archbishop, No. 154, and 172, in Parr's Collection.

would give nothing without such a suspension, they might perhaps agree that the condition of the kingdom required some standing forces. It was resolved therefore, by the Lord Deputy and Council, that the *Primate* should, in regard of his great esteem with all parties, declare, in a speech to the whole assembly, the true state of the kingdom, and the necessity of a standing army for the defence thereof against any foreign invasions or intestine commotions; and consequently, that a competent supply was needful for that purpose, and to be raised, without any condition whatsoever, as well by the Roman catholic as Protestant subjects. The speech is too long to be inserted here, though it is an exquisite proof of his Lordship's abilities in matters of state, and being transmitted by the desire of the Lord Deputy to the King, was well approved by him. The following passage in it is apparently a full vindication of the Archbishop against Bayle's accusation of a persecuting spirit. 'Where the burden is born, says he, in common, and the aid required to be given to the Prince by his subjects of different judgments in religion, it stands not with the ground of common reason, that such a condition should be annexed unto the gift as must of necessity deter the one party from giving at all upon such terms as are repugnant to their consciences: as therefore on the one hand, if we desire that the Recufants should join with us in granting a common aid, we should not put in the condition of executing the statute, which we are sure they would not yield unto; so on the other hand, if they would have us to join with them in the same contribution, they should not require the condition of suspending the statute to be added, which we in conscience cannot yield unto. The way will be then freely to grant unto his Majesty, without all manner of conditions that may seem unequal unto any side, and to refer unto his own sacred breast how far he will be pleased to extend or abridge his favour; of whose lenity, in forbearing to execute the statute, our Recufants have found such experience, that they cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, than now already they do freely enjoy.' The inference from this argument is obvious; That though it could not consist with a conscientious regard for the safety of the true religion, to consent that Popery, as being idolatrous, should have the sanction of a law to warrant the exercise of it, yet he expressly approves his Majesty's lenity in forbearing to restrain that exercise, except where the safety of the public, and thence of the established religion therewith, makes it necessary. In short, he is for keeping the rod in his hand, but to use it sparingly against them. Is not this the principle which is universally maintained at this day by the favourers of Toleration?

[BB] He published a curiosity upon the *Predestinarian controversy*.] It is entitled, *Goteschalti & predestinarianæ Controversiæ ab Eo motæ historia* (75). Our Author had begun twelve years before to make collections for a history of Predestinarianism; but, upon the coming out of that history by *Vossius* (76), he dropt his design of publishing any thing of it except these written by *Goteschalt* himself, which were not mentioned by *Vossius*, and had never been printed. He had procured them out of *Corbey* abbey in France. Thus he writes to *Dr Ward* (76), who had assisted him about the same time with some observations touching the nickname of the *Predestinarians*, imposed by the *Semipelagians* on the followers of *St Austin*. Hereby it is seen how much reason we have, at this time of day, to lament the great waste of time and labour which was thrown away upon this absurd doctrine by persons whose abilities might have been of so much more service to religion and learning upon better subjects. The only use such productions seem to be capable of being turned to at present is, to look upon them as so many *sea-marks*, to avoid falling into the like utilities.

[CC] Another concerning the ancient Irish church.] The title of this piece is, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, containing a choice collection of letters out of

several ancient manuscripts, and other Authors, to and from Irish Bishops and Monks, from anno 592 to 1180, concerning the affairs of the Irish church; which shew the great esteem, as well for learning as piety, in which the Bishops and Clergy of that church were held both at Rome, France, England, and elsewhere: with several matters relating to the great controversies of those times about the keeping of Easter, and also every thing relating to the ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction of the church of that kingdom.

[DD] He left no means untried for improving the revenues of the Irish church.] A remarkable instance of this appears in the warmth with which he opposed a patent granted to *Sir John Bathe* of 300l. per annum, at this time to be paid out of the impropriations. The *Primate* having given orders to stop his patent, received a letter from the Lords Justices, desiring him to declare his motives for it. In answer to which he expresses himself in these very warm terms: 'I cannot nor need not produce any other reason than that which I have done, and for the maintenance of the sufficiency whereof I will adventure all I am worth, namely, that, for the particular grant now in question, *Sir John Bathe's* letter hath been gotten from his Majesty by meer surreption, and therefore no patent ought to be passed thereupon. For though I easily grant, that my Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might certify unto his Majesty, that there was no other thing to be passed here but impropriations, though *Sir John Bathe*, I think, hath found already somewhat else to be passed in his books, and may do more, if he will not be too hasty, but take time to enquire; yet how does it appear, that either of these two noble gentlemen did as much as know that his Majesty had taken a former order for the settlement of these things upon the church, to which resolution had they been privy, I do so presume of their nobleness, and care of the publick good, that the remittal of a matter of 2000l. would not induce them to divert his Majesty from making good that precious donation, which, by the example of his father of never dying memory, he had solemnly devoted to God and his church; such an eximious act of piety as is not to be countervailed with 2000l. or 20000l. of any earthly treasure. But whatsoever they knew, or knew not, of his Majesty's own pious resolution, and constant purpose never to revoke that which he hath once given unto God, I rest so confident, as I dare pawn my life upon it, that, when he did sign those letters of *Sir John Bathe's*, he had not the least intimation given unto him, that this did any way cross that former gift, which he made unto the church upon so great and mature deliberation; as being grounded upon the advice first of the Commissioners sent into Ireland, then of the Lords of the Council upon their report in England, thirdly of King James that ever blessed Father of the church, and lastly of the Commissioners for Irish affairs, unto whom, for the last conclusion and debating of this business, I was by his now Majesty referred myself at my being in England (77). But it appears, by *Bishop Laud's* answer, that the seal was put to *Sir John Bathe's* grant in April before, of which doctrine, says that Prelate, you may make this use, what close conveyance and carriage there may be when the church is to be spoiled (78). *Sir John Bathe*, to procure this grant, had represented that the clergy had a third part of Ireland in their hands: To let that matter right, our Author had been at the pains of procuring a rental of all the revenues of the bishoprics and deaneries, which he sent to *Bishop Laud*. It appears also, by a letter of *Usher* to *Laud* (79), that the former was made by his Majesty Guardian of spiritualties for the Irish church; and in the same letter, recommending his nephew *Mr Usher* to the provostship of *Trinity-college*, he has this expression, 'I would rather lose my life than not to answer the trust reposed in me by my Sovereign.' Upon the whole it appears, by these letters, that he perfectly concurred with *Laud*

(75) He dedicates the piece to *Vossius*, for whom his Grace would willingly have procured the deanery of *Armagh*. Letter 144 in *Parr's Collection*, February 3, 1629. (76) Letter 149 *ibid.* dated December 10, 1630, where he writes that it was then finished.

(77) Letter 156, dated at *Drogheda*, April 3, 1630.

(78) Letter 166, dated July 5, 1630.

(79) No. 145 in *Dr Parr's Collection*.

ing for the use of it some years before obtained a grant from his Majesty of such impropriations belonging to the crown as were then leased out, as soon as they should fall (ii). In 1634, a little before the meeting of the Parliament, he preserved the right of his see to the primacy against the attempts of the Archbishop of Dublin, who challenged it (kk), in consequence of which his precedency to the Lord Chancellor was obtained at the same time. The Convocation meeting together with the Parliament, he had the principal hand in composing and establishing the Irish Canons, in which the liberties of that Church were maintained by him against Dr Bramhall, then Bishop of *London-Derry* [EE]. All this while he kept a correspondence in all countries for the advancement of learning [FF], whereby,

(ii) Parr, p. 41.
(kk) He wrote a paper upon this subject, which being sent to England, the right was declared in his favour by his Majesty. The precedency to the Lord Chancellor was given him without his seeking. Id. p. 41, 42.

in promoting the honour, power, wealth, and revenues of the hierarchy; so far was he from giving way to a spirit of Puritanism.

[EE] He drew up and defended the canons of the Irish church.] Bishop Bramhall proposed to have the canons of the church of England established for that of Ireland, without any alteration whatsoever. This was thought something prejudicial to the liberties of the Irish church; whereupon it was concluded that the church of Ireland should not be tied to that book, but that such canons should be selected out of the same, and such others added, as the present convocation should think fit, which was accordingly done, as appears from the view of each. It is more than probable that Bishop Bramhall was influenced by Archbishop Laud, who, upon passing these canons, wrote thus to Usher: 'For your canons, to speak truth, and with liberty and freedom, though I cannot but think the English canons intire (especially with some amendments) would have done better, yet since you and that church have thought otherwise, I do very easily submit to it.' His Grace afterwards writes thus: 'As for the particular about subscription, I think you have couched that very well, since, as it seems, there was some necessity to carry that article closely; and God forbid you should upon any occasion roll back upon your former controversy about the articles (80).' To explain his Lordship's meaning, it must be observed, that in those canons the thirty-nine articles of the church of England were received, and declared to be the confession of the faith of the church of Ireland, to which every clergyman was obliged to subscribe. Upon which Dr Heylin asserted, that the Irish articles of 1615 abovementioned were now repealed (81). But he recalled this error when he found (the truth) that the Irish articles were still retained and confirmed in these very canons. The Doctor indeed observed, that the inconsistency of the several articles proved the virtual repeal of the Irish ones: yet it is plain that this was not so understood at that time, nor for several years after, since both the Primate and all the rest of the Irish Bishops, at all ordinations, took the subscription of the party ordained to both sets of articles, till the Irish rebellion put a stop to all ordinations. However, since the Restoration of King Charles II, a subscription only to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England is required.

[FF] He kept a correspondence in all parts for the advancement of learning.] We have before, in the course of this work (82), mentioned his procuring a Latin translation of the *Chronicon Samaritanum* by Henry Hottinger, Professor of Hebrew at Zurich in Switzerland; and having also referred hither for an account of another of his correspondents (83), the present remark shall be employed in discharging that promise. The person was the famous *Christian Ravius*, *Rave*, or *Ravius*. He was born in Berlin, the capital city of the marquisate, as it then was, of Brandenburg in Germany, anno 1613, and after he had spent about eight years in some foreign academies, became a sojourner in Oxford in 1638; much about which time he addressed a letter to our Primate, who thereby perceiving his merit, gave him an invitation to come to Dublin, with a proffer of very honourable terms. In the mean time his merit coming to the knowledge of the famous *Hugo Grotius*, that excellently learned man, unawares to the Primate, commended and afterwards conveyed him with him to Cardinal *Richlieu*, then Arbiter of France, who, after discoursing him in a proper manner, offered to employ him as his Agent in the Eastern parts of the world; but Ravius modestly declined accepting the proposal, alledging his obligations to the English nation, and especially to our Primate, whereupon the Cardinal dismissed him with an honourable donative, says my Author, in the presence of that renowned Ambassador Grotius, with whose son (when a courtier in the court of the King of Sweden, anno 1636) (84), he had acquaintance at *Stockholm*. It

was therefore by the encouragement and munificence of our Primate that Ravius began his travels into the East. In these travels, being at Constantinople in 1639, our Primate wrote him a Latin letter, containing a promise to allow him 24l. a year towards his support, giving him instructions to procure, if possible, some manuscripts which he mentions to him (85). Here he became acquainted with Dr Pococke, then in that city upon the same design with Ravius, who, bringing with him ample testimonials of his worth, was kindly received by the English Ambassador there, as he was also by the English Consul of Smyrna, Mr *Edward Stringer*, a worthy and learned gentleman, who, for Dr Usher's sake, was never weary of shewing him all the favour he could. After his return into England, (bringing with him a choice treasure of Oriental manuscripts) the Primate's bounty was dispensed to him with so liberal and large a hand, that he confessed himself to have had all along an exceeding rich supply from that learned and religious person: and therefore, upon the consideration of so much generosity, and especially done to a stranger, only at the motion of the learned Dr *Eliehman*, he was enjoined by *John Gerbard Vossius*, and *Lud. de Dieu*, as an indispensable duty, to make a suitable acknowledgment for the same. Ravius was now settled in England, and in 1642 resided at Gresham-college, and afterwards at London-house, in both which places he taught the Eastern languages, being then subservient to the prevailing party here. Afterwards he took another ramble to Holland, and visited the principal towns of Amsterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, &c. In the beginning of the year 1648 we find him again in England, whither the hopes of being preferred by the Parliament had brought him. Accordingly, having taken the Covenant, he was made, by the parliamentary visitors, Fellow of *Magdalen-college* in Oxford; but finding few persons, either in that college or any other, inclined to the study of the Eastern tongues, wherein his excellency lay, he continued there not above a year. He had been encouraged a long time by the parliament committee to expect their favour, in succeeding his friend Mr Pococke as Arabic Professor in that University, a promotion which was much against the mind of our Primate, who used all his influence to dissuade him from pursuing his views of it. How far he was wrought upon by this great Patron is not known; but it is certain the design miscarried, and that he afterwards travelled into Sweden, became Professor of the Eastern languages in the University of *Upsal* there, and that, having married a Swedish woman, by whom he had a family of children, he was in a short time reduced to great poverty, all the revenues of the professorships in that University being applied to defray the expences of the war in which the Swede was engaged against the Dane about 1657. Hereupon he settled at *Kiel*, in the dutchy of *Holsatia* in Germany, and lived there in a comfortable condition till his death, which happened in 1677 (86). We have the following pieces of his writing: 1. Panegyricæ orationes duæ de linguis Orientalibus, Ultr. 1643-44, 4to. 2. Dissertatio de scribendo Lexico Arabico, Ibid. 1644, 4to. 3. Obtestatio ad universam Europam pro discendis rebus et linguis Orientalibus ac conjuganda Africa atque Asia eruditione, Ibid. 1644, in eight sheets folio: This was written at Constantinople four years before. 4. Orthographiæ et Analogiæ (vulgo Etymologiæ) Ebraicæ delineatæ juxta vocis partes abstractas; 1. Consonas, 2. Vocales, 3. Accentus, &c. Amstel. 1646, 4to. 5. Prima tredecim partium Alcorani, Arabico-Latini, ubi textus Arabicus, &c. Or thus, Primæ aliquot Alcorani Surata, &c. printed beyond-sea in 1646, 4to. 6. Specimen Alcorani Arab.-Lat. printed with the last-mentioned piece; as also, Catalogus CLXI manusciporum Arabicorum bibliothecæ Laurentinæ in Escuriali Regis Catholici, which catalogue was made by Licent. Castillius, August 16, 1583. 7. A discourse of the Oriental tongues, viz. Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, Lond.

(85) Letter CCCV in Parr's collection. It is dated Nov. 12, 1639.

(86) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 598; 599.

(80) Letter 184 in Parr. See also several particulars relating to this affair in a letter of Deputy Wentworth to Bishop Laud, dated Dec. 6, 1634, in *Straford's Letters*, &c. Vol. I. p. 343.

(81) *Petrus respondet*, Sect. IX. where he gives instances of this inconsistency, some of which are mentioned already.

(82) In Vol. V. p. 3374, remark [S], note (34).

(83) Ibid. p. 3378, remark [DD], note (60).

(84) *Hugo Grotius* was then Ambassador from Sweden to France, and his eldest son, *Cornelius*, in 1636, was Latin Secretary to *Oxenstiern*, then Prime Minister and High Chancellor of Sweden. *Life of Hugo Grotius* by *Burigny*, English Edit. 1754, 8vo, Book IV and VI. p. 339.

among other things, he had procured in 1634 a very curious copy of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* from the East; besides one of the old Testament in [GG] Syriac, and other valuable manuscripts. And notwithstanding the aforementioned necessary avocations in the discharge of his episcopal office, he prosecuted his studies with indefatigable diligence, the fruits of which appeared in 1638, when he published at Dublin, in 4to, his *Emanuel, or a Treatise on the Incarnation of the Son of God* (ll), which was followed by his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum* [III] *Antiquitates* (mm) in the ensuing year. In the beginning of 1640, he came into England with his family, intending (as before) to return in a year or two at farthest. Soon after his arrival he went to Oxford (nn) for the more convenience of pursuing his studies: but these were unhappily interrupted by the urgent necessity of the times which put him upon writing some pieces that were published at Oxford in 1641, upon the subject of episcopacy [II]: It was about this time also, that he drew up his remarkable treatise concerning *the Power of the Prince, and Obedience of the Subject* [KK], and the same year being

(ll) The second edition came out in 1643 at Oxford, the third at London in 1641, the fourth in 1642, and the fifth was reprinted in 1670 in 16. It is reckoned a matter of our Author.

1640-50. Svo: It treats of the antiquity, virtues, copiousness, use, unity, and canals of the said tongue. To it is annexed a copper-plate print, in form of an almanack, divided into several columns, one of which contains the orthography, another the etymology, of consonants, vowels, and accents, another the syntax of the holy tongue, &c. S. A general grammar of the Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, Chaldean, Arabic, and Ethiopic tongues, Lond. 1147, Svo. There are also other cuts annexed to this for the sake of explanation, and at the end is subjoined, *Sequitur Decuria epistolarum ad optatum ex variis orbis partibus commissarum, circa Orientalium studiorum promovendorum curam*, Lond. 1648, Svo. These epistles were written to Ravis by several learned men: Among others there is one of Mr (afterwards Dr) Edward Pococke, dated at Oxford, July 16, 1647, which begins thus: 'Clariff. et doctiff. Viri, Binus a Te literas accepi, nraque Libelles genuinum ingenii aritari factum, et affectus singularis indicium.' And a little after are these words: 'Concordantiarum compendium a Te elaboratum avidè expectamus, quod haud dubie usus singularis omnibus Christianis futurum &c.' 9. Epistole varie ad doctissimos Viros; besides other things, as his *Catena Magnetica*, his *Fons Zionis*, his *Chronologia Biblica*, &c.

Our Ravius had a brother, called *John Ravius*, who was Professor of Eloquence in the University of *Reslock*, who published an edition of *Cornelius Nepes* in 1636; as also, *Traclatus de profectionibus modalibus contra Scharfium*, 1637, and *Legica Novissima &c.* 1638.

[GG] *A very curious copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, &c.* It was one of the first of those Pentateuchs that ever were brought into these Western parts of Europe, as Mr Selden (86) and Dr Walton (87) acknowledge; and the Syriac Testament was much more perfect than had hitherto been seen in these parts. The other manuscripts were procured by the means of one Mr *Davies*, then a merchant at Aleppo. The Archbishop collated the Samaritan with the Hebrew, and marked the differences, after which he intended it for the library of Sir *Robert Cotton* (88). But this, as well as the other manuscripts, being borrowed of him by Dr *Walton*, and made use of by him in the edition of the Polyglot Bible, were not recovered out of the hands of that Bishop's executors till the year 1686, and are now in the *Bodleian* library at Oxford.

[III] *Britan. Eccles. Antiquitates.* This history contains a most exact account of the British church, from the first planting of Christianity in twenty years after our Saviour's crucifixion. He brings it down, both in Britain and Ireland, to the end of the VIIIth century. The piece was of great service, particularly to Dr *Lloyd* (89) and Bishop *Stillingfleet* (90), his followers upon the same subject. And a good use has been made of it by Mr *Thoresby* in an imperfect treatise, first printed in this work (91).

[II] *Some pieces upon the subject of Episcopacy.* These were: 1. *The judgment of Dr Reynolds concerning the original of Episcopacy defended.* 2. *The Original of Bishops, or a chorographical and historical disquisition touching the Indian or Proconsular Asia, and the seven metropolitane churches contained therein.* The design of this treatise is to prove, from Acts xix. 17. supported by Rev. ii. 1. and confirmed by Ecclesiastical history, that Bishops and Metropolitans were instituted by the Apostles; meaning only with regard to their superiority in degree; for he did not hold Episcopacy to be a superior order to Presbytery. He also endeavours to prove, that the Bishop of Ephesus was not only the Metropolitan of the Proconsular Asia, but the Primate or *Exarch* of all the provinces that were comprehended within the compass

of the whole Asian diocese; and that he acted suitably to the patriarchal jurisdiction, which was in effect conferred upon him. In the prosecution of the argument he shews: 1. That the Stars described in the Revelations are the Angels of the seven churches. 2. That these Angels were the several Bishops of those churches, and not the whole college of Presbyters. 3. That each of these seven churches was at that time a metropolis. 4. That these Bishops were ordained by the Apostles as constant permanent officers in the church, and so in a sort *Jure Divino*, not to be dispensed with except in cases of necessity. These tracts were printed with others upon the same subject under the following title: *Certain Chief treatises, written by diverse learned men, concerning the ancient and moderne government of the church, wherein both the primitive institution of episcopacy is maintained, and the lawfulness of the ordination of Protestant Ministers beyond the seas likewise defended*, Oxford, 1641, 4to. Some of his Grace's arguments in this learned tract have been generally thought too high-strained even by the orthodox part of Divines. No wonder therefore that Milton was raised to the height of exultation upon it. Nor is it more a wonder to find the fiery malevolence of that antiepiscopal spirit falling upon the Archbishop in his strongest fort, and where he is fairly defensible against any attack whatsoever. His Grace observes, that the ground of episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern prescribed in the Old Testament, and partly by the imitation thereof brought in by the Apostles. The champion for a Presbyterian parity takes this position to task, and having poured forth a redundancy of wit, void of solid reasoning, to prove the divine institution in the Gospel of the Presbyterian form of church government, he concludes in these words, which are produced as an exact sample of all that goes before: 'We may remember then, says he, that Prelaty neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the gospel; which assertion, as being for the plainness thereof a matter of eyesight rather than of disquisition, I voluntarily admit, not forgetting to specify this note again, that the earnest desire which the Prelates have to build their hierarchy upon the sandy bottom of the law, gives us abundantly to see the little assurance which they find to rear up their high roofs by the authority of the gospel; repulsed as it were from the writings of the Apollles, and driven to take sanctuary among the Jews. Hence that open confession of the Primate beforementioned, *Episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern of the Old Testament, and partly from the New as an imitation of the Old*; though nothing can be more rotten in divinity than such a position as this, and is all one as to say, Episcopacy is partly of divine institution, and partly of man's own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the pattern of the law than what the Apostles had already fetched, if they fetched any thing at all, as hath been proved they did not. So was Jeroboam's episcopacy, partly from the pattern of the law, and partly from the pattern of his own carnality; a party-coloured and a party-membered Episcopacy; and what can this be less than monstrous (91)?

[KK] *His piece upon the power of the Prince, &c.* This tract was not printed till after the Restoration, when it came out with a remarkable preface by Bishop Sanderfon. It is too well known to need any comment here. We shall only take notice, that Dr Parr seems to have had this look in his eye (92), where he tells us, that, after the sitting of the long parliament, the Primate made it his business, as well by preaching as writing, to exhort them to loyalty and obedience to

(91) *Pattern of church government, page 1 and 2. Prelaty. Book I. Chap. V.*

(92) *In the same work, p. 44.*

(86) The second edition of *Autoris Manuscriptum* was printed at Lon. in 1687. (87) An apartment was provided for him in the lodgings of Dr Marston, Regius Hebrew Professor. Parr, p. 44.

(86) In *Marmore Arund.* &c. (87) *Præfat. ad Bibl. Polyglott.*

(88) Our Author's letter to Mr Selden, No. 125 in Parr, where he gives an account of these MSS.

(89) In his *Historical Account of the ancient church government in Great Britain and Ireland.*

(90) In his *Origines Britannicæ.*

(91) See his article, in rem. [G].

ing consulted by the King in the *Earl of Strafford's* affair, he gave his opinion against his Majesty's signing the bill [LL] for attainting that nobleman. In the rebellion which broke out

' their Prince, endeavouring, to the utmost of his power, to heal up those breaches, and reconcile those differences, that were ready to break out both in church and state. The book was wrote by the King's command, but forborn then to be published because of the ' increasing violence of the times.' And, if we may believe the aforementioned writer of the Archbishop's life, the reason of his not doing it during the time of the *Usurper* was, an apprehension that either his adherents or others might interpret it to his advantage. It was published by his Grace's grandson, James Tyrrel, Esq; in 1661. Bishop Sanderson observes (93), that in it every thing may be found which can be met with either in the Holy Scriptures, fathers, philosophers, common reason, and the laws and statutes of the realm, to prove it altogether unlawful for a subject to take up arms against his sovereign Prince, and is also there made use of to the greatest advantage. Dr Parr has given his Grace's answers to several queries proposed to him while he was at Oxford concerning this matter, in one of which (94) he gives the following rule for obeying extrajudicial precepts of his Majesty: " If they be such, says he, as command me to be active in doing that which is unjust by the known law of the land, he yields true obedience that denies to fulfil such a command: Only this must not be generally pronounced as a rule in time of war, where necessity will be in many things a stronger law than that which is fixed for a peaceable government. But if they be any of such commands as make me only passive in requiring some of my estate by a loan or tax, I may not hastily square with my Sovereign by denial and standing out: For any man, as he may recede from his right, and that which is his own, so ought he not to contest with his Sovereign upon matters of no very great moment. As for the infringing of the liberties of the Subject, such taxes or loans, or any other extrajudicial commands, must be general, extending to all or most subjects; and customary, being often imposed before they can be judged so immediately to infringe the Subject's liberties, as to make a subject think he is bound to deny." Hence it appears, that the Archbishop knew how to distinguish between unlimited passive obedience and legal resistance. He held every means for defending and maintaining the liberties of the Subject lawful except that of taking up arms against him: But all attempts of that kind, either by open violence or secret machinations, he absolutely condemned, as built apparently upon popish principles, which he took all proper occasions to expose. In that spirit we find him preaching a remarkable sermon in St Mary's church at Oxford, before the University, on the fifth of November this same year 1640 (95). One *Ralph Buckland*, a popish priest, had published two tracts in 12mo, intitled: 1. *Seven Sparks of the enkindled Soul.* 2. *Four Lamentations, which, composed in the hard times of Queen Elizabeth, may be used at all times when the church happeneth to be extremely persecuted:* Drawn out of the Holy Scriptures, after the form of psalms. To these was subjoined a *Jesus psalter*. Where or when these were printed is not mentioned in the title-page. However, that it was after the accession of King James I. to the crown of England appears in the first psalm, p. 12. thus: *By the hand of thy great Servant James shake off our yoke, that we may find him an honorable Comforter— Beautify him with a name more precious than his crown; by the true name of a good King, &c.* Our Primate having procured a copy of these pious pieces, took occasion in the sermon just mentioned to observe, that the said tracts having been printed at *Rome* in 1603, or thereabouts, the Gunpowder-treason, which was not discovered till 1605 in England, was known two years before at *Rome*, where these two tracts were printed in 1603, or thereabouts; and that prayers were sent up there at the same time for the prosperous success of the said treasonable plot, which was evident from several passages in these tracts, which he read before his audience, as follows: Pf. ii. p. 25. *Confirm their hearts in hope; for the redemption is not far off. The year of visitation draweth to an end: and Jubilation is at hand.*— Pf. ii. p. 32. *But the memory of Novelties shall perish with a crack: as a ruinous house falling to the ground.*— Ibid. p. 33. *He will come as a flame that burneth out beyond the furnace, &c. His fury shall fly forth as thunder.*— Pf. iv. p. 54. *The crack was heard into all lands; and made Nations quake for fear.*— Ibid. p. 66. *In a moment*

canst thou crush her bones, &c. But we must not omit the remarks made hereupon by Mr Wood, who, having informed us, that all these passages delivered from the pulpit by our learned and godly Archbishop were then generally believed, proceeds thus: ' I must make bold to tell the Reader, being an eager pursuer of truth, that, by the several copies of the said books which I have seen, it doth not appear at all that they were printed at *Rome* (96), or where else: and if it may really be guessed by the make or mould of the letter where-with they were printed, I should rather take them (as one or more Doctors of the University do the like) to have been printed either at *Rheims* or *Doway*, or not unlikely at Antwerp: For at *Rome* there were seldom before that time, then or since, such fine or clear letters used, as by multitudes of books which I have seen, that were printed at that place, appears; nor indeed ever were or are any English books printed there (97).' This most diligently inquisitive writer furnishes us, pursuant to the plan of his work, with an account of the author, *Ralph Buckland*, who, he says, was ' an Esquire's son, born and descended from an ancient genteel family of his name at *West Harptree* in *Somersetshire*, became a Commoner of *Magdalen-college*, Oxford, in Michaelmas term, 1579, aged fifteen, or thereabouts; but, before he took a degree, went to London, and studied the *Common law*. At length, being inflamed with a love to the *Roman catholic religion*, he left his parents, country, and the prospect of a fair inheritance (for he was the first heir to his father) and went forthwith (by the instigation, without doubt, of some priest) to the English college at *Rheims*; in which place and at *Rome* he spent about seven years, in the eager obtaining of knowledge in philosophy and divinity. Afterwards being made priest, and sent into the *mission* of *England*, lived chiefly, I presume, in his own country, and spent above twenty years in doing offices belonging to his profession.' Then follows an account of his writings, beginning with the two tracts abovementioned, which he calls, *Two little things that contain ejaculations very full of most fervent devotion for the reconciliation of England and Scotland to the Romish church.* The next piece is, *An Embassy from Heaven, wherein our Lord Christ giveth to understand his indignation against all such as, being catholically minded, dare yield their presence to the rites and public prayers of the malignant church*, in 8vo, without date of time or place. He also translated, from Latin into English, a book, intitled, *De persecutione Vandelica*, lib. 3. written in Latin by *Victor*, Bishop of *Biserte* or *Benserte* in *Africa*. Also the six tomes of *Laur. Surius, De vitis Sanctorum*. After this the conclusion follows in these terms: " What else our zealous Author hath written and translated I find not as yet, nor any thing else of him only that he, dying in 1611, was buried, I presume, in his own country, near to the graves of his ancestors, who were all zealous *Roman catholics*, but since not. He left behind him, among the Brethren, the character of a most pious and seraphical person, a person who went beyond all of his time for fervent devotion (98)." We have transcribed this article of *Buckland*, in Mr Wood's own words, because it is a remarkable instance of the truth of Bishop *Burnet's* charge against the *Antiquary* for his partiality to the *Roman catholics* (99).

[LL] He gave his opinion against his Majesty's signing that bill.] His Grace having been misrepresented in this matter, we shall give a just account of it; and first from Dr *Nicholas Bernard's* funeral sermon, in the preface to which he declares he had the account from the Primate himself in writing, as follows: ' That Sunday morning wherein the King consulted with the four Bishops (of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle) the Archbishop of *Armagh* was not present, being then preaching (as he then accustomed every Sunday to do) in the church of *Covent-garden*; where a message coming unto him from his Majesty, he descended from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, he was then, as he saw, employed about God's business; which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the King to understand his pleasure. But the King spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the *Lord Strafford's* case with the Lords of the Council and the Judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted into his Majesty's presence. There

(93) In the preface.

(94) Viz. the 7th. There are eight queries in all.

(95) MS. in Biblioth. Tho. Marshall, coll. Lincoln. Oxon.

(96) I believe it will hardly be doubted that the Primate had proper information of the time and place where the books were printed, probably by the same conveyance that procured them for him.

(97) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 375.

(98) Ibid. col. 374, 375.
(99) Vindication &c. and Answer &c. of the Oxford Historiographer, prefixed to the 2d Volume of Athen. Oxon. Second Edition, 1721.

out this year in Ireland, the Popish party made spoil of all the effects of the Primate, except some furniture in his house at *Drougheda*, and his library there, which were conveyed thence to *Chester*. Thus deprived and plundered, he never more saw his native country, and had the Bishoprick of Carlisle, lately vacant by the death of *Dr Potter*, given him by the King to hold in commendam; but the revenues of it were much impaired by the quartering of the Scotch and English armies upon it: neither did he above once or twice receive the annual pension of four hundred pounds voted to be given him by the Parliament, upon their seizing the Bishop's lands [MM]. In 1642, he returned to Oxford, where besides his

close

There the question was again agitated, whether the King in justice might pass the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford; for that he might shew mercy to him was no question at all, no man doubting but that the King, without any scruple of conscience, might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of state, in which the Bishops were made neither Judges nor Advisers, did not hinder him. The whole result therefore of the determination of the Bishops was to this effect, that therein the matter of fact and matter of law were to be distinguished. That of matter of fact he himself might make a judgment; having been present at all the proceedings against the Earl, where, if, upon hearing the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes where-with he was charged, he could not in justice condemn him. But for matter of law, what was reason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the Judges, whose office it was to declare the law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently between him and his subjects, which gave his Majesty occasion to complain of the dealing of the Judges with him not long before; that, having earnestly pressed them to declare in particular, what point of the Lord Strafford's charge they judged to be treasonable, (forasmuch as, upon hearing of the proofs produced, he might in his conscience perhaps find him guilty of the fact) he could not by any means draw them to nominate any in particular, but that, upon the whole matter, treason might justly be charged upon him. And in this second meeting it was observed, that the Bishop of London spake nothing at all; but the Bishop of Lincoln not only spake, but put a writing also into the King's hand, wherein what was contained the rest of his brethren knew not (100).

(100) Parr, p. 46.

This account is certainly sufficient to any candid Enquirer. But it having been laid to the Primate's charge, that he persuaded the King to sign this bill out of revenge, because the Earl, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had outwitted him, and made him the instrument, before he was aware, of abrogating the Irish articles of religion, that pretence has been invalidated, as we have already seen, by *Dr Parr*, who exposes it smartly enough, observing, that if the Primate had any private grudge against the Earl upon this score, he carried it very slyly, inasmuch that neither the Earl himself nor any of his friends were sensible of it. For, says he, whilst the Earl continued in Ireland, there never was any dispute or unkindness between them, but they parted good friends. The Earl wrote to him after this business, and not long before his going for England, full of kindness and respect. And after the Earl's commitment to the black rod, as also when he was a prisoner in the Tower, the Primate frequently visited him, and the Earl was pleased to consult with him in divers matters relating to his defence at his trial. Now certainly, had the Earl believed that the Primate bore any malice towards him, much more had advised the King to put him to death (which could not have been well concealed from him) though we may suppose the Earl had so much Christian charity as to forgive so great an injury, yet, it is not very likely that he should exercise such a piece of mortification as to chuse him, whom he believed to be the promoter of his death, to prepare him for it, and to be the man to whom he addressed his speech upon the scaffold, and whose assistance he desired in that his last extremity. *Dr Parr* likewise assures us (101), that, in the Primate's extreme illness at *St Donate's* castle in Wales, he asked his Grace whether he had advised the King to pass the bill against the Earl of Strafford. To which the Primate answered: *I know there is such a thing most wrongfully laid to my charge; for I neither gave nor approved of any such advice, as that the King should assent to the bill against the Earl; but, on the contrary, told his Majesty, that, if he was satisfied, by what he had heard at his trial, that the Earl was not guilty of treason, his Majesty ought not in conscience to consent to his condemnation. And this the King knows well enough; and can clear me, if he please.* Nor was the Pri-

(101) Page 61.

mate, continues *Dr Parr*, mistaken in this: For when, not long after, it was told his Majesty at Oxford, that the Archbishop of Armagh was dead, he spoke to Colonel *William Legg* and Mr *Kirk*, then of the Bedchamber, to this effect, 'that he was very sorry for his death,' together with high expressions of his piety and merits. And when one there present replied, 'that he believed he might be so, were it not for his persuading your Majesty to consent to the Earl of Strafford's execution.' To which the King in a great passion returned, *that it was false*; 'for, said he, after the bill was past, the Archbishop came to me, saying, with tears in his eyes, 'Oh Sir! what have you done? I fear that this will prove a great trouble to your conscience, and pray God that your Majesty may never suffer by the signing of this bill;' or words to that effect (102). Moreover it is certain, that his Majesty, the next day after he had signed the bill, and the day before the Earl's execution, pitched upon the Primate as the fittest person to be entrusted with a message of the most interesting nature, to be delivered privately to the Earl. We have a letter, written by Mr *Radcliff* to William Earl of Strafford (son to the former Earl) the contents of which are as follows:

(102) Of this *Dr Parr* had an affidavit, signed by the persons here named.

My Lord,

Since I wrote last to your Lordship, my Lord Primate hath shewed me my Lord Primate *Usher's* *Anna-nack*. In the beginning whereof I find written what is contained in the note I here send your Lordship, the contents whereof being the only occasion of this letter. I rest,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble

Dublin,
Nov. 17,
1666.

And obedient Servant,

Thomas Radcliffe.

P. S. The Lord Primate *Usher's* note.

May 11, 1641.

The King wisheth me to deliver unto my Lord *Strafford* tomorrow,

1. That if the King's life only were hazarded thereby, he would never have given passage unto his death.
2. That the execution, without extreme danger, could not be deferred.
3. That he was moved by the Lords for his wife and children, and intended to dispose his entire estate upon them.
4. That if his son be capable, he will take especial notice of him for his employment and preferment (which I must tell none but him).
5. That for Lord Chancellor *Lowther* and *Derry*, he stops the proceedings, until they give good reason for their authority.
6. Lord *Dillon's* ability above all the Natives.
7. Earl of *Ormond* will be Knight of the Garter in his place.
8. *Carpenter* to be at liberty to look to his estate, or any one whom he shall appoint to have care of his children (103).

[MM] He was plundered upon seizing of the Bishop's lands.] *Dr Bernard*, in his funeral sermon, tells us, that about this time Cardinal *Richelieu* invited him into France, with a promise of a very noble pension, besides freedom of his religion: And *Dr Parr* observes this is not unlikely (though he never heard his Lordship speak of it) from an instance of the honour that Cardinal shewed him, upon receiving a present of his treatise of the antiquity of the British churches, by a letter full of kindness and respect, accompanied with a gold medal of considerable value, with his own effigies stamp't upon it, which, says *Dr Bernard*, is still preserved. The

(103) *Strafford's* Letters, &c. Vol. II. verus finem, where there is also a letter of the Earl to Sir G. Radcliff with this expression: *The King saith he will give all my estate to my son, sends me word so by my Lord Primate.*

same

(pp) In 1647, he printed at London in 4to, under the title of *Appendix Ignatiana*, a new edition of the genuine letters of Ignatius, with a new Latin version, and some pieces relating to Ignatius, with remarks, in which he endeavours to prove the genuineness of those letters, and explains several points of

close application to study, he preached every Sunday at some of the churches [NN]. The following year he was nominated one of the *Assembly of Divines* at *Westminster*, but was so far from complying to it, that he even spoke against their authority in some of his sermons, upon which he was not only voted out again, but his library seized by the Parliament; yet he met with some friends who redeemed it [OO]. In 1644, he published (oo) at Oxford *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ, &c. (pp). Quibus præfixa est non de Ignatii solum et Polycarpi Scriptis sed etiam de Apostolicis Constitutionibus et Canonibus Clementi Romano Attributis Dissertatio*: Upon the decline of the King's affairs, Oxford being threatened with a siege, he left that city, and retired to *Caerdiff* in Wales to the house of Sir *Timothy Tyrrel*, who had married his only daughter, and was then Governor of that garrison, and General of the Ordnance. Having brought many chests of books with him, he prosecuted his studies here undisturbed for six months, and made a good progress in the first part of his *Annals*: Till this garrison was

antiquity. Vid. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiast. Hist. from p. 54 to p. 68, and from p. 355 to p. 372.

(104) In vita Usserii, p. 84, 85.

(105) See Letter 306 from Usher to Arnold Boot, dated London, Nov. 29, 1651.

(106) This church has been since rebuilt, and situated in the High-street, at some small distance from the college.

same writer also says, that the University of Leyden offered at this time to chuse him their honorary Professor, with an increase of the stipend. It is true, these facts are somewhat questioned by Dr Smith (104), who however does not omit mentioning, that the Primate was invited ten years afterwards by Anne of Austria to that kingdom (105), but upon what terms he could not tell.

[NN] He preached every Sunday at one or other of the churches in Oxford.] He had generally a crowded audience, and, as he preached frequently at the church of *All-hallows*, joining to *Lincoln-college* (106), *Thomas Marshall*, then a young Student of that college, constantly attended his Grace's sermons there, which so exceedingly wrought upon his affections, that he resolved from thenceforth to make him the pattern of all the religious and learned studies and conduct of his life, and therefore could never after endure those that should, in their common discourse and writings, reflect in the least on our sacred Prelate. This Dr *Marshall* became afterwards an exemplary Divine, and an eminent Critic in the Gothic and Saxon languages, and on that account challenges some further notice to be taken of him in these memoirs. He was the son of a father of both his names, was born at *Barkeby* in *Leicestershire*, educated there in grammar-learning under *Francis Foe*, Vicar of that town, entered a Bachelor in *Lincoln-college* in Michaelmas term, 1640, aged nineteen years, and on the 21st of July the following year he was elected one of *Robert Trapp's* scholars in that house, about which time it was that he became a constant auditor of Archbishop Usher at *All-hallows* church, the advowson whereof is in that college. Soon after Oxford being garrisoned upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he bore arms therein for his Majesty in the regiment of *Henry Earl of Dover* at his own proper costs and charges, and therefore in 1645, when he stood candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he was admitted thereto without paying fees. But, upon the approach of the parliamentary visitation, he left the University, crossed the seas, and became Preacher to the English merchants at *Rotterdam* and *Dort*, in the place of *Henry Tozer*, deceased (a). In 1661 he was admitted Bachelor of Divinity, and four years after, publishing *Observations on the Evangelists*, did thereby revive the memory of himself so much in his college, that the Society chose him Fellow thereof without his knowledge or seeking, Dec. 17, 1668. In the year following he proceeded Doctor in his faculty, and upon the promotion of Dr *Crew* to the see of Oxford (*), he succeeded that munificent benefactor in the rectory of his college, and was afterwards appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. In the month of May, 1680, he became Rector of *Bladon* near *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*; and, upon the promotion of Doctor *Frampton* to the see of *Gloucester*, he was nominated Dean of that church in January, 1680; in which deanery being installed on the 30th of April, 1681, he resigned the rectory of *Bladon* in February, 1682. Neither did he live to enjoy the Deanery many years, his death happening suddenly at his lodgings at

(*) See his article.

(a) There is something singular in the character of this Divine, who was a Devonshire man, born in 1602, elected Fellow of Exeter-college in 1623, and, taking holy orders, became a useful person in the society, by moderating, reading to Novices, and lecturing in the chapel. He afterwards proceeded B. D. and became an able and painful Preacher, had much of the primitive religion in his sermons, and seemed to be a most precise Puritan in his looks and life, on which account his preachings and expoundings in the churches of *St Gyles* and *St Martin* in Oxford were much frequented by the puritannical party. But being elected one of the *Assembly of Divines* in 1643, he refused to sit among them. In 1646, a little before the garrison of Oxford was surrendered to the Parliament, he was one of those Divines who, having either preached at *Christ-church* before his Majesty, or at *St Mary's* before the Parliament, were nominated by the Chancellor of the University for the degree of D. D. but this also he, as others,

Lincoln-college, early in the morning of the 19th of April, 1685. He was buried in that chancel commonly called the college-chancel of the church of *All-hallows*, or *All-saints* aforementioned. By his last will and testament he gave to the public library of the University of Oxford all such of his books, whether manuscripts or printed, that were not then in the said library, except only such as were in his said will otherwise disposed of: and the remaining part to *Lincoln-college* library, that is, such as were not already there at that time. Also he gave to the said college the money that should be raised by the sale of his estate: This amounted to the sum of 600l. and upwards, with which was purchased 14l. per annum, a fee-farm-rent issuing out of the manor of *little Dean* in *Gloucestershire*, and 12l. per annum, a rent-charge out of some lands in *Brill* in *Bucks*: Which benefaction is now enjoyed by three scholars of the society. Upon the whole, the Oxford Antiquary does him no more than strict justice, when he records him as a person very well versed in books, a noted Critic, especially in the Gothic and English Saxon tongues, a painful preacher, a good man, and a good Governor, and one every way worthy of his station in the church. He hath written: 1. *Observationes in Evangeliorum versiones perantiquas duas Gothica scilicet et Anglo Saxonica &c.* Dordrecht, 1665, in a thick large 4to. 2. *The Catechism set forth in the book of Common-prayer, briefly explained by short notes, grounded upon Holy Scripture.* Oxford, 1679, 8vo. The short notes were drawn up and composed by our Author at the desire and motion of Dr *Fell*, Bishop of Oxford, to be used by the ministers of his diocese in catechizing the children of their respective parishes. In other editions, that followed soon after, was added, *An Essay of Questions and Answers framed out of the same notes, for the exercise of youth*, by the same hand: Which catechism, with the notes and essay, was translated into Welsh by *John Williams*, a Cambridge scholar, but Tutor to a nobleman of *Jesus-college* in Oxford, printed at Oxford, 1682, 8vo. 3. An Epistle for the English reader, prefixed to Dr *Thomas Hyde's* translation, into the Malayan language, *Of the four gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Acts of the Apostles*, Oxford, 1677, 4to, in a sheet and a half. Dr *Marshall* did also take a great deal of pains in completing the life of Primate *Usher*, published by Dr *Richard Parr*, but died before it saw the light (107).

[OO] He met with friends who redeemed it.] It was seized by the Committee of Delinquents estates, and would have been sold by them, had not Dr *Featly*, who was then in some favour with them (108), made interest, by the means of Mr *Selden*, to obtain them for his own use, either as a gift, or by laying down some money for them; and so got them into his hands, and secured them for the Primate. But several were either embezzled or stolen whilst in their custody. Among others, diverse papers and collections of his own writing, with all his letters, either to or from his learned friends, which he had left behind him, were then plundered.

refused. In 1647 and 1648 he behaved himself as a stout champion against the unreasonable proceedings of the parliamentary visitors: For which being posted up by them for an expelled scholar, they revoked the sentence so far, that by an order, dated Nov. 2, 1648, they empowered him to use his chamber in Exeter-college, and also ordered that he should enjoy a traveller's allowance for three years: Upon which he went to Holland, and became Minister to the English merchants at *Rotterdam*, where he died in 1650, and was buried in the English church there, appointed to the said merchants. He published *Directions for a Godly life, especially for communicating at the Lord's table*, Oxon. 1628, 8vo, and then again the tenth time in 1680, 8vo. 2. *Diæta & fæsa Christi, ex quatuor Evangelistis collecta, et in ordine disposita*, Oxford, 8vo. Besides several sermons; as, 1. *A Christian amendment*. 2. *Christian wisdom &c.* 3. A sermon on *John xviii.* 3. printed respectively at Oxford in 1633, 1639, and 1646 (*).

(oo) This library consisted either of such books as the Primate had either brought over with him, or bought there, or left behind in *Chelsea College*, Parr, p. 50.

(107) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 782, 783.

(108) He sat in the *Assembly of Divines*, though otherwise orthodox and loyal. He had been Chaplain to *Abp. Abbot*. Some of his letters to our Author are in Parr's Collection.

(*) Ibid. col. 133, 134, partly from the mouth of Dr *Marshall*, who, he says, was always taken for an honest and conscientious Puritan;

unfurnished

unfurnished for the King's service, and his son-in-law obliged to give up his post, and quit the place. In this exigence, he very gladly accepted of an invitation from Lady Dowager *Stradling* to come to the castle at *St Donate*. But in passing thither, he unluckily fell into the hands of the Mountaineers, who stript him of all his books and papers, which yet were afterwards in a great measure recovered by the kindness of the Clergy, and Gentlemen of that country [PP]; and he met with an excellent library at *St Donate*, which he did not neglect to make use of while he was able; but within a month after his arrival, he was seized with a fit of sickness, which reduced him to the last extremity (99). After his recovery, he went to London by the invitation of the *Countess of Peterborough* [QQ], at whose house he arrived in June, 1646 (*); and in the beginning of the next year was chosen Preacher to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn [RR]. This year he published his treatise *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo* (rr), which following by his *Dissertatio de Macedonum et Asianorum anno solari* in the beginning of 1648, 8vo (ss) [SS]. About this time he was sent for to the Isle of Wight by his Majesty, to assist him in treating with the Parliament upon the point of episcopacy; when he proposed an expedient, which he called *Presbyterian and Episcopal Government conjoined* (tt) [TT], which the King approved as the likeliest means of reconciling the

(99) It began with the flaggers, and a suppression of urine, and was relieved by bleeding at the nose for 40 hours without any considerable intermission.

(*) In his way to London, passing through Gloucester, he had a conference with John Biddle, the famous Unitarian, about his notions; but without any success, as might be expected. See Biddle's article, Vol. II. p. 737.

(tt) It was printed by Dr Bernard in 1658.

[PP] *He was robbed by &c.* The Mountaineers, just as he was ready to go, got up, to the number of ten thousand, in arms, in a tumultuous manner, and, chusing officers, formed themselves into a body, as was pretended, for the King: but they would neither be governed by English commanders, nor suffer any English garrisons in the country. To avoid these men, who lay between *Caerdiffe* and *Donate*, some persons in *Caerdiffe*, at the request of the Governor, undertook to convey him through by-ways; but they unluckily fell into the hands of a straggling party that was scouting thereabouts, who, carrying them to the main body, immediately broke open the Primate's chest of books, &c. and ransacking his manuscripts, and papers of his own writing, these were quickly dispersed into a thousand hands; nor so content, they pulled the Primate and his daughter, and other ladies, from their horses; all which he bore with his usual patience and a seeming unconcernedness; when some of their officers (who were gentlemen of the country) coming in, seemed very much ashamed of this barbarous treatment, and caused their horses and other things to be restored: but the books and papers could not then be retrieved. They afterwards conducted him back to Sir *John Aubrey's* house, not far off, where he was very civilly received, and lodged that night. When he came thither, and had retired himself, 'I must confess, says Dr Parr, that I never saw him so much troubled in my life; and those that were with him before myself said, that he seemed not more sensibly concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this; saying to his daughter and those that endeavoured to comfort him; *I know that it is God's hand, and that I must endeavour to bear it patiently; though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned; for I am touched in a very tender place; and he has thought fit to take from me at once all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, for the advancement of learning and the good of the church.*' Divers of the neighbouring gentry and clergy came to visit him next day, and, condoling his loss, promised to do their utmost to retrieve his books and papers, if not torn and burnt, and civilly attended him to *St Donate*, and by publishing in the churches every where in those parts, that all who had any such books or papers should bring them to their masters or landlords, there was brought, within two or three months, almost all his books and papers; so that we found not many wanting (110).

[QQ] *He went to London &c.* Before he left Wales, his finances being much reduced by an expensive sickness, as well as by removals, the year past, several gentlemen of the country sent him, unknown to each other, divers considerable sums; so that in a few weeks he had enough to supply all his present occasions, and also to defray the expences of his journey to England. This was considered by him as a particular Providence, for which he was very thankful. It is certain the supply was very seasonable: For it now began not to be safe for him to stay at *St Donate*. Wherefore Oxford being like to be taken, and not caring willingly to trust himself at London, he reassumed his former thoughts of passing beyond-sea; and, having provided a vessel, had procured a pass for that purpose from the *Earl of Warwick*, then Admiral. But, as they were preparing to go, there came into the road before *Caerdiffe* a squadron of ships under the command of one *Moulton*, Vice-admiral for the Parliament. Whereupon the Primate sent his Chaplain to him, then on shore at *Caerdiffe*, to know if he would suffer him to go, shewing the pass;

which *Moulton* not only refused to comply with, but said, if he could get the Primate into his hands, he would carry him to the Parliament, and threatened to send the Chaplain immediately to his ship. So that this invitation from Lady *Peterborough* was exceedingly welcome to the Primate; and, having procured passes, he left *St Donate's*, after almost a year's residence there (111).

[RR] *He was chosen Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn.* The Society ordered him handsome lodgings, ready furnished, and divers rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from *Chester*, being almost all the remains of his substance that had escaped the rebels. Mr (afterwards Lord Chief Justice) *Hale* was then a Bencher of the Society, and probably had the chief hand in procuring him this place; and it happened that the Society was well rewarded for it by that treasure lodged in this library by the Lord Chief Justice in four volumes, which were extracted from the Primate's MSS (112); of which Dr Parr has subjoined to his life of the Primate a Catalogue, consisting of thirty-three very curious books. Here the Primate constantly preached all the Term time for almost eight years, till at last, his eyesight and teeth beginning to fail him, he could not well be heard in so large a congregation, and was forced to quit this place about a year and a half before his death, to the great regret of that Society (113).

[SS] *De Asianorum anno solari.* In this tract, besides fixing the exact time of *St Polycarp's* martyrdom, he hath compared the Grecian and Macedonian months with the Julian and other nations, and, having laid down the method and disposition of the Macedonian and Asiatic year, he adds rules for finding out the cycles of the Sun and Moon, and Easter for ever, with several curious accounts of the celestial motions according to the ancient Greek Astronomers, *Meloni*, *Calippus*, *Eudoxus*, and others. To which is annexed an Ephemeris, or intire Greek and Roman Calendar for the whole year, with the rising and setting of the stars in that climate.

[TT] *Presbyterian and Episcopal government conjoined.* Soon after his arrival, the King having consented, though unwillingly, to the suspension of Episcopacy for three years, would by no means agree to the absolute abolition of it, which was obstinately insisted on by the Presbyterians: wherefore, to put a stop to the present career of the presbyterian discipline, this expedient was devised by the Primate (114), which, not long after his coming thither, he delivered to his Majesty, who had before, in his last message to the Parliament, consented to the reducing of Episcopacy into a much narrower compass, viz. not only to the Apostolical Institution, but to the taking away of Archbishops, Deans, and Chapters, &c. and settling presbyterian government for three years, as has been said. This was more than was proposed by the Primate's plan, which supposes the Archbishops or Primates ought to be continued, appointing them Moderators of the Provincial Synods of Suffragans and Pastors. It is true, he mentions Bishops as to be only Presidents of the Diocesan Synods; yet he no where denies them a negative voice in that Assembly. And though in the beginning he says, that the Bishops in the primitive times were wont to do nothing of moment without the advice of a synod of their clergy, as he proves from divers quotations out of the Fathers and ancient Councils; yet he does not assert this practice as a thing of divine and unalterable right (as the Scotch kirk does) but only as the custom and practice of the church in those times which, being

(111) Parr, p. 63.

(112) In the catalogue of the Chief Justice's MSS. which he left them, they are called, *Chronological Remembrances, extracted out of the notes of Ep Usher.*

(113) Parr, p. 64, 65.

(114) It had been drawn up long before by him, if we may believe Dr Bernard, who published it in 1658, with this title, *The Reduction of Episcopacy to the form of the Synodical government in the ancient church.* Written in 1641 by that learned and revered Father of the church, *Jamés Usher*, *Bishop of Armagh*, Primate of all Ireland.

Dr Bernard also, in his *Cham Treason*, inserted two letters of the Primate's upon church government. See Ep Usher's article in Vol. V. p. 190 Remark [U].

(rr) It is dedicated to Gerard Vossius, and contains the various copies of the creed used in the Roman Church, with other forms of confessions of faith wont to be proposed to the Catechumens in the Eastern and Western Churches, with several other monuments of antiquity relating to the same.

(ss) These were both reprinted, with his *Annals*, at Geneva, 1722, folio.

(110) Parr, p. 59, 60. The most remarkable were two MSS. mentioned in remark [Q]. As also another MS. catalogue of the Persian Kings, communicated by *Elæmannus*; and one Vol. of *MS. varia lectio*nes of N. T.: and of printed books, only *Tully's* works, and some others. The *varia lectio*nes were such as were collected at Oxford: those done out of the Cambridge copies were saved, and several years after consulted by Dr Hammond in preparing his notes upon the N. T.

the then differences. But no propofals, how moderate foever, were able to fatisfy the Prefbyterians, till his Majesty was taken out of their hands by the army, and brought to the fcaffold, the fight of which struck our Primate with the utmoft horror [UU]. In 1650, he published the firft part of his *Annals of the Old Testament* (uu). In 1652 came out his *Epiftola ad Ludovicum Capellum de variantibus Textus Hebraici Lectionibus*, at London, 4to. In 1654, Cromwell now raifed to the Supreme Dignity with more than Kingly Power, under the title of Protector, thought it would become that character to put on the air and manner of a gracious Sovereign, equally regarding all his fubjects with a paternal care, without diftinction of parties or profefions. In this difpofition he began to fhew favour to fome of the orthodox Clergy of the Church of England: Among thefe was Dr Nicholas Bernard, who had been the Lord Primate's Chaplain in Ireland, and was afterwards Dean of *Kilmore*. Cromwell having faved his life at the taking of *Drogheda*, had now made him his Chaplain, when his Highnefs in the fame humour fending for the Primate, received him with great kindnefs and civility [WW], and the following year gave him a promife to grant liberty of confcience to the epifcopal Clergy [XX], which being evaded by the Ufurper, occafioned the Primate thereupon to predict the King's Reftoration [YY].

(uu) Second part came out 1654. The whole was printed in 1673 at Paris, and again in 1722 at Geneva, to which are added three of Usher's trafts, before printed with his Life by Dr T. Smith. See a character of it in Dean Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Testament. In the Preface to Vol. I.

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only prudential, may be altered according to the exigency or circumftances of affairs. And though, in Sect. II. of this expedient, he propofes the making of as many Suffragans in each diocefe as there are rural deaneries in the fame, and who fhould afsemble a fynod of all the Rectors or Minifters of their precinct; yet their power was only to be according to the ftatute of 26 Henry VIII. whereby they are exprefly forbid to aft in any matters, but by the authority of, and in fubordination to, their diocefan Bifhops. Nor does he extend their power farther than to be Moderators of this leffer fynod, where matters of difcipline and excommunication only were to be determined, ftill referving power of ordination to the Diocefan, which was no where given from him in this expedient. Neither was this power of excommunication left abfolutely to this leffer fynod, without an appeal to the diocefan fynod of the Suffragans and the reft of the Paftors, wherein the Bifhop was to prefide. Thus much I fhall fay, continues Dr Parr, that it was not the Primate's defign or intention to rob the Bifhops of any of thofe juft rights which are essentially neceffary to their order and conftitution, and without debafing Epifcopacy into Prefbytery, or ftripping the church of its lands and revenues, both which he always abhorred. However, as his Majesty's propofal was voted unfatisfactory before this fcheme was delivered to him, there was no room to offer it; the Prefbyterians, as Dr Parr obferves, being bent to abolifh the very order of Bifhops (115), that no propofals of his Majesty, though ever fo moderate, would content them; till at laft, when they had wrangled fo long as to fee the King's perfon feized by the army, and that the power was likely to be taken out of their hands, then they grew wifer, and would have agreed to his propofals when it was too late; and fo, continues the Doctor, the Prefbyterian party faw themfelves within a few days after forcibly excluded, and turned out of doors by that very army which they themfelves had raifed, and hired to fight againft their Prince; which, as it was the caufe of his Majesty's defftruction, fo it proved their own ruin (116).

(115) Thus it happened, as in the famous Interim many years before in Germany, that neither fide were pleafed with this expedient: In which Dr Smith complains, that the Bifhops, being ftript of their peculiar power, both of order and jurisdiction, were left a meer empty name and shadow. Vita Ufferii, p. 77.
(116) Parr's life of the Archbp, p. 66, 67.

[UU] *The King's execution struck him with horror.* The Countefs of Peterborough's houfe, where the Primate then lived, being exactly oppofite to Charing-Crofs, feveral of the family, at the time of the King's execution, went up to the leads of the houfe, which commanded a full view of Whitehall; and, as foon as his Majesty came upon the fcaffold, fome of them went down and told the Primate, asking him if he would not fee the King once more before he was put to death. Though unwilling at firft, yet he was perfuaded at length to go up, as well out of a defire to fee the King once again as curiofity, fince he could fcarce believe what they told him unlefs he faw it. When he came upon the leads, his Majesty was in his fpeech: The Primate ftood ftill, and faid nothing, but fighed, and lifting his hands and eyes full of tears towards heaven, feemed to pray earneftly. But when the King had done fpeaking, and had taken off his cloaths and doublet, and ftood ftript in his waiftcoat, and the executioners in vizards began to put up his hair, the Primate grew pale, and began to faint; fo that, if he had not been obferved by his own fervant, and fome others who ftood near, and thereupon fupported him, he had fwooned away. Upon this, they prefently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he made ufe both of tears and prayers; tears that fo horrid a fin fhould be committed, and prayers that God would give his Prince patience

and conftancy to undergo thofe cruel fufferings, and that he would not, for the vindication of his own honour, permit fo great a wickednefs to pafs unpunifhed (117). And he kept the 30th of January a private faft as long as he lived.

[WW] *Cromwell received him very kindly.* The converfation might not improbably (as Dr Parr was informed) turn chiefly about advancing the Proteftant intereft, as well at home as abroad, to which Cromwell made great pretences. And it was faid that, either now or fome other time, he gave the Primate a penfion for life (118); the truth of which is much queftioned by Dr Parr, who however tells us he remembered the Primate's faying that *Oliver* had promifed to make him a leafe of the lands belonging to the archbifhopric of Armagh for twenty-one years, which he thought it no harm to accept, confidering it was but his own, and which he had been deprived of above half that time, efpecially in confideration of his daughter, and many grandchildren, for whom he had as yet been able to do nothing. And if the church fhould happen to be reftored before that time, it could lofe nothing by this grant; and if not, he thought his children might as well reap the benefit of it as others. But though Dr Bernard, in his Epiftle to the Reader, prefixed to the life of the Primate, was made (by Cromwell's Secretary who then had the copy in his power) to publifh as if this grant had been really paffed, yet the Ufurper was craftier than fo; and as he delayed paffing it as long as the Primate lived, fo, after his death, he made a pretence (by imputing malignancy to the Primate's fon-in-law and daughter) to free himfelf from that promife (119).

(117) Id. p. 72. who tells us he had this from the Primate's grandfon, who heard it from his fervant, that lived with him till his death.

(118) This is afferted in the Primate's life, prefixed to a then late edition of the Body of Divinity,

[XX] *A promife of liberty of confcience to the Epifcopal clergy.* It was by the particular defire of the Epifcopal clergy in and about London, that the application had been made for this favour to Cromwell, who promifed him they fhould not be molefted, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government. But when he went again, to get this promife ratified and put in writing, he found the Protector under the hands of his furgeon, who was dreffing a great boil that he had then upon his breaft. So he begged the Primate to fit down, faying he would fpeak with him when the dreffing was over. Whilst it was doing, he faid to the Primate, *if this core* (pointing to the boil) *were once out, I fhould quickly be well.* To which the Primate replied, *I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that muft be taken out, or elfe it will not be well.* Ah! replied Cromwell (feemingly unconcerned) *fo there is indeed,* and fighed. But, when the Primate began to fpeak of the bufinefs he came about, he answered to this effect, that he had fince better confidered it, having advifed with his council; who thought it not fafe for him to grant liberty of confcience to thofe fort of men, who are reftlefs, and implacable enemies to him and his government. And fo took his leave with good words and outward civility (120).

(119) Parr, p. 73.

[YY] *He predicted the King's Reftoration.* We have already obferved (121), that fuch kind of predictions were ufual with the Primate in expreffing his resentments of any great and violent wickednefs. Upon the prefent occafion, when he found it in vain to urge the matter any further, he returned to his lodgings very much troubled and concerned; and, when he was in his chamber, faid to fome of his relations, and Dr Parr that came to vifit him, *This false man hath broken his word with me, and refufes to perform what he promifed. Well, he will*

(120) Id. p. 75.

(121) In remark [K].

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The same year, 1655, his Grace published his last piece, *De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum verum Septagma*, to which was subjoined, *De Cainane in vulgata LXX editione superaddita ex ejusdem Chronologia Sacra nondum edita Dissertatio, una cum ejusdem edita ad Lud. Capellum de variantibus Textus Hebraici Lectionibus, anno 1652 & altera, a Gulielmo Byrio, ad eundem*

have little cause to glory in his wickedness; for he will not continue long. The King will return: Though I shall not live to see it, you may. The government both in church and state is in confusion. The Papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented (122). Upon the whole it cannot be denied, that the Primate's rebuke of his Highness, mentioned in the preceding remark, was not only very uncourtly, but extremely unseasonable at a time when he was come to petition a favour. With regard to his predicting the Restoration from the wickedness of the times and the prevalence of Popery, we shall present the Reader with the following particular account from a manuscript in the Museum Thoresbianum, intitled, 'The predictions of that learned and holy man Bishop Uther.

(122) Idem. ibid.

That year wherein he died, being asked by a gentleman 'what his present apprehensions were of a very great persecution that would fall upon the church of Christ in these nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (concerning which he had ever confidently spoken many years past, when we were in the fullest peace and settlement) whether he did not believe these sad times to be passed, or whether yet to come?' He told me they were yet to come, and that he did as confidently expect them as ever he had done. That they would fall upon ourselves the Protestant churches in Europe. I answered, I hoped they might have been past as to this nation, since that I thought, though we in them had been punished less than our sins deserved, and that the wars had left much less devastation than by that means had been brought upon other countries, yet many a house, fair and great, had been left without inhabitants, many a family had been impoverished, and many thousand lives lost in that war; that Ireland and Scotland had drunk deep of the cup of God's anger, to the overthrow of government, and almost utter destruction of a great part of those nations.

He turning to me, and fixing his eyes with that ireful look which he used to have when he spake God's words, and not his own, and the power of God upon him to constrain him so to do, Fool not yourself with such hopes; for I tell you all that you have yet seen have been but the beginning of sorrows to what is yet to come upon the protestant churches of Christ; which shall, e'er long, fall under sharper persecutions than ever yet hath been upon them. And therefore, said he to me, look you be not found in the outer court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar; for Christ will measure all that profess his name, and call themselves his people, and the outward worshippers he will leave to be trodden down by the Gentiles.

The outward court (said he) is the formal Christians, whose religion stands in performing the outside duties of Christianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love uniting them to Christ; these God will leave to be trodden down and swept away by the Gentiles. But the worshippers within the temple and before the altar are those who worship God in spirit and truth, whose souls are made his temples, where he is honoured and adored in the most inward thoughts they have, and who sacrifice their lusts and foul affections in their own wills to him. God will hide them in the hollow of his hand and under the shadow of his wings. And that will be one great difference between these last and all other preceding persecutions: In them the most eminent and spiritual ministers were, first or last, violently fallen upon; but, in this last, these will be preserved by God, as a seed of that glory that shall immediately fall to the church as soon as these storms are over; for as they will be the sharpest, so they will be but short, and shall take away but the gross hypocrites and formalists, while the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be past.

I then asked him by what instruments this great trial would be brought on. He answered, by the Papists. I replied, that seemed to me very improbable, since they were less countenanced, and less in number in these nations, and the hearts of the people were more set against them, than ever since the Reformation. He answered that it would be by their hands, and in the way of a sudden massacre, and that the now Pope would be the instrument of it. And these things he spoke with the

assurance and ireful look that I have observed him to speak with, when I have heard him myself predict things very unlikely, in human appearance, to come, which I myself had then lived to see happen according to his predictions; which made me give the more attention to what he uttered.

And he then added, that the Papists were, in his opinion, the Gentiles spoken of in Rev. ii. to whom the outward court should be left, that they may tread it under foot, they having received the gentile worship in their adoring images and saints departed, and taken to themselves many mediators. And this (said he) is now designing among them, and therefore look you be ready.

This was the substance, and, for the greatest part (I think) the words themselves, which that holy man spake to me at the time beforementioned, which I set down, that so great a prediction may not be lost to myself or others.

The same holy man repeated the same predictions to his only daughter the Lady Tyrrel, and that, with many others, much about the same time he had explained himself to me, as she herself assured me with her own mouth. That, after she had been at the door of his chamber, she found him with his eyes lift up to heaven, and tears running down apace, in a kind of extasy, wherein he continued after she came into the room, without taking any notice of her, for about half an hour. And then he told her his thoughts had been taken up about the miseries and persecutions that were coming upon the church of Christ, that would be so sharp and bitter, that they had forced those tears from his eyes; but he hoped he should not live to see it; but possibly she might, for they were even at the door: Therefore take heed you be not found sleeping.

The same he after repeated to Mrs Bisi, the chief Baron of Ireland's wife that now is, with this difference in circumstances, that if (said he) they bring back the King, they may be a little longer delayed; but they will surely come, and therefore look ye be not unprepared for it.

The Lady Tyrrel's answer to a friend's letter about the truth of these predictions.

' Sir,

' I cannot speak so punctually to the particulars of your paper, but much of it I have heard him speak with great assurance in the beginning of the summer before the rebellion in Ireland. Sir Thomas Barrington's Lady was enquiring his opinion of the Interpreters of the Revelations and of the prophecies of Daniel: She was desirous to know whether the last bitter dregs should be poured out upon the world. I can never forget with what trouble he expressed his answer, viz. That he could not see but that God intended them on the Northern parts. And, said he, I besought God in mercy to divert a share of the time from our dominions, and that they may not begin with poor Ireland: But we must all (said he) taste of them, I am certain. Mrs Barrington, who is yet living, was present at this discourse as well as myself, when my father, among other admonitions, was pleased to give me his commands to be prepared for times of persecution; for he feared wicked people would for a time prevail, and that the persecution would be sharp, but should not last long. The last day that I saw my dear Father he told me, that I should see, in a short time, London burnt; at which when I was troubled; Yes, says he, it will be burnt to a cinder (that was his expression): How can we expect other than judgment upon the feat of rebellion and sin, and miseries that have proceeded from thence. He was also confident of his Majesty's restoration within five years, or less. He said it will be in a short time; You will live to see it, but I shall not: And said my thoughts and dreams are often troubled by being carried by violence into a great church. These were his last discourses to her, who is

' Your faithful Servant,

' E. Tyrrel.

Jacobum,

(xxv) Vid. rem. [D].

(xx) The Lady Peterborough was of this family.

Jacobum, anno 1607 data Epistola (ww). Our Author did not long survive this publication; for going shortly after to the Lady Peterborough's house at *Ryegate* in *Surrey*, he was taken [ZZ] on the 20th of March, 1655-6, with an illness which carried him off the next day, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His friends intended to bury him at *Ryegate*, in the vault of the *Howard* family (xx); but they were forbid by *Cromwell* [AAA], at whose order the corps being first removed to *Somerset-house* in the Strand, was conveyed thence with great magnificence to *Westminster-Abbey*, where it was interred in *Erasmus's* Chapel, the funeral service being performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England, by *Dr Nicholas Bernard*, who preached a sermon upon the occasion, which was afterwards printed. As to the Archbishop's character: His genius, in every particular, has been sufficiently marked in the course of this memoir; we shall therefore only give some description of his person and temper. He was of the taller sort of middle-sized men, and well-shaped. He walked upright to the last. His hair was naturally brown when young, and his complexion sanguine. His countenance expressed gravity and good-nature. He had a presence that commanded both respect and reverence. The air of his face was so difficult to hit, that though many pictures were drawn of him, yet, says *Dr Parr*, I never saw any that was like him but one, which was done by *Mr* (afterwards *Sir Peter*) *Lely*. His constitution was strong and healthy, nor was he ever troubled with the head-ache, gout, or stone; but bred blood so fast, that it often burst out of the veins on one side of his tongue; and this was something singular, that he never felt his heart beat in the greatest exercise. He was easy, affable, and cheerful in conversation, and extremely charitable (yy). (yy) *Parr*, p. 79. He was of so sweet a temper, continues *Dr Parr*, that I never heard he did an ill office to any one man, or revenged any of those that had been done to him. He envied no man's happiness, or vilified their persons or parts, nor was he apt to censure, or condemn any man upon bare reports. Though he could rebuke sharply in the cause of virtue and religion, yet he was not easily provoked to passion. He left his library, being the chief part of his substance, as a portion to his only daughter, who had been the mother of a numerous offspring. It was first bought by the officers and soldiers of *Cromwell's* army in *Ireland*, and lodged in *Dublin Castle*, where it lay, though not without being much pillaged, till the Restoration, which bringing it into the possession of *King Charles II*, he gave it, according to the Primate's first intention, to *Dublin College*, where it now remains [BBB]. From the Primate's manuscripts we have several posthumous pieces in print, some of which have been occasionally mentioned in the course of this memoir. The titles of the rest are, 1. *Chronologia Sacra seu Annorum πατριάρχων Patriarcharum πατριάρχων Israelitarum in Ægypto; Annorum etiam Judicum, Regum Judæ Israelis ἀπόδειξις Chronologica*. Oxford 1660, in 4to, published by *Dr Thomas Barlow*, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards *Bishop of Lincoln*, and was reprinted with the *Annals of the Old and New Testament*, at *Geneva*, 1722, in fol. But this chronology is imperfect, the Author dying while he was engaged in it (zz). 2. A collection of Pieces, under the title of *The Judgment of the late Archbishop, &c.* published by

(zz) *Dr Smith* says, he proposed to have joined to it a tract, *De primitivo et veterum Hebræorum Calendario*. *Smith in Vita Usserii*, p. 117.

[ZZ] *He was taken ill.* He first complained of his hip, thinking it was a touch of the *Sciatica*, which he had been afflicted with many years before. But next morning he complained of a great pain in his side, which could not be removed by the physician, and he departed about one o'clock in the afternoon. His last words were, *O Lord forgive me especially my sins of omission*. Upon opening his body, there was observed a thick membrane lined with fat, supposed by the surgeons to be a continuation of the *Omentum* or *caul*, which extended itself quite over the stomach, and was fastened above to the *Peritonæum*, somewhat below the diaphragm. The Primate had been often heard to say, he never felt his heart beat in the most violent exercises. He used frequently to have evacuations of blood from the veins on one side of his tongue, but more usually in some lower parts of his body; which stopping for some time before his death, was thought to be the cause of it, as he had a quick digestion, and bred blood fast (123).

(123) *Id.* p. 77.

[AAA] *They were forbid by Cromwell &c.* A more conspicuous instance of the Primate's great reputation among all orders and degrees of men could not be given than in this action of the Protector, who was plainly led thereto from the popularity of it. His relations durst not disobey the command, though it was much against their wills, perceiving well enough, says *Dr Parr*, the Usurper's design, that (as it was intended so) it would make more for his own honour than that of the deceased, and withal perceiving (what accordingly happened) that he would never defray half the expence of such a solemn funeral, which therefore would bring the greatest part upon them, though they were least able to bear it; and yet he would reap all the glory of it. I should not, proceeds the Doctor, have said so much on this subject, had it not been to shew the world the intriguing subtlety of this Usurper even in this small affair; and that, for the expence of about 200l. out of the *Deodands* in his Almoner's hands, (which was nothing at all to him) he was able to put those he ac-

counted his enemies to treble that charge (124).

(124) *Parr*, p. 78.

[BBB] *Where it now remains.* This was according to the Primate's first intention; but, upon the loss of every thing else except his books, it is no wonder he left these in the manner abovementioned; his daughter having before had nothing from him except some pieces of gold presented to him by *Mr Selden's* executors and other persons of quality. The library consisted of ten thousand volumes, printed and manuscript, and cost the Primate many thousand pounds. Both the King of Denmark and *Cardinal Mazarine* offered a good price for it by their agents here; but the executors were forbidden, by an order from *Oliver* and his council, to sell it to any one without his consent; so it was at last bought by the soldiers and officers of the then army in *Ireland*, who, out of emulation to the former noble action of *Queen Elizabeth's* army, were incited by some men of public spirits to the like performance, and they had it for much less than the real worth, or what had been offered for it before by the agents abovementioned. They had also with it all the manuscripts which were not of his own hand-writing: as also a choice though not numerous collection of ancient coins. But, when this library was carried over into *Ireland*, the Usurper and his son, who then commanded in chief there, would not bestow it upon the college, lest perhaps the gift should not appear so considerable there as it would do by itself; and therefore they gave out that they intended it for a new College or Hall, which they said they intended to build and endow. But it proved that, as these were not times, so, they were not persons capable of any such noble or pious work; so that this library lay in the castle of *Dublin*, unbestowed and unemployed, till *Cromwell's* death; and, during that anarchy and confusion that followed, the rooms where this treasure was kept being left open, many of the books, and most of the best manuscripts, were stolen away, or else embezzled by those that were intrusted with them (125).

(125) *Parr*, p. 102.

Dr

Dr Nicholas Bernard at London, 1658, 8vo; who also published in 1609, 3. *The Judgment and sense of the present See of Rome, from Apocal. xviii. 4*; by the late Archbishop, &c. together with *Ordination a fundamental &c.* as also, *Of the use of a set Form of Prayer in the Church*; *The Extent of Christ's Satisfaction &c.*; *Of the Sabbath and Observation of the Lord's day (uua)*; *his Judgment and Sense of John xxi. 22, 23, &c.* 4. *A volume of Sermons preached at Oxford before his Majesty and elsewhere.* 5. *Historia Dogmatica Controversiæ inter Orthodoxos et Pontificios de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis. Accessere ejusdem Dissertationes duæ de Pseudo-Dionysii scriptis et de Epistola ad Laodicenos. Descripsit, digestit, et notis atque auctorio locupletavit, Henricus Wharton.* Lond. 1690, 4to. 6. *A Collection of three hundred letters written to James Usher Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and most of the eminentest persons for piety and learning in his time, both in England, and beyond the seas. Collected and published from the original copies under their own hands by Richard Parr, D. D. his Lordship's Chaplain at the time of his death, with whom the care of all his papers were intrusted by his Lordship.* London 1686, folio. This collection is annexed to the Primate's Life, written by the same Gentleman [CCC].

(222) These tracts are in Parr's Collect. No. xxii. and ccv.

[CCC] *His Life written by Dr Parr.*] This worthy Divine, Dr Parr, who had to great a share in the Primate's friendship, was the younger son of *Richard Parr* of Devonshire, who, being sent into Ireland by King James I. to be a Minister there after Tyrone's rebellion, fixed himself in the town of *Fermoy* in the county of Cork, where this son Richard was born in 1617, his mother being then fifty-five years of age. Afterwards the Father, removing to *Castle-Lyoni* in the same county, put his son to school to an Irish Roman catholic Priest, who, with others of the same church, were the only schoolmasters in Ireland at that time for the Latin tongue. In 1635 our Author was sent to England, and, in Michaelmas term the same year, was entered a poor scholar or fervitor of Exeter-college, at which time being recommended to the care of *Dr John Prideaux*, the Rector, for his towardliness and great ingenuity, he was, by the Rector's interest, chosen, while Bachelor of Arts (126), Chaplain-Fellow of that college anno 1641. In 1643, Primate Usher being driven, in the civil wars, to take sanctuary at Oxford, became a lodger in the same college, and taking notice of Mr Parr, then a junior Master (127), and a frequent Preacher in Oxford, he made him his Chaplain, and took him in his retinue that year to *Cardiff* and *St Donat* in *Glamorganshire*; at which places continuing in the Primate's service till the said wars were terminated, he attended him then to London, and soon after became Vicar of *Ryegate* in *Surrey* by the presentation of one *Roger James*, Gent. whose sister he married, being a widow of a plentiful fortune. In a pamphlet that came out in 1647, containing the contents of the *Covenant*, and the names of the Ministers of *Surrey* that set their hands in testimony of the lawfulness of it, Mr Parr's name appears among the rest: Yet his friends and intimate acquaintance averred that he never took the said *Covenant*, though much pressed thereto by the Committee of Goldsmith's hall in London. In 1649 he resigned his fellowship of Exeter-college, but continued Chaplain to the Primate till his Grace's death. Afterwards he became Vicar of *Camberwell* in the said county of *Surrey*, Rector of *St Mary Magdalen* in *Southwark* for a time, and after his Ma-

jesty's restoration he was created D. D. (128), and was about the same time offered the Deaury of *Armagh*, and soon after a Bishoprick in Ireland; but, refusing both, he contented himself with only a canonry of *Armagh*. He was so constant and ready a Preacher at *Camberwell*, and so generally liked, that thereby he broke two conventicles in his neighbourhood: For, out-vying both the Presbyterians and Independents in his extemporaneous preaching, their auditors left them, and flocked to Mr Parr. In this course of constant preaching at *Camberwell* he continued near thirty-eight years; during all which time he was esteemed a person of great piety, and of so regular and unblemished a conversation, that even the Nonconformist party could not pick up any thing to object against him on that account; but generally looked on him as a moderate person, chiefly, perhaps, because he was a Calvinist (129). He died at *Camberwell*, Nov. 2, 1691, and, according to his desire, was buried together with his wife in that church-yard. Soon after a stone was laid over his grave, with an epitaph inscribed thereon, testifying that *he was in preaching constant, in life exemplary, in piety and charity most eminent, a lover of peace and hospitality, and, in fine, a true disciple of Jesus Christ.* To which may be added, that he was a person of a generous, genteel temper, exceeding good-natured and charitable to all sorts of people, insomuch that those of his own nation, though of a different profession in religion, were often relieved by him (130) &c.

(128) Oct. 30, 1660. Ibid. col. 137.

(129) As was his Patron the Primate.

(130) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 879, 880, 881.

Besides the Primate's life, he published: 1. *Christian Reformation; being an earnest persuasion to the serious practice of it; proposed to all, but especially designed for the serious consideration of his dear kindred and countrymen of the county of Cork in Ireland, and the people of Ryegate and Camberwell in Surrey.* Lond. 1666, 8vo. 2. Several sermons; as first, *The Judges charge, preached before the Judges of Assize at St Mary Overy's in Southwark.* Lond. 1658. 4to: Another, intitled, *Christ's gracious intention to sinners &c.* Lond. 1661, 8vo: And a third, preached Feb. 20, 1676, at the funeral of *Dr Robert Bretton*, Minister of *Deptford* in *Kent.* Lond. 1672, 4to. P

(126) He took that degree June 13, 1639. Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 279.

(127) He took that degree April 23, 1642. Ibid. Vol. II. col. 5.

The END of the SIXTH VOLUME. PART I.